

AENEIDEA

BOOK II.

AENEIDEA,

OR

CRITICAL, EXEGETICAL, AND AESTHETICAL

REMARKS

ON THE

.AENEIS,



WITH A PERSONAL COLLATION OF ALL THE FIRST CLASS MSS.,
UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED SECOND CLASS MSS., AND ALL THE
PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.

BY

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*NOTES OF A TWELVE YEARS' VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY
IN THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE AENEIS.*



VOL. II.

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AENEIDEA.

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II.*

1.

CONTIGUERE OMNES INTENTIQUE ORA TENEBANT

Commentators and translators alike understand this verse to express by its first clause the silence, by its second the attention—manifested by the fixed countenances of the audience—with which Aeneas was heard: “Et tacuerunt et desiderio ducebantur audiendi,” Donatus. “Aut ora intuebantur loquentis, aut immobiles vultus habebant, ut *Georg. 4. 483*: ‘*Tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,*’ i.e. immobilia habuit; aut intenti tenebant, habebant, ut sit figura, et intelligamus ora intenta habebant,” Serv. “INTENTI ORA TENEBANT, ornatè: erant intenti, habebant vultus et oculos intentos et conversos in Aeneam,” Heyne. *Επει δὲ καὶ σχῆμα προσώπου μαλιστα προσοχῆς ἐμφασιν ἔχει, οὐδ’ ἐκείνο παρελίπε, τοῦ μὴ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὅσα καὶ*

* As to the source of the second book, see Macrob. *Saturn. 5. 2*, who introduces Eustathius saying: “Dicturumne me putatis ea quae vulgo nota sunt? quod Theocritum sibi fecerit pastoralis operis auctorem, ruralis Hesiodum? et quod in ipsis Georgicis, tempestatis serenitatisque signa de Arati Phaenomenis traxerit? vel quod eversionem Troiae, cum Sinone suo, et equo ligneo, ceterisque omnibus, quae *librum secundum* faciunt, a Pisandro paene ad verbum transcripserit?”

ωσι, χρησαμενους, μονονουχι των χειλεων εξαρτησαι του λεγοντος τους ακουοντας, προσθεις οτι και ενητενιζον' τουτεστιν ατενωσ προς αυτον ταις οψεσιν ειχον, Eugen. de Bulgaris. "INTENTI ORA TENEBANT ut, 8. 520, 'defixi ora tenebant,' explica: 'sie richteten aufmerksam den blick,'" Gossrau. "INTENTI ORA TENEBANT: ergo ut solent intenti, in ipso ore apparebat intentio," Wagner (1861). "Ora tenere is not, as in *Georg. 4. 483*, equivalent to *linguam continere*, but means to hold the countenance in attention, as in 7. 250 (where observe the epithet 'defixa,' and compare 6. 156), 8. 520," Conington. "INTENTI ORA TENEBANT: habebant vultus et oculos intentos, et conversos in Aeneam," Forbiger (1873).

" they ceissit all attanis incontinent,
with mouthis clois and vissage taking tent." Douglas.

" they whisted all, with fixed face attent." Surrey.

" they whusted all, and fixt with eies ententive did behold." Phacr.

" stavan taciti, attenti, e disiosi
d'udir già tutti." Caro.

" taciti tutti, e con volti bramosi
d'udire, immoti stavansi." Alfieri.

" still war's und jedes ohr hing an Aeneens munde." Schiller.

" rings war alles verstummt und gespannt hielt jeder das antlitz." J. H. Voss.

" each eye was fixed, each lip compressed,
when thus began the heroic guest." Conington.

The interpretation is false, and there is not one of all this brilliant field of philologist truth-hunters whose horse has not shied and thrown him on the kerb of the deep dark well in which his vixen game so loves to lurk, and down into which, audax—not in *iuventa* but in *senecta*—and cheerily harking-in with Hermes' and Athena's* "whoop, whoop, halloo!" I propose now at all risks to pursue her. Let him who has a taste for such adventure draw on his spatterdashes and accom-

pany me. I promise him sport, if nothing more. "Allons! Vive la chasse de la vérité!"

ORA is here neither *the face*, nor *the mouth* literally, but *the mouth figuratively*, i. e., *the speech, voice, or utterance* (exactly as (verse 423) "*ora sono discordia*," *sound, of voice or speech, disagreeing with assumed appearance*. Compare also Ovid, *Met.* 6. 583 (of Procne):

. . . "dolor ora repressit,
verbaque quaerenti satis indignantia linguae
defuerunt"

[*grief repressed her utterance*]); and ORA TENEbant is neither *were holding their mouths closed*, literally, nor *were holding their faces fixed*, but *were holding their mouths closed*, figuratively, i. e., *were holding-in (withholding) their voice, speech, or utterance*; in other words, *were remaining, silent*; exactly as (a), "*dolor ora repressit*" (just quoted), *grief repressed her mouth*, i. e., *her utterance*; and as, still more exactly (b), Ovid, *Met.* 9. 513:

. . . "poterisne loqui? poterisne fateri?
coget amor, potero; vel si pudor ora tenebit,
littera celatos arcana fatebitur ignes"

[*shame will hold my mouth (voice)*; i. e., *will keep me silent*]; and more exactly still, and even word for word (c), Lucan, 4. 172:

. . . "tenere parumper
ora metu; tantum nutu motoque saluant
ense suos. mox ut stimulis maioribus ardens
rupit amor leges, audet transcendere vallum
niles, in amplexus effusas tendere palmas.
hospitis ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinquum"

[*they held their mouths*, i. e., *their voice, speech, utterance*]; also (d), Senec. *Troad.* 521:

"cōhibe parumper ora, questusque opprime;"

and, however differently expressed (being prose), still precisely the same thought (e), Seneca, *de Vita Beata*, 27: "Ut quotiens aliquid ex illo proferetur oraculo, *intenti et compressa voce* audiatis," where we have the very INTENTI of our text, and where "*compressa voce*" is our text's ORA TENEbant.

How truly this is the meaning of the ORA TENEbant of our text is further shown, and scarcely less strikingly, **on the**

one hand by Servius's own quotation, *Georg.* 4. 483 : "tenuit-que inhians tria Cerberus ora" [neither, surely, with Servius, "kept his three faces fixed," "immobilia habuit" (a picture bordering on the ridiculous), nor "kept his three mouths closed" (literally), for he has them partially open ("inhians"), as it is right he should have them, the mouth being always partially open whether in the passions of wonder and admiration or in the expectation inseparable from attentive listening, as Val. Flacc. 5. 469 :

. . . "postquam primis inhiantia dictis
agmina, suppressumque videt iam murmur Iason,
talìa miranti propius tulit orsa tyranno ;"

Shakespeare, *King John*, 4. 4 :

"I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
the whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,
with open mouth swallowing a tailor's news,
who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
standing on slippers, which his nimble haste
had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,
told of a many thousand warlike French
that were embattled and rank'd in Kent ;"

Milton, *Par. Lost*, 5. 353 :

. . . "in himself was all his state,
more solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
on princes, when their rich retinue long
of horses led and grooms besmeared with gold
dazzles the crowd and sets them all agape ;"

Sir W. Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, 1. 17 :

"the maiden paused, as if again
she thought to catch the distant strain ;
with head upraised and look intent,
and eye and ear attentive bent,
and locks flung back and lips apart,
like monument of Grecian art,
in listening mood she seemed to stand
the guardian naiad of the strand ;"

and Mr. Conington's "lip compressed" being a mistake not merely with respect to Virgil's meaning, but with respect to the natural phenomenon, and descriptive of the *habitus*, not of a

pleased and attentive listener, but of a pugilist, or the Coryphaeus of a party—some Cromwell or some Gladstone—who throws down his bill on the table and defies you to reject it], **and on the other hand** by the general use of *solvere ora*, *resolvere ora*, *movere ora*, *aperire ora*—all plainly opposites of *tenere ora*—to express the breaking of silence, the beginning to speak. Nor is direct testimony to the same effect altogether wanting, the passage having been thus paraphrased by Sulpicius, *Anthol. Lat. Burm.* (ed. Meyer), 223. 7 :

“conticuere omnes, intentique ore loquentis
ora tenent;”

where—“*intenti ore loquentis*” expressing fully and unmistakably the intentness with which the hearers look the speaker in the face—the remaining words, viz., “*ora tenent,*” can hardly by possibility be anything else than *keep their mouths quiet*, i. e., *say nothing*.

Ora tenere is thus the Latin representative of the Greek *στομα εχειν*, equally figurative, and equally signifying to keep silence, as the two following examples sufficiently testify, Eurip. *Suppl.* 513 :

. . . σιγ', Ἀδραστ', εχε στομα,
 και μη 'πιπροσθε των εμων τους σους λογους
 θης.

Soph. *Trachin.* 976 (Senex to Hyllus) :

σιγα, τεκνον, μη κινησης
 αγριαν οδυνην πατρος ωμοφρονος.
 ζη γαρ προπετης. αλλ' ισχε δακων
 στομα σου.

And the *ORA TENEBANT* of our text is our author's usual modified repetition in the latter part of his verse—whether for the sake of the greater impressiveness, or the greater ease and fluency of versification, or the less difficult introduction of an additional thought (on this occasion, *INTENTI*), or whether for all three purposes at once—of the thought just expressed in the former part (on this occasion, *CONTICUERE*). Compare (α), Soph. *Trachin.* 976 (just quoted), where the thought *σιγα* is repeated in the same figurative form in which the thought con-

TICUERE is repeated in our text (σιγα, ισχε στομα: CONTICUERE, ORA TENEBANT), the thought δακων being added to the repetition in the Greek, in the same manner as the thought INTENTI is added to the repetition in the Latin. (**b**), Eurip. *Suppl.* 513 (just quoted), where the thought σιγα is not only repeated in the same figurative form in which the thought CONTICUERE is repeated in our text (σιγ', εχε στομα: CONTICUERE, ORA TENEBANT), but re-repeated and enlarged upon throughout the whole of the next verse. (**c**), Eurip. *Androm.* 250:

ιδου, σιωπω, κἀπιλαζυμαι στομα,

where the thought σιωπω is repeated in the same figurative form in which the thought CONTICUERE is repeated in our text: σιωπω, επιλαζυμαι στομα: CONTICUERE, ORA TENEBANT. **And** (**d**), Plochiri *Poematium dramaticum*:

σιγα, σιωπα, σφιγγε τοδε λαυρον στομα,

where the thought σιγα, already repeated in σιωπα, is re-repeated in the same figurative form in which the thought CONTICUERE is repeated in our text (σιγα, σιωπα, σφιγγε τοδε λαυρον στομα: CONTICUERE, ORA TENEBANT), the thought λαυρον being added to the re-repetition in the Greek, as the thought INTENTI is added to the repetition in the Latin. That the repetition, so manifest and unmistakable in these examples, has so long escaped detection in our text is owing to two causes: first, to the ambiguity of ORA, a word equally significant of *face* and of *mouth*; and, secondly, to the modification of the repetition by the change of time: CONTICUERE, TENEBANT—they *have* become silent and *were* holding—a change of time necessary to the full expression of the thought: *they ceased to speak and were continuing silent*.

Nor is a right interpretation of our text the sole fruit of a right understanding of the expression *tenere ora*. The interpretation of other passages, not only of ^{statu} ^{1;} of other authors also, is rectified at the same moment (**e**), *Aen.* 11. 120:

... "illi obpressi" beir
conversique oculos inter se habentes, but tenebant ;"

not they stood in silent astonishment looking at each other, and

held their faces (fixed), but *they stood in silent astonishment looking at each other, and held their mouths* (quiet), i. e. *withheld their utterance, or speech* = *said nothing*—"ora tenebant" being a modified repetition (variation) of the theme "obstupuere silentes," as ORA TENEBANT in our text is a modified repetition (variation) of the theme CONTIGUERE; and "conversi oculos inter se," a third thought thrown in between theme and variation, and attached to the former ("silentes et conversi oculos inter se obstupuere"), as INTENTI in our text is a third thought thrown in between theme and variation, and attached to the latter (ORA TENEBANT INTENTI). (*Œra Ancē,*^s 520 :

ve log. . . "defixique ora tenebant
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,"

where the meaning is: *standing fixed in one position, kept their mouths* (quiet), i. e., *said nothing, and revolved many hardships with their minds*; and where the silence referred-back-to in the words "multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant" has not been mentioned at all, if the words "defixi ora tenebant" be rightly interpreted *kept their faces fixed*. (3), Ennius, ap. Cicer. *de Divinatione*, l. 48 (ed. Orelli) :

"sic expectabat populus atque ora tenebat
rebus, utri l. agni victoria sit data regni;"

not, *the people expected and held their faces fixed*, but *the people expected in silence*. **And** (4), Val. Flacc. 4. 322 :

. . . "qua mole iacentis [Amyci]
ipse etiam expleri victor nequit, oraque longo
comminus obtutu mirans tenet;"

where, far more than either in our text or in any of the just cited examples, *ora tenere* might (on account of the superadded "obtutu") be suspected, meaning *to hold the face fixed* (*admiring, holds his face fixed in a long gaze*); but where, nevertheless, the "obtutu ora" ^{rem.}ht (on this Statius [*Theb.* l. 490 :

t. once—of "stupet omine tanto
defix. his occasi. na oracula Phoebi
agnos. que datos vocalibus antris.
obtutu gelida just qu. mit, lactusque per artu-
horror iit "

(plainly incapable of being understood of the face at all, and equally plainly nothing more than an emphatic “*obtutu ora tenet*”) forbids us to find other meaning than *keeps silence in a long gaze of admiration—gazes long in silent admiration*. And so, precisely, “*obtutu tenet ora*,” *Aen.* 7. 249 :

“*talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus
obtutu tenet ora, soloque immobilis haeret,
intentos volvens oculos*”

—the very passage which has been put forward as demonstrative that the expression *ora tenere* signifies *to hold the face fixed*—is not *holds his face fixed in a gaze, rolling his eyes intently*, but (as sufficiently shown by the examples just now commented upon, viz. : *Val. Flacc.* 4. 322, and *Stat. Theb.* 1. 490) *holds his mouth fixed in a gaze, rolling his eyes intently*, i. e., *gazes with fixed and silent mouth, and rolling eyes intent*. Or, if to any one those examples be unsatisfactory, let him compare *Stat. Theb.* 11. 49 :

“*stabat in Argolicae ferrato margine turris
egregius lituo dextri Mavortis Enipeus
hortator; sed nunc miseris dabat utile signum,
suadebatque fugam, et tutos in castra receptus;
cum subitum obliquo descendit ab aere vulnus,
urgentisque sonum laeva manus aure retenta est
sicut erat; fugit in vacuas iam spiritus auras,
iam gelida ora tacent, carmen tuba sola peregit,*”

where there is no ambiguity, and no matter in which of its three senses—*mouth, face, head*—“*ora*” be understood, not *fixedness of feature* but only *silence* can by any possibility be meant; just as not *fixedness of feature*, but only *silence, profound silence* can by any possibility be meant in the exact Ovidian parallel, I might almost say repetition, of our text, *ex Ponto*, 2. 5. 47 :

“*cum tu desisti, mortaliae ora quierunt,
clausaque non longa conticuere mora,*”

where “*conticuere*” is the modified repetition (variation) of the theme “*ora quierunt*,” as the *ORA TENEbant* of our text is the modified repetition (variation) of the theme *CONTICUERE*; and where to the variation are added the thoughts “*clausa*” and “*non longa mora*” in the same way as to the variation in our text is added the thought *INTENTI*.

With the active *tenere ora*, *premere ora*, compare the passive *ora quiescere*, *ora requiescere*; Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 5. 47 (just quoted):

“cum tu desisti, mortaliaque ora quierunt;”

Aen. 6. 102:

“ut primum cessit furor, et rabida ora quierunt;”

ibid. 6. 300:

“ut primum placati animi et trepida ora quierunt;”

Propert. 3. 10. 9:

“Alcyonum positis requiescant ora querelis,
inerepet absumptum nec sua mater Ityn”

—in which passages “quierunt” and “requiescant” express *quiet, rest from action*, exactly as “quievit,” last word of the third book, expresses *quiet, rest from action*; with this only difference, that, the subject of “quierunt” and “requiescant” being “ora,” quiet of the mouth only is meant; whereas in the third book, the subject of “quievit” being Aeneas, quiet both of mouth and limbs is meant: *Aeneas not only ceased to speak, but ceased to gesticulate*; and the thought which so appropriately and impressively closes the third book is neither, with Burmann and Wunderlich, “somno se tradidit,” nor with Wagner in his edition of Heyne (1832), “narrare desiit,” but with Wagner (1861)—studiedly, however imperfectly, translating, as is his wont, from my “Twelve Years’ Voyage” (part 2, p. 53), and my paper in the *Goettingen Philologus* (vol. 11, p. 480)—“Non cubitum ivit, sed finita narratione rediit ad habitum compositum et quietum.” How much more in ancient times than at present the notion of motion was contained in the notion of speech appears less, perhaps, from the so frequent expressions: *tenere ora*, *premere ora*, *εχειν στομα*, and their opposites: *solvere ora*, *resolvere ora*, *movere ora*, *aperire ora*, *διαρειν το στομα*, *λυειν το στομα*, *ανοιγειν το στομα* (for similar expressions are not uncommon either in our own or other modern languages), than from the strong pictures of immobility of mouth, face, and even of the whole person, so often presented to us by ancient writers along with the picture of

silence. Some of these pictures, viz., *Aen.* 11. 120; 8. 520; 7. 249, will be found cited above; another is *Aen.* 6. 469:

“ illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur
quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.”

Compare also Ovid, *Met.* 13. 538:

. . . “ obmutuit illa dolore,
et pariter vocem lacrymasque introrsus abortus
devorat ipse dolor, duroque simillima saxo
torpet.”

Ibid. 6. 301:

. . . “ orba resedit
exanimes inter natos natasque virumque,
dirigitque malis. nullos movet aura capillos.
in vultu color est sine sanguine. lumina moestis
stant immota genis. nihil est in imagine vivi.
ipsa quoque interius cum duro lingua palato
congelat, et venae desistunt posse moveri.
nec flecti cervix, nec brachia reddere gestus,
nec pos ire potest: intra quoque viscera saxum est.”

Philemon, *Fragm.* 16 (*Anthol. Pal.*):

Εγὼ λίθον μὲν τὴν Νιοβὴν, μα τοὺς θεοὺς,
οὐδε ποτ' ἐπεισθὴν, οὐδὲ νῦν πεισθησομαι
ὡς τοῦτ' ἐγενετ' ἀνθρώπος: ὑπο δὲ τῶν κακῶν
τῶν συμπεσοντῶν τοῦ τε συμβαντος παθούσ
οὐδὲν λαλῆσαι δυναμένη πρὸς οὐδενᾶ
προσηγορευθῆ δια το μὴ φωνεῖν λίθος.

Paul. Silentiar., *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 588:

Δαμοχαρὶς μοιρὴς πυματὴν ὑπεδυσάτο σιγὴν
φευ το καλὸν μουσῆς βαρβιτον ηρεμεί.

In this last, however, the quiet, rest, or stirring no more, which accompanies and completes the silence of the musician, is not the musician's own, but his instrument's.

CONTICUERE. “Conticuerunt, non tacuerunt, quia omnes,” La Cérda. That CONTICUERE expresses not that they were all silent *together*, but that the silence of one and all (of the OMNES) was *deep and perfect*, appears **firstly**, from “conticuit” being the very word used (α), in the last verse of the third book to express the silence of Aeneas—of Aeneas singly and alone:

“ *conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit ;*”

and (**b**), in verse 54 of the sixth book, to express the silence of the Sibyl singly and alone (“*talia fata conticuit*”) ; as well as the very word used (**c**), by Apuleius to express the similar silence, or ceasing to speak, of Psyche, *Met.* 4. 87 : “*Sic profata virgo conticuit,*” not to insist on its being the very word (**d**), by which Statius, *Theb.* 8. 267, expresses the silence on board a ship at sea in the dead of night :

“*sic ubi per fluctus uno ratis obruta somno
conticuit, tantique maris secunda iuventus
mandavere animas, solus stat puppe magister
pervigil, inscriptaque deus qui navigat alno ;*”

and the very word (**e**) ; by which Severus (see below) sets before us the deep silence observed by Latin Eloquence mourning the death of Cicero ; **secondly**, from the well-known general use of the particle *con* to intensify the action of an individual ; **thirdly**, from the little occasion there was that the idea expressed by the very next word should be anticipated ; **and**, more than all, from “*conticuere*” being the precise word used by Ovid (*ex Ponto*, 2. 5. 47) to express the complete silence of his friend Salanus’s one only mouth :

“*cum tu desisti, mortaliaque ora quierunt,
clausaque non longa conticuere mora.*”

But CONTICUERE is not merely *they were entirely silent*, it is something more ; it expresses the passage from the state of speaking to the state of silence : *they have become entirely silent*, or, which is the same thing, *they have entirely ceased to speak*, exactly as 3. 718, “*conticuit tandem,*” *at length he has become entirely silent*, or, which is the same thing, *has entirely ceased to speak*. Compare *Eleg. in obit. Maccen.* 52 :

“*postquam victrices conticuere tubae*”

[*after the trumpets have entirely ceased to sound*]. Severus, *de morte Ciceronis Fragm., Anthol. Lat.*, Burm. (ed. Meyer), 124. 10 :

“*abstulit una dies aevi decus, ietaque luctu
conticuit Latiae tristis Facundia linguæ*”

[*Latin Eloquence, sad and mourning, has entirely ceased to speak*].

Strong in itself, and no matter where placed, CONTICUERE is doubly strong owing to its position before, not after, its nominative; still stronger owing to its position, first word in the verse; and stronger still, owing to the verse in which it is first word being first verse of the book.

INTENTI. Not, with Conington and the commentators generally, "to be taken adverbially and as part of the predicate," but to be taken adjectively and as equivalent to a predicate: *intent*, i. e., *being intent*: *the whole company ceased talking, and being intent was silent*, exactly equivalent to *was intent and silent*; INTENTI being as thoroughly in form and more thoroughly in sense an adjective than was ever any one of Horace's four unquestioned and unquestionable adjectives, "*invidus*," "*iracundus*," "*iners*" and "*vinosus*." Settled the grammar, what is the meaning of the term? Of course, *intent*, Germ. *gespannt*; both of them, terms expressive of a state intermediate between the state expressed by *lentus* and that expressed by *gnavus* or *sedulus*; that intermediate state between slack and full-drawn, which a harper, speaking of his harp, might designate by the term *strung*; that intermediate state between remiss and excited, in which, according to Roman historians, Roman soldiers, prepared and on the *qui vive*, used to await the enemy; Liv. 30. 10: "*Parati atque intenti hostium adventum opperiebantur*." Except for this word, it might have been supposed that Aeneas took advantage of a hush or lull in the conversation—a moment of accidental silence—to begin his story. This word, informing us that when Aeneas began, the minds of the company were already in a fitting state to hear, prevents the mistake. All present had heard the queen's command, and perceiving it was about to be obeyed, had become silent and—not *attenti*, for, no word having yet been spoken, there was as yet nothing to attend to, nothing to justify an *ad*, but—INTENTI, *intent*, *strung*, if I may so say, not to *make*, but to *hear*, the music.

2.

INDE

This word and the change from perfect to imperfect in the preceding verse point out the precise time when Aeneas began to speak, viz., *after* the company had ceased talking, and *while* they were silent and on the *qui vive*. Had *cum* been used, as it might have been used by an inferior writer endeavouring to express the thought which Virgil has expressed by INDE, the meaning might have been supposed to be that it was only *when* Aeneas began his narrative the company ceased to talk and became silent and intent. INDE makes **[**say rather *should make*, for have we not

“ all were attentive to the godlike man,
when from his lofty couch he thus began,”

and

“ each eye was fixed, each lip compressed,
when thus began the heroic guest” ?]

such misapprehension impossible : *all have entirely ceased to talk, and were continuing silent and intent* ; INDE (*then—thereafter—next*) TORO PATER AENEAS SIC ORSUS AB ALTO. ⁴

3-6.

INFANDUM—QUIS

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] DOLOREM. TROIANAS . . . FUI—QUIS ■■■ Haeckerm. (Muetzel, 1852); Ladewig.

[*punct.*] DOLOREM, [or;] TROIANAS . . . FUI. QUIS ■■■ All editors previous to the appearance of Haeckermann's observations in Muetzel's *Zeitschr.* ; Wagner (1841), *Lect. Virg.* and *Praest.*, the former containing the author's very weak defence of the ancient punctuation.

[*punct.*] DOLOREM. TROIANAS . . . FUI, QUIS ■■■ Haupt ; Ribbeck.

3-5.

INFANDUM REGINA IUBES RENOVARE DOLOREM
TROIANAS UT OPES ET LAMENTABILE REGNUM
ERUERINT DANAI

Haeckermann (Muetzel's *Zeitschrift*) separates TROIANAS, &c., from the preceding by a period placed at DOLOREM, and Ribbeck has followed the example—a bad example, as I think. No doubt it may be urged in favour of his view that Aeneas's proem, thus confined to a single verse, becomes more emphatic, more modest, more graceful, and more touching; and the woes and fall of Troy—beginning a new sentence and a new line, and in the objective case, preceding the tears of the Myrmidons and Ulysses' soldiery—occupy a more dignified position than tacked to the tail of Aeneas's grief. Compare Silius's imitation, 2. 650 (of the fall of Saguntum) :

“ quis diros urbis casus, laudandaque monstra,
et fidei poenas, et tristia fata piorum
temperet evolvens lacrymis? vix Punica fletu
cessassent castra, ac miserescere nescius hostis,”

where the tears and their object occupy the same relative position as, according to Haeckermann's punctuation, they occupy in our text. But I strongly incline to the other punctuation given in the *Var. Lect.* above, (1), on account of the monotony of three successive verses terminated each by a period. (2), because three successive verses terminated each by a period are, when first verses of a book, worse than monotonous; disappoint the reader impatient to get on; make him feel as if he had stumbled three times on the threshold, or as if the door had been shut three times in his face. (3), because at 9. 66, where see Rem., “dolor” followed by “qua temptat ratione aditus” affords a very exact parallel for DOLOREM followed by UT ERUERINT DANAI TROIANAS OPES, not to speak of the so similar structure, 2. 120 :

"obstupere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo."

12. 657:

. . . "mussat rex ipse Latinus,
quos generos vocet, aut quae sese ad foedera flectat."

And (4), because Statius's imitation, *Thib.* 5. 29 (ed. Müller):

. . . "immania vulnera, rector,
integrare iubes, Furias et Lemnon et atris
arma inserta toris debellatosque pudendo
ense mares,"

is plainly an imitation not of DOLOREM separated from the sequel by a period, but of DOLOREM explained by TROIANAS UT OPES—the "immania vulnera, rector, integrare iubes" of Statius corresponding as exactly as possible to Virgil's INFANDUM, REGINA, IUBES RENOVARE DOLOREM; and the "Furias, et Lemnon et aretis arma inserta toris debellatosque pudendo ense mares" of Statius being his explanation of "immania vulnera," exactly as the TROIANAS UT OPES ET LAMENTABILE REGNUM ERUERINT DANAI, QUAEQUE IPSE MISERRIMA VIDI, ET QUORUM PARS MAGNA FUI of Virgil is his explanation of INFANDUM DOLOREM.

INFANDUM. The English and German translators (with the exception of Dryden and Sir J. Denham, who never even so much as attempt the true meaning of any of Virgil's words) agree in rendering INFANDUM, *ineffable, that cannot be told*: "untellyble" (Douglas); "cannot be told" (Surrey); "past utterance severe" (Beresford); "unaussprechlichen" (Voss). So also Forbiger, in his note on the passage: "Qui tantus est ut verbis exprimi non possit." Such, however, is not the meaning of the word, but, primarily, *that should not be told, that ought not to be told; too horrible, too terrible, to be told*; and, therefore, secondarily, *horrible, cruel, agonising*. Compare *Aen.* 1. 255: "navibus (infandum!) amissis." 2. 132: "iamque dies infanda aderat." 2. 84: "insontem, infando indicio." 4. 85: "infandum si fallere possit amorem." 4. 613: "infandum caput." Nay, so little is infandus *ineffable* that it is even joined with memoratu by Apul. *Met.* 10. 221: "Vocatoque uno et altero, ac deinde pluribus conservis, demonstrant *infan-*

dam memoratu hebetis iumentu gulam" [not, surely, ineffable to be told, but horrible to be told].

The Greeks—always so much less precise in their language than the Romans—seem to have used their *αρρητος* and *αφατος* in both senses, in that of *ineffabilis* no less than in that of *infandus*. Compare Soph. *Antig.* 555 (ed. Brunck):

ANT. σὺ μὲν γὰρ εἰλου ζῆν' ἐγὼ δὲ, κατθανεῖν.

ISM. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρρητοῖς γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις

(where *αρρητος* is simply *untold, unsaid*). Soph. *Ajar*, 773 :

τοτ' ἀντιφώνει δεινὸν ἀρρητὸν τ' ἐπὶ.

Soph. *Oed. R.* 464 : *αρρητ' αρρητων φονιους τελεσαντα χερσιν* (in both which last instances *αρρητος* is *infandous*). Eurip. *Hec.* 705 :

αρρητ', ἀνωνομαστα, θαυμάτων περ,

οὐχ' ὅσια τ', οὐδ' ἀνεκτα

θ

(where it does not clearly appear in which of the two senses the word is used). Eurip. *Ion*, 782 :

πὺς φης; ἀφατον ἀφατον ἀναυδῆτον

λόγον ἐμοὶ θροεῖς.

[quid ais? infandam infandam inauditam

rem mihi narras].

Soph. *Oed. R.* 1313 :

ὦ σκοτοῦ

νεφὸς ἐμὸν ἀποτροπὸν, ἐπιπλομενὸν ἀφατον

ἀδαματόν τε καὶ δυσουρίστον.

Soph. *Oed. C.* 1462 :

ἰδε μάλ᾽ ἀμεγας εἰρεπεται

κτυπος, οὐδ' ἀφατος

Διοβολος

—in which three last places *αφατος* is no less ambiguous.

There are other Greek equivalents for *infandus*. (1), A less ambiguous one than either *αρρητος* or *αφατος* is *απορρητος* (*forbidden, renounced*; therefore, *to be regarded with horror*), as Aristaen.

1. 16 : Ερωτι περιπεσων απορρητω, κατ' εμαυτον εφασκον απορων. (2), Another is *δυσωνυμος*, as Apollon. Rhod. 2. 258

(Phineus assuring Jason that the gods will not be displeased at his expelling the Harpies):

... ἴστω δὲ δυσωνυμος, ἡ μ' ἐλαχεν, κηρ,
καὶ τοδ' ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἀλαον νεφος, οἱ θ' ἀπενερθεν
δαιμονες, οἱ μὴδ' ὠδε θανοντι περ εὐμενεοιεν.
ὥς οὐτις θεοθεν χολος ἐσσεταί εἰνεκ' ἀρωγῆς.

(3), Also *δυσφραδης*, *αποφρας*, and *δυσφημος*, as Eurip. *Hec.* 193 (ed. Porson), (Hecuba to Polyxena):

αὐδῶ, καὶ, δυσφημοὺς φάμας,
ἀγγελλουσ' Ἀργείων δοξαί
ψηφῶ τὰς σὰς περὶ μοὶ ψυχὰς.

And, finally, (4), another is (for the Greek language is as endlessly rich and various as it is little precise) *ουλομενους*, as Hom. *Od.* 11. 407:

ἀλλὰ μοὶ Αἰγισθος, τεύξας θάνατον τε μορον τε,
ἐκτα συν ουλομένην ἀλοχῶ, οἰκόνδε καλέσσας,
δειπνίσσας,

with which compare Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 266:

"ipse Mycenaeus magnorum ductor Achivum
coniugis infandae prima inter lumina dextra
oppetiit; devictam Asiam subsedit adulter,"

where our author himself has very plainly selected *infandus* as the most fitting representative of the *ουλομενους* of his prototype, thus furnishing the hint—not, so far as I know, yet taken by any Latin translator of the *Iliad*—to translate the *ουλομενην* of the second verse of that poem, not by *perniciosa*, but precisely by *infandam*.

The secondary meaning of *infandus*, viz., *horrible*, *abominable*, follows the word into the English, as Howell: "This *infandous* custom of swearing, I observe, reigns in England lately, more than anywhere else."

5-6.

QUAEQUE IPSE MISERRIMA VIDI
ET QUORUM PARS MAGNA FUI

QUAEQUE is epexegetic and limitative; the meaning of Aeneas being, not that he will describe the taking of Troy *and* the miseries he had himself witnessed, but that he will describe *so much* of the taking of Troy and its miseries *as* he had himself witnessed.

The view thus suggested by the grammatical structure of the introductory sentence is confirmed by the narrative itself; for Aeneas, having briefly mentioned the building of the wooden horse and the concealment of the Grecian navy at Tenedos, immediately proceeds to say that he was one of those who issued out of the gates rejoicing, as soon as the news of the departure of the Greeks was bruited abroad; that he saw the horse, and was present at the argument respecting what should be done with it; that he saw Laocoon fling his spear against it, and heard it sound hollow; that his attention was drawn off by the sudden appearance of Sinon, of the whole of whose story he was an ear-witness; that he was one of those who agreed to spare Sinon's life; that he saw the two serpents come across the sea, and destroy Laocoon and his two sons; that he assisted to break down the wall in order to admit the horse into the city; that Hector appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that the city was on fire and could not be saved—advised him to fly, and committed the Penates to his charge; that on awaking he saw, from the roof of the house, the city in flames; that, flying to arms, he met Pantheus, the priest of Apollo, escaping from the citadel, with his gods' images and the other sacred objects of his religion; that Pantheus informed him that armed men were pouring out of the horse, that Sinon was a traitor and had fired the city, and that the whole Grecian army was entering at the gates; that he united himself with a few friends

whom he happened to meet, and, falling in with Androgeus and a party of Greeks, they slew them every one, and clothed themselves with their spoils; that, thus disguised, they for a while carried terror and death everywhere, but at length, in attempting to rescue Cassandra from a party who were dragging her from the temple, were discovered to be Trojans, and attacked by the Greeks, while the Trojans, taking them for Greeks, overwhelmed them with missiles from the top of the temple; that, the greater number of his party having thus perished, he with the small remainder was attracted by the tumult to Priam's palace, from the roof of which he beheld the door forced, the building set on fire, the women and the aged king driven for shelter to an altar in an interior court, and the king himself slain at the altar in the blood of his son; that, his companions having leaped in despair to the ground, or given themselves up to the flames, he was left alone; that, descending and happening to see Helen where she was hiding, he was about to sacrifice her to the Manes of his country, when his arm was stayed by Venus, who commanded him to seek out his aged parent and his wife and child, and with them fly instantly from Troy; and who, at the same time taking off the veil which clouded his mortal vision, showed him the gods actively and personally engaged in the destruction of the city; that, having returned to his father's house, he saw the encouraging omens of a tongue of fire on the head of Iulus, and a star shooting in the direction of Ida; that he escaped out of the city bearing his father on his shoulders, and leading Iulus by the hand; that Creusa, following behind, was lost on the road; that, returning to seek her, he found his father's house filled with Greeks, and on fire; that, extending his search everywhere, he returned to the citadel, and saw Phenix and Ulysses guarding captives and booty in the temple of Juno; that, as he called aloud upon Creusa through the streets and houses, her shade presented itself, and informing him that she was provided for by the mother of the gods, enjoined him to abandon all search for her, and proceed upon his divine mission to found a new empire in Hesperia, where another, and a royal, spouse awaited him; that accordingly he returned

to the place where he had concealed his father and son and domestics, and found there a great number of fugitives from the burning city, collected and prepared to share his fortunes; and that with them and his father and son he bade adieu for ever to Troy, and made good his retreat to the mountains.

Nothing can be plainer than that this is a mere *personal* narrative of one of the principal sufferers; every circumstance related, with the single exception of the concealment of the Grecian fleet at Tenedos, having been witnessed by the relator, or heard by him on the spot from Pantheus or Sinon. This is, I think, a sufficient answer to those critics who have objected to Virgil's account of the taking of Troy, that it is by no means a full, complete, and strategical account of the taking of a great city; that many circumstances which may be supposed to have happened, and which indeed must have happened on such an occasion, have been either wholly omitted or left unexplained; and that, in short, Virgil in his second book of the *Æneid* has evinced his infinite inferiority in strategical science to his great prototype and master, Homer. Many such objections have been urged from time to time by various critics; and, amongst others, by a celebrated personage whose opinion on any matter connected with military tactics must be received with the greatest deference—I mean the Emperor Napoleon, whose observations on this subject are to be found in a volume published after his death under the following title: “*Précis des Guerres de César, par Napoléon, écrit par M. Marchand, à l'île Sainte Hélène, sous la dictée de l'Empereur; suivi de plusieurs fragmens inédits*”: Paris, 1836; 1 vol. 8vo.

It is not my intention to enter into a detailed examination or refutation of all Napoleon's objections (although I shall probably in the course of these Remarks have occasion to refer specially to more than one of them), but simply to state that the whole of his critique is founded on the assumption that Virgil intended to give, or ought to have given, such a full and complete account of the taking of Troy as was given by Homer of the operations before its walls—such an account as might have been given by a historian, or laid before a directory

by a commander-in-chief. On the contrary, it is to be borne carefully in mind that, Homer's subject being the misfortunes brought by the wrath of Achilles upon the army besieging Troy, that poet could scarcely have given too particular or strategical an account of all that happened before the Trojan walls; while, Virgil's subject being the adventures and fortunes of one man (as sufficiently evidenced by the very title and exordium of his work), the taking of Troy was to be treated of only so far as connected with the personal history of that hero. Virgil, therefore, with his usual judgment, introduces the taking of Troy, not as a part of the action of his poem, but as an episode; and—still more effectually to prevent the attention from being too much drawn away from his hero, and too much fixed upon that great and spirit-stirring event—puts the account of it into the mouth of the hero himself, whom, with the most wonderful art, he represents either as a spectator or actor in so many of the incidents of that memorable night that on the one hand the account of those incidents is the history of the adventures of his hero, and on the other, the adventures of his hero form a rapid *précis* of the taking of Troy.

Even if it had been otherwise consistent with the plan of the *Aeneid* to have given a full and complete account of the taking of Troy, and to have described, for instance (as required by Napoleon), how the other Trojan chiefs signalised in the *Iliad* were occupied during that fatal night, and how each defended his own quarter of the city with the troops under his command, such a full account must necessarily either have rendered Aeneas's narrative too long to have been delivered "*inter mensas laticemque Lyæum*;" or, to make room for that additional matter, some part of the present story should have been left out; and then, I ask, which of the incidents would the reader be satisfied should have been omitted?—that of Laocoon, the unceasing theme and admiration of all ages, that shuddering picture of a religious prodigy?—that of Sinon, on which the whole plot hangs?—that of the vision, of the inimitable "*tempus erat*," the "*moestissimus Hector*"?—that of the Priameian priestess, "*ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina*

frustra (lumina, nam teneras arcebant vineula palmas)" ?—that of Neoptolemus blazing in burnished brass, "qualis ubi in lucem coluber"?—or Hecuba and her daughters flying to the sheltering altar, "praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae"?—or the good old king, cased in the long-unused armour, and slipping and slain in his Polites' blood?—or Venus staying her son's hand, lifted in vengeance against the fatal spring of all these sorrows?—or the innoxious flame which, playing about the temples of Iulus, foreshowed him the father of a line of kings?—or the "ter frustra comprehensa imago" of the for ever lost Creusa? Which of all these passages should have been omitted, to make room for the additional matter required by the imperial critic? What reader will consent to give up one, even one, of these most precious pearls, these conspicuous stars in, perhaps, the most brilliant coronet that ever graced a poet's brow? And even if the reader's assent were gained, if he were content with less of Æneas and more of the other Homeric Trojans, with less of the romance and more of the art of war, would such an account have been equally interesting to the assembled guests and the love-caught queen? How coldly would a story in which Æneas played a subordinate part have fallen upon Dido's ear? How would not her thought have wandered from the thing told to the teller? There was but one way to guard against the double danger that Dido would forget the story in thinking of Æneas, and that the reader would forget Æneas in thinking of the story; and Virgil adopted that way. He made Æneas speak of himself—QUÆQUE IPSE MISERRIMA VIDI, ET QUORUM PARS MAGNA FUI. With what effect he spoke, we learn in the beginning of the fourth book ("haerent infixi pectore vultus verbaque"), and Dido herself testifies—"heu, quibus ille iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!" Or, applying the words of another great master of the human heart (Shakespeare, *Othello*, 1. 3):

. . . "his story being done,
 she gave him for his pains a world of sighs:
 she swore—in faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange;
 'twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful;

she wished she had not heard it ; yet she wish'd
that heaven had made her such a man ; she thank'd him,
and bade him, if he had a friend that lov'd her,
he should but teach him how to tell his story,
and that would woo her."

But let us suppose that the modern commander is right, and the great ancient poet and philosopher wrong ; that the error lies not in Napoleon's total misconception, not only of Virgil's general scope and design, but of his meaning in the plainest passages (as, for instance, in the account of the situation of Anchises' house, and of the number of men contained in the horse) ; let us suppose, I say, that the error lies not in Napoleon's misconception of the poet, but in the poet's ignorance of heroic warfare ; and that the episode does, indeed, sin against military tactique (but see Rem. on verse 608) : yet where, in the whole compass of poetry, is there such another episode ? so many heart-stirring incidents grouped together, representing in one vivid picture the fall of the most celebrated city in the world, and at the same time, and *pari passu*, the fortunes of one of the most famous heroes of all antiquity, the son of Venus, the ancestor of Augustus, the first founder of Imperial Rome ? spoken, too, by the hero himself, at a magnificent banquet, and in presence not only of the princes of his own nation (the partners of his sufferings, and the witnesses of the truth of all he related), but of the whole Carthaginian court, and at the request of the young and artless queen, who, already admiring his god-like person and beauty, lost her heart more and more at every word he uttered—at every turn of griefs, which,

. . . "so lively shown,
made her think upon her own."

Alas, alas, for the cold-blooded criticism which could detect, or, having detected, could dwell upon, errors of military tactique in this flood of living poetry ; which would chain the poet with the fetters of the historian ; which, frigid and unmoved, could occupy itself with the observation of cracks and flaws in the scenic plaster, while the most magnificent drama ever presented to enraptured audience was being enacted !

6-9.

QUIS TALIA FANDO

MYRMIDONUM ~~DOLOPUMVE~~ AUT DURI MILES ULIXI
TEMPERET A LACRYMIS ET IAM NOX HUMIDA CAELO
PRAECIPITAT

QUIS TALIA FANDO . . . TEMPERET A LACRYMIS? Compare Eurip.,
Fragm. ex *Aeolo*, 23 :

τις αν κλυων τωνδ' ουκ αν εκβαλοι δακρυ ;

Eurip., *Hec.* 296 (ed. Porson) :

τις εστιν ουτω στερρος ανθρωπου φυσις,
ητις γωνων των και μακρων οδυρματων
κλυουσα θρηγους, ουκ αν εκβαλοι δακρυ ;

Eurip., *Iph. in Aul.* 791 (ed. Fix) :

τις αρα μ' ευπλοκαμους κομας
ρυμα δακρυσειν τανυσας
πατριδος ολλυμενας απολωτιει
δια σε, των κυκνου δολιχαυχενος γονον ;

Jacoponus, *Sequentia de septem doloribus Mariae Virginis* ("Stabat
mater dolorosa") :

" quis est homo qui non fletet
matrem Christi si videret
in tanto supplicio ?
quis non posset contristari,
piam matrem contemplari
dolentem cum filio ?"

Metast., *Ciro*, 1. 6 :

" chi potrebbe a quo' detti
temperarsi dal pianto ?"

Also Sil. 2. 650, quoted in Rem. on 2. 3.

DURI ULIXI. Stubborn, hardened, and so indomitable.
Compare 4. 247 : "Duri Atlantis," and 3. 94 : "Dardanidae
duri."

ET IAM NOX HUMIDA CAELO PRAECIPITAT. "Nox descendit
in oceanum, quasi cursu per medium caelum ab occidente ad

orientem facto," Heyne. "Sol subit in oceanum occidentalem, nox ex eodem oceano occidentali oritur," Peerlkamp. No, no; that in the opinion of the ancients the night no less than the day rises in the east and sets in the west is placed beyond all manner of doubt by the reason assigned by Sol to Phaethon why he could delay no longer, but must forthwith proceed on his journey, Ovid, *Met.* 2. 142 :

" dum loquor, Hesperio positas in littore metas
humida nox tetigit."

The picture presented by our text is therefore **not** that of the night setting in the east, in which case not only would there have been no flight of Nox before Sol, but there would on the contrary have been the very obvious danger of a collision between the chariots of the two deities—in plain terms you would have had day and night not succeeding each other, but meeting each other, and in the same place at the same time—but the picture is of the night setting in the west, the great hotel or sleeping quarters of day, night, Aurora, sun, and moon, and all the host of heaven. See Rem. on "ruit oceano nox," 2. 250.

PRAECIPITAT, *i. e.*, "fugit praeceps" (as explained by Virgil himself, 4. 565 :

" non fugis hinc praeceps dum praecipitare potestas ?"),

and equally applicable to day and to night. Compare Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 55 : "His autem de rebus, sol me ille admonuit, ut brevior essem, qui ipse iam *praecipitans*, me quoque haec praecipitem paene evolvere coegit." Liv. 4. 9 : "*Praecipitique* iam die curare corpora milites iubet" (see Rem. on 1. 749). Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3. 25 : "Multi iam menses transierant, et hiems iam *praecipitaverat*" [winter was already over].

While NOX PRAECIPITAT is "night sets," "nox ruit," 2. 250 (where see Rem.), and 6. 539, is "night rises." What a freakish thing is language! No two words can come much nearer to each other in general meaning, and yet they are used to express two things as directly opposed as white is to black, east to west, day to night! Stay; have we not *altum mare* and *altum caelum*?

13.

INCIPIAM

Not *I will begin*, but *I will undertake*, or *take in hand*; **first**, because although it might, strictly speaking, be quite correct for Virgil—having just stated (verse 2) that Aeneas *began* to speak (ORSUS) with the words INFANDUM REGINA IUBES, &c.—to cause Aeneas almost instantly afterwards to say that he *began* his story with the words FRACI BELLO, &c., yet it would be highly unpoetical, and evince a barrenness of thought and expression quite foreign to Virgil. **Secondly**, because it is evidently the intention of Aeneas not merely to *begin*, but briefly to tell the *whole* story, as it is no less evidently the intention of Pliny, where he writes to Tacitus in the very words of Aeneas, “*quanquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam*,” not merely to begin, but to give a complete account from beginning to end of what he himself saw and suffered in the eruption of Vesuvius. **Thirdly**, because the very word *begin* involves the idea of a long story, and thus, however true in point of fact, contradicts the intention expressed by BREVITER (verse 11).

I, therefore, understand INCIPIAM to be here used (as in *Aen.* 10. 876) in its primary and etymological meaning of *undertaking*, *taking in hand* (*in-capio*); so understood, it harmonises with ORSUS, with Aeneas’s intention of telling the whole story, with BREVITER, and with the immediately preceding words, QUANQUAM ANIMUS MEMINISSE HORRET, &c. Compare Lucr. 1. 50 : “Disserere incipiam” [not *begin* or *commence*, but *undertake*, *take in hand*, *attempt*, *to discuss*]. Also Tibull. 4. 1. 1 :

. . . “*quanquam me cognita virtus
terret, ut infirmæ nequeant subsistere vires,
incipiam tamen;*”

and Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 92 :

“*denique sit finis quaerendi; quoque habeas plus,
pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
incipias, parto quod avebas*”

[in which latter passage the difficulty pointed out by Mr. John Murray ("Original views of passages in the life and writings of the Poet-philosopher of Venusia :—" Dublin, 1851) in the expression "*incipias finire laborem parto*"—hitherto somewhat absurdly understood to mean : "begin to end your labour now that you have gained your object"—is to be got rid of not by interpreting "*finire*" and "*parto*" in the manner proposed by Mr. Murray, but simply and at once by restricting "*incipias*" to its genuine and legitimate sense of *setting about, taking in hand*]. Compare also Virgil himself, *Aen.* 6. 493 :

. . . "*inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes*"

[not, *begins* with a shout and ends with a squeak, but *attempting* to shout, they only squeak]. *Ecl.* 5. 10 :

ME. "*incipe*, Mopse prior, si quos aut Phyllidis ignes
aut Alconis habes laudes aut iurgia Codri.
incipe ; pascentes servabit Tityrus haedos.

MO. immo haec, in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi
carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notavi,
experiar"

(where we have not only *incipere* in the sense of undertake, but *experiri* used as a variation of or equivalent for *incipere*). Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 15 : "Britannico iussit exsurgeret, progressusque in medium, cantum aliquem *inciperet*" [*take in hand some song, undertake some song*]. Also Ter. *Andr.* 1. 3. 13 :

"nam *inceptio* est amentium, haud amantium ;"

and Id. *ib.* 5. 1. 17 :

"nuptiarum gratia haec sunt ficta atque *incepta* omnia ;"

and 3. 2. 12 :

. . . "*itane tandem idoneus*
tibi videor esse quem tam aperte fallere incipias dolis ?"

Val. Flacc. 6. 123 :

"namque ubi iam viresque aliae, notosque refutat
arcus, et *inceptus* iam lancea temnit heriles,
magnanimis mos ductus avis, haud segnia mortis
iura pati."

Coripp. Johann. 3. 52 :

" praecipitur placidis Liberatus dicere verbis.
paruit ille celer, plena sic voce locutus :
' Nitor, summe ducum, causas narrare malorum
et iussis parere tuis. dum dicere tento,
flamma nocens surgit, gelidus praecordia sanguis
turbat, et attentae vix prodit fabula linguae.'"

And, finally, Hom. *Il.* 3. 99 (Menelaus speaking) :

. επει κακα πολλα πεποσθε,
εινικ' εμης εριδος, και Αλεξανδρου ενεκ' αρχης

(where αρχης is *incepti*, in the sense of *undertaking*).

Almost exactly corresponding to ORSUS . . . INCIPIAM in the passage before us is "adorta . . . orsa," *Aen.* 7. 386.

That our own English *begin* had originally and primarily a similar signification, and meant not to *commence*, but to *undertake*, appears both from its German origin (viz., "beginnen," *to undertake*, as Schiller, *Die Piccolom.* 1. 3 :

" er würde freiheit mir und leben kosten,
und sein verwegenes *beginnen* nur
beschleunigen"),

and from the use made of the term, not only by the earliest English writers (as Robert of Gloucester :

" that Eneas *bigan* hys ofspring to Lumbardie first bring"),

but by Milton, no mean part of the excellence of whose poetry consists in the frequent employment of ordinary and current terms in primitive and obsolete, and therefore extraordinary meanings ; see *Sams. Agonist.* 274 :

. . . . " if he aught *begin*,
how frequent to desert him, and at last
to hoap ingratitude on worthiest deeds!"

INCIPIAM—first word of the verse to which it belongs, separated from the remainder of the verse by a complete pause, and constituting alone and by itself the apodosis referred to by the whole of the long preceding protasis SI . . . REFUGIT—is in the highest degree emphatic. See Rem. on 2. 246.

13-17.

FRACTI BELLO FATISQUE REPULSI
 DUCTORES DANAUM TOT IAM LABENTIBUS ANNIS
 INSTAR MONTIS EQUUM DIVINA PALLADIS ARTE
 AEDIFICANT SECTAQUE INTEXUNT ABIETE COSTAS
 VOTUM PRO REDITU SIMULANT EA FAMA VAGATUR

FRACTI BELLO FATISQUE REPULSI. "Cum verba FATIS REPULSI alio modo idem quod FRACTI BELLO exprimere apertum sit, quin intelligendae sint calamitates ac clades belli quibus fatigati Danaï tandem ad dolum confugerunt, dubium non est," Dietsch (*Theolog.*, p. 21). "This is not the meaning. FATIS REPULSI does not express in different terms the thought expressed by FRACTI BELLO (in other words, is not a variation of a theme), but expresses the totally different, independent, and additional thought that the repulses which the Greeks received before Troy were the work of the fates; that the ill-success of the Greeks was not owing to want of skill, or bravery, or strength, but to the supreme ordinance of the fates."

FATIS REPULSI, a metonymy of the same kind as (5. 709)

. . . "quo fata trahunt retrahuntque, sequamur,"

and (5. 22)

. . . "superat quoniam fortuna, sequamur."

TOT IAM LABENTIBUS ANNIS. The translators refer LABENTIBUS to the dim and faded past, instead of the vivid and continuing present; for instance, Surrey:

. . . "all irked with the war,
 wherein they wasted had so many years;"

Phaer:

"whan all in vaine so many yeeres had past;"

and Alfieri:

. . . "da molti anni indarno
 stringevan Troja i condottier de' Greci."

Yet the present and continuing force of LABENTIBUS is doubly

evident; because the verb *labor* expresses a continuing action, and the present participle a continuing time. It is this continuing sense (observed by Wagner, *Quæst. Virg.* 29. 1) which constitutes the poetical beauty of the passage before us, as well as of Horace's exquisite

“cheu, fitgaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni.”

Dryden, according to his custom, blinks the meaning altogether.

INSTAR MONTIS EQUUM. Even in more modern times, cities have been sometimes taken by a similar artifice; for instance, Breda in Holland, in the year 1590, by means of soldiers concealed under turf in a turf-boat, and so introduced into the city; and Luna in Italy, by means of soldiers performing the part of mourners, priests, &c., at the pretended funeral of Hastings. Compare Wace, *Roman de Rou*, 687 (ed. Pluquet):

“li mestre cler cante l’office,

li Eveske canta la messe,
des Paenz fu la turbe espee.

DIVINA PALLADIS ARTE. The commentators make Pallas a party in the Grecian stratagem, an accomplice of Epeus and Sinon. “PALLADIS ARTE, υποθημοσυννησι,” Heyne, quoting *Od.* 8. 493: τον Επειος εποηισεν συν Αθηνη. “Pallas fabros in extruendo equo consilio suo et praeceptis adiuvit,” Forbiger, quoting, along with the same passage of the Odyssey, Eurip. *Troad.* 9:

. . . ο γαρ Παρνασιος
Φωκευς Επειος μηχαναισι Παλλαδος
εγκυμον’ ιππον τευχων συναρμοντας
πυργων επεμψεν εντος, ολεθριον βαρος.

“DIVINA, ergo non sua, sed ea quam dea Pallas iis monstraverat,” Wagner (1861), quoting, along with the same passage of the Odyssey, *Il.* 15. 70:

. . . εις ο κ’ Αχαιοι
Ιλιον αιπυ ελοιεν Αθηναιης δια βουλας.

Nothing could be further from the meaning of Virgil. Pallas has nothing whatsoever to do with the building of the

horse. The leaders of the Danaï are its builders (DUCTORES DANAUM AEDIFICANT), and built it DIVINA ARTE PALLADIS. Now, what is DIVINA ARTE PALLADIS? or rather, leaving out DIVINA as unessential, and taking ARTE PALLADIS by itself, what is ARTE PALLADIS? • Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 8. 9, uses the identical expression in the sense of *art of Pallas*, i. e., *Palladian art*:

“vellera dura ferunt pecudes, et *Palladis* uti
arte Tomitanae non didicere nurus,”

“the daughters of Tomi have not learned to use the Palladian art;” and so precisely our author: “the leaders of the Danaï build with Palladian art.” Not that the art of Pallas, the Palladian art, with which the leaders of the Danaï build is the same art of Pallas, the same Palladian art, which the daughters of Tomi have not learned, but that—there being many arts of Pallas, many Palladian arts [Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 833: “mille dea est operum.” Idem, *Art. Amat.* 1. 691:

“quid facis, *Aeacida*? non sunt tua munera lanae.
tu titulos alia *Palladis* arte petas]—

the one with which the DUCTORES DANAUM build is the building art, while the one which the daughters of Tomi have not learned is the weaving art. Compare (α), Propert. 3.20. 7:

“est tibi [*Cynthiae*] forma potens, sunt castae *Palladis* artes,
splendidaque a docto fama refulget avo”

(where the “*Palladis artes*”—the Palladian arts—of which *Cynthia* was mistress are the art of weaving, exactly as in our text the PALLADIS ARTE—the Palladian art—with which the DUCTORES DANAUM AEDIFICANT is the art of building). (β), Eurip. *Troad.* 9 (quoted above):

. . . ο γαρ Παρνασιος
Φωκευς Επειος μηχαναισι Παλλαδος
εγκυμον' ιππον τευχων συναρμοσας
πυργων επεμψεν εντος, ολεθριον βαρος

(where μηχαναισι Παλλαδος is the Palladian art, the art invented and patronized by Pallas, with which Epeus constructed the horse, exactly as in our text PALLADIS ARTE is the Palladian

art, the art invented and patronized by Pallas, with which the chiefs of the Danai build the horse). (c), *Aen.* 9. 303 :

. . . "ensem
auratum, *mira* quem fecerat *arte* Lycaon
Gnosius "

(where it is with "*mira arte*," wonderful art, Gnosian Lycaon had made the sword; exactly as in our text it is with *DIVINA* (*PALLADIS*) *ARTE*, divine (superexcellent: see below) art (Palladian), the *DUCTORES DANAUM* build the horse). (d), *Juv.* 14. 34 :

. . . "*quibus arte benigna*
et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan "

(where it is with benign art Titan moulds the "*praecordia*," exactly as it is with divine (superexcellent) art (Palladian) the *DUCTORES DANAUM* build the horse). (e), *Tibull.* 1. 3. 47 :

. . . "*nec ensem*
immiti saevus duxerat arte faber."

And (f), *Mart.* 7. 55 :

"*astra polumque tua cepisti mente, Rabiri;*
Parrhasiam mira qui struis arte domum."

What, then? are the expressions *Palladia ars* and *ars Palladis* always and everywhere Palladian art used not by Pallas but by somebody else—here by the chiefs of the Danai, there by the women of Tomi, elsewhere by some other agent? Far from it. On the contrary, those expressions—occurring, as they occasionally occur, where there is no agent by whom Palladian art can be used—are to be understood not as signifying art invented and patronized by Pallas, but as signifying art used on the particular occasion by Pallas herself, *ex. gr.* *Mart.* 6. 13 :

"*quis te Phidiaco formatam, Iulia, caelo,*
vel quis Palladiae non putet artis opus?"

Stat. Silr. 1. 1. 5 (to the equestrian statue of Domitian) :

"*an te Palladiae talem, Germanice, nobis*
effinxere manus?"

—the Palladian art (art of Pallas) of the former of which passages is as nearly as possible the Palladian hands (hands of

Pallas), of the latter. The mistake of the commentators consists in their confounding the “art of Pallas” (Palladian art) of Virgil, equivalent to art invented and patronized by Pallas, with the “Palladian art” (art of Pallas) of Martial, equivalent to art of Pallas’s own hands. •Instances, indeed, occur in which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine in which of these its two senses the expression *Palladia ars* or *ars Palladis* is to be understood, *ex. gr.* Propertius, 3. 9. 41 :

“moenia cum Graio Neptunia pressit aratro
victor *Palladiae* ligneus *artis* equus,”

where—there being on the one hand as total absence of agent to use art invented and patronized by Pallas, as there is on the other of indication that the art spoken of was used by Pallas herself—the “*ars Palladia*” spoken of is with equal probability art invented and patronized by Pallas, and art practised by Pallas herself on the particular occasion : an ambiguity which does not exist either in our text or in the parallel text of Euripides quoted above, in both which places the express mention of the agent by whom the Palladian art is used (*DUCTORES DANAUM PALLADIS ARTE AEDIFICANT* : Φωκεύς Επειός μηχαναίσι Παλλαδος συναρμοσας) as peremptorily forbids us to understand the Palladian art spoken of by those authors⁴ to be art employed by Pallas herself in the building of the horse, as (1) the *συν Αθηνῇ* of Homer ; (2) the

. . . *Αργείης ἰππηλατον ἔργον Αθηνῆς*

of Tryphiodorus (verse 2) ; (3) the

Χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομεῆς, αὐτὰρ βουλήσιν Αθηνῆς

of the same author (verse 119) ; (4) the *τον Επειον τε καὶ Αθηνᾶς ἰππον* of Philostr. *Heroic.* (ed. Boisson.), p. 102 ; and (5) the *τον ἰππον τον κοῖλον, ου τεκτων μὲν Επειός ξυν Αθηνα ἐγενετο* of the same Philostr. *Heroic.* (ed. Boisson.), p. 166, **forbid** us to understand the Trojan horse of those authors to have been built without Pallas’s personal assistance and co-operation ; **or**, as (6), the *Αθηναίη ἡρμωσε* of Apollon. Rhod. 4. 582 :

*αὐδην γλαφυρῆς νηὸς δόρυ, το ρ’ ἀνα μέσσην
στεῖραν Αθηναίη Δωδωνίδος ἡρμωσε φηγόν’*

(7) the καλεσσομένη ἐπετέλλετο Τριτογενείῃ of Orpheus, *Argon.* 65 :

καὶ ρα καλεσσομένη [Juno] ἐπετέλλετο Τριτογενείῃ,
καὶ οἱ φηγίνεην πρῶτον τεκτῆνατο νῆα,
ἥ καὶ ὑπ' εἰλατινοῖς ἐρετμοῖς ἀλιμυρεὰ βενθῇ
πρῶτῃ ὑπεξεπερῆσε·

and (8) the Αθῆνα ἐνηρμοσεν of Apollodorus, l. 9 : κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρῶταν ἐνηρμοσεν Αθῆνα φωνῆν φηγού της Δωδωνίδος ξύλον, **forbid** us to understand the Argo of those authors to have been built without the personal presence and co-operation of the same goddess.

But, it will be said, this is to ignore Homer, who informs us, *Od.* 8. 493 (quoted above), that the horse was made by Epeus *συν Αθηνῇ* ; and Homer is not to be ignored in the discussion of a Virgilian passage which treats of a subject already treated of by Homer. True : but however excellent a guide Homer may be to the meaning of Virgil's words in a case in which those words allow such meaning to be put on them and present no better of their own, Homer's guidance is none at all, or worse than none, in a case in which Virgil's words not only do not allow the Homeric meaning to be put on them, but, well considered, present a meaning more appropriate in the mouth of Virgil than the Homeric meaning had been—the very case we are considering, in which **not only** does PALLADIS ARTE, according to the use of the expression elsewhere (see above), not allow itself to be interpreted as it has been interpreted by various commentators—all taking their cue from the Homeric *συν Αθηνῇ*, either *υποθημοσυνῆσι* (Παλλὰδος), or “*consilio et praeceptis (Palladis)*,” or “*ea [ARTE] quam dea Pallas iis monstraverat*,” **but** any of these meanings had been as little proper in the mouth of Virgil—writing for the highly cultivated, little romantic, almost sceptical, age and court of Augustus—as it was proper in the mouth of Homer, writing for an age so much less cultivated, more simple, and more ignorant. And Virgil—in not copying the Homeric myth to the uttermost letter, in bearing in mind the Horatian “*nec deus intersit*” and representing the horse as built by the chiefs of the Danai, not

with the *assistance* of or by the hands of Pallas, but only with the *art* of Pallas, *i. e.*, with Palladian art—has only shown his usual preference of common sense to unnecessary, childish, and even absurd extravagance, and protected his Trojan horse from reproaches similar to those which have been so justly heaped (compare Claud. *de Bell. Get.* 14 :

. . . "licet omnia vates
in maius celebrata ferant, ipsamque secandis
Argois trabibus iactent sudasse Minervam ;
nec nemoris tantum iunxisse carentia sensu
robora, sed, caeso Tmarii Iovis augure lueo,
arbore praesaga tabulas animasse loquaces")

upon the Argo of Orpheus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Apollodorus: the Argo, another myth in which another Roman poet almost coeval with our author, exercising a similar discretion, represents that still more wonderful structure, the first ship, as constructed neither by Pallas with her own hands nor by Argus with the personal assistance of Pallas, but by Argus "*Palladio opere*," as nearly as possible our author's *DIVINA PALLADIS ARTE* (Phaedr. 4. 6. 6) :

"utinam nec unquam Pelei nemoris iugo
pinus hipenni concidisset Thessala,
nec ad professae mortis audacem viam
fabricasset Argus *opere Palladio* ratem."

If I am correct in these observations, artists skilled in arts communicated to mankind by the respective inventing gods were able under later polytheism to execute works which under primitive polytheism could not be executed without the personal presence and assistance of the respective inventing gods themselves ; exactly as under modern monotheism men perform daily with God's mere will or God's mere providence—"Deo volente," or "providentia Dei"—acts which under primitive monotheism required the personal presence and co-operation either of the one God Himself or of the one God's special messenger: warrant for the sceptic dogma that the world as it advances in knowledge less and less either seeks or requires heaven's assistance; exemplifying so, in the collective, the truth of the proverb

so true in the individual: "Help yourself and God will help you."

DIVINA. The meaning of **PALLADIS ARTE** remains the same whether we understand **DIVINA** literally or figuratively; whether as meaning *divine*, *θεῖος*, in the sense of derived from a god, as *Georg. 4. 220*:

"esse apibus partem *divinae* mentis et haustus
aetherios,"

or as meaning *divine*, *θεῖος*, in the sense of supremely excellent, as *Cic. Philipp. 12*: "Ipsa illa Martia, caelestis et *divina* legio, hoc nuntio languescet et mollietur." Compare the application by Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* (ed. Lambin.), p. 227, of the same term in the same sense to the cognate and similarly wonderful piece of workmanship, the Argo: "Atque ille apud Attium pastor, qui navem nunquam ante vidisset, ut procul *divinum* et novum vehiculum Argonautarum e monte conspexit, primo admirans et perterritus hoc modo loquitur." Pallas, therefore, unless I greatly err, is no more personally present and helping here in the building of the wooden horse by the chiefs of the Danaï **DIVINA PALLADIS ARTE**, than Phoebus is present and helping in the curing of the sick by physicians "*Phoebea arte*," *Ovid, Fast. 3. 827*:

. . . "*Phoebea morbos qui pellitis arte.*"

Grave, however, as are these mistakes of modern commentators concerning our author's meaning in this place, the mistakes of the ancient commentators are graver still, Servius (ed. Lion) doubting whether **ARTE** (joined though it be with the highest term of praise it was possible to bestow) is not to be understood in its bad sense, viz. of *dolo* ["aut ingeniose aut dolose; ac si diceret 'consilio iratae deae, quae fuit inimica Troianis'"]; and Donatus (proh, pudor!) separating **PALLADIS** from **ARTE** and connecting it with **EQUUM**: "Ecce in bellum factum [*lege* "in bello fracti"] verterunt se ad insidias, ut desperatam in aperto Marte victoriam adminiculo fraudis obtinere potuissent. Proinde ad **INSTAR MONTIS EQUUM PALLADIS AEDIFICANT**, et **DIVINA ARTE** **COSTAS** eius **IN-**

TEXUNT. Cur autem Palladis nomine aedificatus sit, datur color quo possent homines ab insidiarum suspicione transduci": a perverse interpretation, by whomsoever made—for it could hardly have been made by Donatus—and unparalleled in the long chronicle of perverse interpretations, unless, indeed, by our own Pope, of Homer's (*Il. 19. 126*):

αυτικα δ' ειλ' Ατην κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκαμοιο,

by

"from his ambrosial head, where perched she sat,
he snatched the fury-goddess of debate."

AEDIFICANT, theme; SECTAQVE INTEXUNT ABIETE COSTAS, variation; in other words, not two different acts are described, but only one, viz., the building of the horse; which, described as usual first in general terms (AEDIFICANT), is then described in particular (SECTAQVE INTEXUNT ABIETE COSTAS). Heyne therefore is right, and Turnebus wrong.

SECTAQVE INTEXUNT ABIETE COSTAS. It is a different tree in the almost repeated description, verse 112:

. . . "cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis
staret equus."

COSTAS. Not, by synecdoche, the sides, but literally the ribs of the horse, those strong timbers which we may suppose to have extended in an arched form transversely from the longitudinal spine, so as to surround the interior cavity and support the outer boarding; such timbers as in the ship are called "statumina" (Turnebus), Ital. *costole*, Fr. *les varangues*, Engl. *futtocks*, and which form the substantial framework of the ship, the skeleton, or as the Italians call it, the *ossatura*. TEXUNT expresses that these costae were not merely simple parallel ribs, but were supported by cross pieces so as to form a crates. The costae or internal framework of a ship are well distinguished from the tabulae or outside boarding by Corippus *de Laud. Justin. 4. 35*:

"protinus omnigeni caeduntur robora ligni,
quacque suis aptanda locis. durissima *costae*,
mollia dant *tabulae*."

VOTUM. Not (with Servius) the verb, but the substantive, for we find in Petronius, 89 :

. . . "stipant graves
equi recessus Danai, et in *voto* latent."

18-20.

HUC DELECTA VIRUM SORTITI CORPORA FURTIM
INCLUDUNT CAECO LATERI PENITUSQUE CAVERNAS
INGENTES UTERUMQUE ARMATO MILITE COMPLÉNT

Let not the too prosaic reader, interpreting this sentence according to its literal structure, suppose it to mean that, besides the DELECTA VIRUM CORPORA which were inclosed in the hollow sides of the horse, the vast caverns of its womb were filled with armed soldiers ; or that a considerable vacancy, remaining after the selected chiefs were inclosed, was filled up with a large body of common soldiers. On the contrary, the latter clause of the sentence is only explanatory of the former ; ARMATO MILITE informing us that the DELECTA VIRUM CORPORA were armed warriors ; CAVERNAS INGENTES UTERUMQUE, that by CAECO LATERI was meant the whole interior cavity or chamber of the statue ; and COMPLÉNT, that the cavity was completely filled by the persons who were inclosed (INCLUDUNT)—in other words, HUC DELECTA VIRUM SORTITI CORPORA FURTIM INCLUDUNT CAECO LATERI is a theme of which PENITUSQUE CAVERNAS INGENTES UTERUMQUE ARMATO MILITE COMPLÉNT is the variation ; CAVERNAS INGENTES UTERUMQUE varying CAECO LATERI ; ARMATO MILITE varying DELECTA VIRUM CORPORA ; and PENITUS COMPLÉNT varying SORTITI FURTIM INCLUDUNT. That this is the true analysis and interpretation of the passage appears from the following considerations : (I), that it is according to our author's usual habit

thus to present in the first clause of his sentence no more than the sketch or skeleton of his thought, and then in the subsequent clause to fill up and clothe with flesh and life such previous sketch or skeleton. (2), that, in the sequel, only *DELECTA VIRUM CORPORA*, viz., Thessander, Sthenelus, Ulysses, Acamas, Thoas, Neoptolemus, Machaon, Menelaus, and Epeus come out of the horse. (3), that even in the account given by Tryphiodorus, an author so much more likely than Virgil to disregard verisimilitude, we find (verses 152 *et seqq.*) the ambush consisting of no more than twenty-two individuals, every one of them named, and all of them collectively styled (verse 532) *τευχισταὶ βασιλῆες*, corresponding—*βασιλῆες*, to Virgil's *DELECTA VIRUM CORPORA*; and *τευχισταὶ*, to Virgil's *ARMATO MILITE*. (4), that it is as plain from Cicero's (*Philipp. 2. 13*): "In huius me consilii societatem tanquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis?" that neither Cicero himself, nor the audience Cicero was addressing, viz., the Roman Senate, had any other notion of the ambush than that it consisted *solely* of "principes" (= *DELECTA VIRUM CORPORA*); as it is plain from a comparison of this same passage of Cicero with Cicero's still more remarkable (*de Orat. 2. 22*): "Exortus est Isocrates magister istorum omnium, cuius e ludo, tanquam ex equo Troiano, meri principes exierunt," that the selectness of the society inside the Trojan horse had become a proverb, at least with Cicero; and (5), and lastly, that a satisfactory answer is thus afforded to the very obvious objection to the whole story as commonly understood (Napoleon, *ubi supra* (see Rem. on 2. 5-6), p. 228: "En supposant que ce cheval contînt seulement cent guerriers, il devait être d'un poids énorme, et il n'est pas probable qu'il ait pu être mené du bord de la mer sous les murs d'Ilion en un jour, ayant surtout deux rivières à traverser"), viz., that the horse, so far from containing one hundred individuals, did not even, the story being rightly understood, contain one-tenth of that number. Against all which if Mr. Conington's difficulty be urged, viz., that the expressions "*armatos fundit equus*" (verse 328) and "*pars ingentem formidine turpi scandunt rursus equum*" (verse 409) are indicative of multitude, I reply, first, that no conclusion as to number can

be deduced from the word *fundero*—applied by Virgil himself, *Georg. I. 12*, to the production of a single object :

. . . “ cui prima frementem
fudit equum tellus ;”

and secondly, that even if *fundero* always implied either considerable number or considerable quantity (which the just-cited example proves it does not), still no conclusion as to the number of persons actually contained in the horse can be drawn from either of the passages cited by Mr. Conington—the expressions of Pantheus in the one being exaggerated by fear, and of Æneas in the other by hatred.

DELECTA. Compare Cic. *Tusc. Quæst. I. 20* (ed. Orelli) :
“ ea [navis] quæ est nominata Argo, quia ‘ Argivi in ea

. . . *delecti viri,*
vecti, petebant pellem inauratam arietis.’ ”

CAVERNAS INGENTES UTERUMQUE = “ cavernas ingentes uteri.”

21-23.

EST IN CONSPECTU TENEDOS NOTISSIMA FAMA
INSULA DIVES OPUM PRIAMI DUM REGNA MANEBANT
NUNC TANTUM SINUS ET STATIO MALEFIDA CARINIS

EST IN CONSPECTU TENEDOS . . . INSULA . . . SINUS ET STATIO
MALEFIDA CARINIS. Compare Aesch. *Pers. 445* (ed. Schütz) :

νησος τις ἐστὶ προσθε Σαλαμῖνος τοπων,
βαῖα, δυσσὸρμος ναυσιν.

Tenedos, as it was before the Greek invasion, viz., DIVES OPUM, is contrasted with Tenedos as it is now (NUNC), viz., a mere bay affording an unsafe roadstead for ships. The contrast serves the purpose of an explanation how it happened that the Greek fleet could ensconce itself in the STATIO or roadstead of Tenedos, without its coming to the knowledge of the Trojans that it was there, viz., because, the island having been deserted

on the first appearance of the Greeks before Troy, there was now no one on it (NUNC TANTUM SINUS ET STATIO; HUC SE PRO-
 VECTI DESERTO IN LITTORE CONDUNT) to bring the intelligence to that city that the Greek fleet (supposed to have taken its departure for Greece) was actually riding at anchor in the roadstead of Tenedos. The contrast, therefore, of Tenedos DIVES OPUM with Tenedos TANTUM SINUS ET STATIO CARINIS is to be carefully distinguished from the contrast (Sil. 14. 201, ed. Rup.):

“et iusti quondam portus, nunc litore solo
 subsidium infidum fugientibus aequora, Mylae,”

of Mylae a port, and therefore affording (viz., by means of land on one side, and a mole or moles towards the sea) complete shelter, or shelter on every side, to ships, with Mylae no longer a port, but only (the mole or moles having been destroyed by storm or allowed to go to ruin) a mere statio or roadstead, and therefore affording shelter to ships on the land side only, *i. e.*, by means of the land or shore alone (“litore solo”). The latter contrast, or that of a regular port (“iusti portus,” Sil.) with a mere statio or roadstead, has been repeated by Vell. Patere. 2. 72: “exitialemque tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.”

So far, then, is the information which our text gives us of the deserted state of the island of Tenedos, at the time the Greeks availed themselves of its roadstead, from being gratuitous and serving the mere purpose of ornament [“Ea vastities in insula facta, ut ea hoc uno nota sit, quod naves tempestate iactatae in littorum recessu, quem sinum appellat, stationem, etsi parum tutam, habeant,” Heyne. “The island is said to be a SINUS, a bay forming a doubtful roadstead, being all for which it was then remarkable. . . . DESERTO IN LITTORE shows that the change in the fortunes of Tenedos had already begun,” Conington], **that** it is precisely this piece of information which imparts to this part of the narrative verisimilitude and plausibility—a verisimilitude and plausibility so marvellously increased by the epithet by which the STATIO is characterized, viz., MALEFIDA; see next paragraph.

MALEFIDA = *infida*; faithless, unsafe. But why this character

of the roadstead so especially put forward? Was not the faithlessness, the insecurity, of the roadstead the very reason why the Greek fleet, if it had any care for its own safety, should avoid it? On the contrary, the danger of an accident happening from the weather in the short interval for which the fleet was to be there was exceedingly small, while the danger of the Trojans learning they were there, had the *STATIO* been *fida*, and on that account, of course, a favourite resort for vessels, had been great. The *STATIO* was the very *statio* for the Greeks to choose above all others, **no less** on account of its convenient distance neither too near nor too far from Troy, and its position (if the information obtained by Heyne on the subject be correct: “*Nunc autem per eos qui haec loca adierunt in compertis habeo, ex locis illis, quae Ilii vestigiis assignari solent (Bunarbaschi) Tenedum haud dubie prospici, et esse in eius littore australi stationem navium, quae earum conspectum oculis ex Ilio prospicientium eripiat*”) out of the view of that city, **than** on account of the loneliness of the shore (*DESERTO IN LITTORE*) and the small probable, perhaps even no, resort to a station so little in repute (*MALEFIDA*).

30-34.

CLASSIBUS HIC LOCUS HIC ACIES CERTARE SOLEBANT
 PARS STUPET INNUPTAE DONUM EXITIALE MINERVAE
 ET MOLEM MIRANTUR EQUI PRIMUSQUE THYMOETES
 DUCI INTRA MUROS HORTATUR ET ARCE LOCARI
 SIVE DOLO SEU IAM TROIAE SIC FATA FEREBANT

CLASSIBUS HIC LOCUS. In this passage Virgil, according to his custom (see Remm. on l. 500; 2. 18 and 49), presents us first (verses 27 and 28) with the general idea, the deserted appearance of the places lately occupied by the Greeks; and then (verses 29 and 30) supplies the particulars, in the words of the Trojans pointing out to each other the various localities.

The reader, however, must not be misled by the words CLASSIBUS HIC LOCUS to suppose that there was a place set apart for the ships. Innumerable passages in the Iliad, and especially the account of the battle at the ships (*Il.* 13), render it perfectly clear that, the ships being drawn up on the shore, the tents were erected beside and amongst them; the ships and tents of one nation forming one group, those of another nation another group, and those of a third nation a third group; and so on, along the entire line of shore occupied by the encampment. CLASSIBUS means, therefore, not the ships, as contra-distinguished from the tents, but the ships taken together with their dependencies, the tents; or in other words, it means the Grecian encampment, called *classes* by Virgil, and *αι νηες* by Homer, from its most important and, especially from a distance, most conspicuous part, *the ships*.

Not only Dryden and such like translators, but even Alfieri ("Qui, fitte eran l'ancore lor") renders CLASSIBUS HIC LOCUS, "here the navy rode"—with what understanding of the Iliad, or of ancient naval expeditions (see *Aen.* 3. 71; 9. 69, 70), or of the Grecian encampment and mode of warfare at Troy, and especially of the battle at the ships, let the reader judge.

PARS STUPET INNUPTAE DONUM EXITIALE MINERVAE,† theme; MOLEM MIRANTUR EQUI, variation. Both clauses together = "pars stupet admiratione ingentis equi, qui dono datus Minervae allaturus erat Troiae exitium." These words had not embarrassed and misled so many commentators, and myself among the number ("Twelve Years' Voyage," and "Advers. Virg."), had it been perceived that not only the words themselves but the entire passage is almost literally translated from Euripides, who in the person of the chorus, *Troad.* 535 (ed. Dindorf), says:

πασα δε γεννα φρυγων
 προς πυλας ωρμαθη,
 πευκα εν ουρεια
 ξεστον λοχον Αργειων,
 και Δαρδανιας αταν
 θεα δωσων,
 χαριν αζυγος, αμβροτοπωλου,

where in *χαριν αζυγος αμβροτοπωλου* we have INNUPTAE DONUM

MINERVÆ; in *Δαρδανίας αταν*, EXITIALE; in *θεα δωσων*, DUCI INTRA MUROS ET ARCE LOCARI; in *ξεστον λοχον Αργειων*, DANAUM INSIDIAS; in *πευκα εν ουρεια*, ABIETE; in *προς πυλας ωρμαθη*, PANDUNTUR PORTÆ, IU VAT IRE; and in *πασα γεννα Φρυγων*, OMNIS TEUCRIA.

DONUM MINERVÆ, *Minerva's present*, in the sense of *the present made to Minerva*, not *the present made by Minerva*. And so Servius, rightly: "Non quod ipsa dedit, sed quod ei oblatum est." Exactly so, verse 189, of this same present to Minerva: "si vestra manus violasset dona Minervæ" [*Minerva's present*, i. e., the present made to Minerva]; and 11. 566, "donum Triviae" [*Tricia's present*, i. e., the present made to Trivia]. Also Ovid, *Met.* 13. 510 (Hecuba, of herself):

"nunc trahor exul, inops, tumultis avulsa meorum,
Penelope minus"

[*a present for Penelope*]. Claud. *Æpith. Pall. et Celer.* 13:

"scrutantur [Amores] nidos avium, vel roscida lucti
mala legunt, *donum Veneris*"

[*a present for Venus*]. Eurip. *Ion*, 1427:

CREUSA. δρακοντε μαρμαιροντε παγχρυσω γενυι.

ION. δωρημ' Αθανας, η τεκν' εντρεφειν λεγει;

[*a present for Minerva*]. Eurip. *Orest.* 123:

απανθ' υπισχνου νερτερων δωρηματα,

not presents suitable to be received from, but suitable to be offered to, the "*inferi*." See Rem. on "ereptae virginis ira," 2. 413, and compare Eurip. *Orest.* 1434 (ed. Puley), of Helen:

σκυλων Φρυγων επι τυμβον αγαλ-
ματα συστολισαι χρηζουσα λινω,
φαρεα πορφυρεα δωρα Κλυταιμνηστρα

[offerings to Clytemnestra; funeral dress for corpse of Clytemnestra]. Aesch. *Agam.* 1385 (ed. Davies):

. . . και πεπτωκοτι
τριτην επενδιδωμι, του κατα χθονος
Διος νεκρων σωτηρος ευκταϊαν χαριν.

Quint. Smyrn. 12. 235:

οι δ' αλλοι Τενεδουιο προς ιερον αστυ μολοντες,
μιμνετε, εισοκεν αμμε ποτι πτολιν ειρυσσωσι
δηιοι, ελπομενοι Τριτωνιδι δωρον αγεσθαι.

Epigr. Meleagri, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 468 :

οικτροτατον ματηρ σε, Χαριξενε, δωρον ες Αδαν,
οκτωκαιδεκαταν εστολισεν χλαμυδι

[*present for Hades*]. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 66 (ed. Boeckh) :

. . . τοι δ' αναπτα σταθεν τυμβωπατρωιω σχεδον'
ενθεν αρπαξαντες αγαλμ' Αιδα, ξεστον πετρον,
εμβαλον στερνω Πολυδευκεως' αλλ' ου νιν φλασαν,
ουδ' ανεχασσαν·

(where Dissen : “donarium Plutonis, *h. e.* cippum cum arte donatum Plutoni sacrum. Confer Διος τροπαια, Pausan. 5. 22, fin.; porro μελος Αιδα, *h. e.* θρηνος, querela Plutoni sacra, Eurip. *Electr.* 143; *Suppl.* 783, αδου μολπαι, et Αἶδα γοος, Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 1050”). Compare also the application by Homer of the term θελκτηριον θεων (*delectamentum deorum*) to the same wooden horse, *Od.* 8. 509 : •

η εσαν μεγ' αγαλμα θεων θελκτηριον εναι.

EXITIALE. Altogether by prolepsis, and expressive of the present feelings of the speaker. Compare verse 237, “fatalis machina,” and verse 245, “monstrum infelix”—both of this very horse; also 1. 6, “Lavina littora,” where D. Hieron. in *Ezech.* 30 : “iuxta illud Virgilianum ‘Lavinaque venit littora’ : non quo [*quod*? quod] eo tempore quando venit Aeneas in Latium Lavinia dicerentur, sed quae postea Lavinia nuncupata sunt.”

Wagner (1861) reminds his reader that the DONUM was not a real but only a pretended donum (“per simulationem datum”), and Kappes (*Zur Erklärung von Virgil's Aeneide* : Constanz, 1863) finds Aeneas's words full of the bitterest irony : “Gerade darin liegt der schmerz und die ironie ausgedrückt, dass Aeneas das pferd nach des Sino angabe ein der Minerva dargebrachtes geschenk nennt, nachdem er es als die verderben bringende *machina* kennen gelernt hat.” Aeneas's words are, on the contrary, a simple statement of the fact, without either allusion to the untruthfulness of the present, or irony. The horse is equally DONUM whether it contains an ambush inside or not (verse 49 : “timeo Danaos et dona ferentes”). See Attius (quoted by Servius) : “Minervae donum armipotentī Danaī

abeuntes dicant." Hyginus, *Fab. 108* : "Danai Minervae donodant." Petron. (ed. Hadrian, p. 325) :

. . . "hoc titulus fero
incisus, hoc ad fata compositus Sinon
firmabat."

And how little irony enters into the feelings of Aeneas is clear both from the severe gravity and even sorrow of his expressions (as verses 54, 55, and 56), and from the circumstance that he was himself one of the principal persons imposed on, and one of the principal sufferers by the fraud (verses 105, 106). To be ironical Aeneas should have said not EXITIALE, but praeclarum, or egregium, should have described the gift not by its real character, but by the character in which it was viewed by himself and his friends at the time, by some character the very opposite of that which it merited.

Of the five places in which our author makes mention of the horse as a present, three (viz., verses 36, 44 and 49) expressly state who were the givers of the present, viz., the Danai; and two, viz., our text and verse 189, to whom the present was given, viz., to Minerva.

SIVE DOLO, SEU IAM TROIAE SIC FATA FEREBANT. "Sei's durch verrath, sei's weil schon nahete Ilions schicksal," Voss. TROIAE FATA is not "schicksal," the destiny (*i.e.*, final destiny) of Troy, but the series of fates appointed to Troy from the beginning; and FEREBANT is not "nahete," *approached*, but *brought, occasioned, was the cause of*. Compare 2. 94: "fors si qua tulisset;" Ovid, *Met. 3. 174* :

"ecce! nepos Cadmi, dilata parte laborum,
per nemo ignotum non certis passibus errans,
pervenit in lucum: sic illum fata ferebant."

35-44.

AT CAPYS—DANAUM

INSIDIAS, appropriation of the Homeric figure applied to this same horse, *Od.* 4. 277 :

τρὶς δὲ περιστρίβας κοῖλον λοχὸν ἀμφάφωσα.

Ibid. 8. 515 :

ἵπποθεν ἐκχυμένοι, κοῖλον λοχὸν ἐκπρολιπόντες.

Ibid. 11. 525 :

ἤμεν ἀνακλιναι πυκινὸν λοχὸν ἡδ' ἐπιθῆναι.

SUBJECTISQUE URERE FLAMMIS. The advice of Capys consists of two alternatives : either to destroy the horse (by fire or water as they might prefer), or to explore its contents. The copulative QUE is used to connect together the two parts of which the first alternative consists. The English language does not admit of a similar structure.

PRIMUS IBI ANTE OMNES . . . LAOCOON ARDENS SUMMA DECURRIT AB ARCE, ET PROCUL : O MISERI. Compare *Liv.* 1. 12 : “Mettus Curtius . . . princeps ab arce decucurrerat . . . nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans, ‘vicimus . . .’”

AUT ULLA PUTATIS DONA CARERE DOLIS DANAUM. Admirably translated by Schiller :

“ein Griechisches geschenk und kein betrug verborgen?”

Such masterly touches, promissory of the future splendour of Schiller's genius, occur every now and then in his “Freie Uebersetzung” of the second and fourth books of the *Aeneid*, which is, however, on the whole, an inferior production, evincing not merely immaturity of poetical power, but a considerable want of perception of the delicacies of Virgil's expressions, and even some ignorance of the Latin language.

49-53.

QUIDQUID ID EST TIMEO DANAOS ET DONA FERENTES
 SIC FATUS VALIDIS INGENTEM VIRIBUS HASTAM
 IN LATUS INQUE FERI CURVAM COMPAGIBUS ALVUM
 CONTORSIT STETIT ILLA TREMENS UTEROQUE RECUSO
 INSONUERE CAVAE GEMITUMQUE DEDERE CAVERNÆ

QUIDQUID ID EST, TIMEO. So Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 203 (of an ominous dream): “quidquid id est, timeo.”

TIMEO DANAOS ET DONA FERENTES. In this so oft-quoted sentiment there is nothing new except its application to the Danaï: Εχθρῶν ἀδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὁνησιμα was a proverb even in the days of Sophocles. See *Ajax*, 665.

VALIDIS INGENTEM VIRIBUS. The great size of the spear, and the force with which it is hurled, are not matters of indifference, but absolutely necessary to the production, on the huge mass of which the horse consisted, of the considerable effect described by the words

UTEROQUE RECUSO
 INSONUERE CAVAE GEMITUMQUE DEDERE CAVERNÆ.

Of the five terms most frequently used by Virgil to express the casting of a spear, viz., iacio, coniicio, torqueo, intorqueo and contorqueo, the two first are the weakest and signify: iacio, simply *to throw*; coniicio, *to throw with the collected force of the individual*, which, however, need not be great, for the term is applied, 2. 544, to Priam throwing his “imbelle telum sine ictu.” The three latter signify *to hurl*: torqueo, simply *to hurl*; intorqueo, *to hurl forcibly*; contorqueo, *with all the collected strength of a powerfully strong man*—con, when applied in composition to the act of *one*, being no less intensive than when applied to that of *a number of individuals*; in the former case indicating that the act is the result of *the whole collected power of the one*, in the latter that it is the

result of the *collected power of the several individuals concerned*. See Rem. on “*corripiunt spatium*,” 6. 634; and on “*conclamat*,” 9. 375.

Impello, although interpreted by Heyne in his gloss on *Aen.* 1. 86 *intorqueo*, *immitto*, is neither there nor anywhere else (except under the particular circumstances mentioned in Rem. on *Aen.* 1. 85) used in that sense, but always in the sense of *pushing*—either *physically pushing*, as *Aen.* 1. 86; 7. 621; 8. 239, &c.; or *metaphorically pushing*, as *Aen.* 1. 15; 2. 55, 520, &c.

IN LATVS INQVE FERİ CURVAM COMPAGIBVS ALVVM.—IN ALVVM is not, as maintained by Thiel, and after him by Forbiger, *into the alvus*; first, because there is much harshness in interpreting the IN before ALVVM so very differently from the IN before LATVS, of which it is the mere repetition. Secondly, because the word RECUSO, verse 52, implies that the interior of the horse was only *concussed*, not *perforated*. Thirdly, because the expression FERRO FOEDARE, verse 55, almost expresses that the interior had not been previously “*foedata ferro*.” Fourthly, because the words “*tergo intorserit*,” verse 231, limit the lesion made by the cuspis, verse 230, to the tergum, a term never applied except to the exterior of the body. For all these reasons I reject Thiel’s interpretation, and understanding (with Wagner) QUE to be taken epexegetically (see Rem. on *Aen.* 1. 500; 2. 18) render the passage, *against that part of the side which was the alvus or belly*. Thus the precise position of the wound is determined to have been in the hinder part of the side, corresponding to the cavity of the belly, not of the chest; and in the lateral part of the belly, not the under part. Virgil chooses this position for the wound with great propriety, because the portion of the horse’s side corresponding to the belly, being much larger than that corresponding to the chest, not only afforded a better mark to Laocoon, but was precisely the part where the enclosed persons were principally situated. Compare *Aen.* 7. 499 :

“*perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit arundo;*”

through that part of the *uterus* (belly) which was the *ilia* (loin or flank).

CURVAM, bowed, bent outward; the opposite of *cavam*. Compare *Georg.* 1. 508: “*curvae falces.*” *Aen.* 6. 4: “*curvae puppes.*” 7. 184: “*curvae secures.*” 3. 564:

“*tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite.*” . . .

Silius, 6. 522 (ed. Ruperti):

“*ac legimus pontum, pinuquo immane cavata*
aequor, et immersas curva trabe findimus undas,”

in which last we have the two opposite notions in contrast with each other—“*cavata*” expressing the hollow of the ship in which the passengers were safely lodged, and “*curva*” the exterior curved or bowed form (bow) which divided the water. There is a similar and even more striking opposition between *curved* or bowed and *concave* or hollowed out, in Synesius, *Ep.* 4: ουτος [ventus] αφνω προσπεσων, το ιστιον εμπαιβιν ωθησε, και τα κυρτα κοιλα πεποιηκεν (Lat. transl.: “*quae curva erant, cavata reddidit*”); and we have only to put verse 53,

INSONUERE CAVAE GEMITUMQUE DEDERE CAVERNAE,

in apposition with our text, to have a similar contrast of our own making, between the convex exterior and concave interior of the belly of the wooden horse.

CURVAM COMPAGIBUS, put together (viz., with straight pieces of wood) so as to form a round, convex, or curve. The form was bowed or rounded, though the pieces of which it was put together were straight.

CURVAM COMPAGIBUS ALVUM = rounded belly.

INSONUERE CAVAE GEMITUMQUE DEDERE CAVERNAE. “Iunge: CAVAE INSONUERE, *i. e.*, cavum quid sonuere; s. ita ut res cavae solent,” Wagner (1861). Certainly not. To express such sense it should have been not INSONUERE CAVAE, but *insonuere cavum*, as *Georg.* 4. 370: “*saxosumque sonans Hypanis;*” Calpurn. 4. 149:

. . . “*quae imparibus modo concinuistis avenis,*
tam liquidum, tam dulces sonant, ut non ego malim,” &c.

Nay, it should have been not even *insonuere carum*, but only *sonuere cavum*, had the intention been as assumed by Wagner to express not the intensity, but the very opposite of intensity, the hollowness of the sound. No, no; CAVAE is the ordinary eke, of which Virgil here, as so often elsewhere, does not scruple to avail himself. Compare 10. 475:

“vaginaque *cava* fulgentem deripit ensem,”

where, all sheaths being necessarily hollow, “cava” adds nothing to the sense, and is added merely for the convenience of versification; exactly as in our text, all caverns being necessarily hollow, CAVAE adds nothing to the sense, and is added merely for the ease of versification. The kind of sound produced is expressed not by CAVAE, but according to our author’s usual manner by the added clause, GEMITUM DEDERE; the loudness or intensity of the groaning sound, by the IN of INSONUERE—CAVAE CAVERNAE IN-SONUERE GEMITUMQUE DEDERE—as if he had said CAVAE CAVERNAE GEMITUM DEDERE.

CAVAE CAVERNAE, the CAVAS LATEBRAS of verse 38, and occupying it will be observed precisely the same position in the verse:

AUT TEREHRARE CAVAS UTERI ET TENTARE LATEBRAS. 1

GEMITUM, not at all the groan of any one inside, but the groan of the cavity itself, the resonance of the CAVAE CAVERNAE, as 3. 555: “gemitum ingentem pelagi;” 9. 709: “dat tellus gemitum.” Compare Quint. Calab. 1. 615:

η ως τις στονοεντα βαλων εν ορεσσιν ακοντα
θηρητηρ ελαφοιο μεσσην δια νηδυα κερση
εσσυμενος,

and our own “groaning axle.”

FOEDARE, to spoil, to put out of its normal state; deformare, violare. See Rem. on 3. 241.

LATEBRAS. We have no corresponding word in English. The Italians have *nascondigli*.

56.

TROIAQUE NUNC STARES PRIAMIQUE ARX ALTA MANERES

VAR. LECT.

STARES*—MANERES ■ *Rom.*; *Pal.*; Pierius: "In antiquis omnibus codd. quotquot habui MANERES legi." ■■ $\frac{4}{6}$. ■■■ Princ.; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyn.; Brunek; Wakef.; Pott.; Dorph.; Lad.; Haupt.

STARET—MANERES ■ *Med.* (a T being placed over the S a m. sec.) ■■ $\frac{2}{6}$. ■■■ Serv.; Ven. 1475 (Jenson); Voss; Wagn. (1832, 1841; *Lect. Virg.* and *Praest.*); Ribb.

STARET MANERET ■■ $\frac{1}{6}$.

STARES MANERET ■■ $\frac{4}{6}$. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471.

O *Vat.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

STARES—MANERES, the reading of the great majority of the MSS., is to be preferred not only on account of the life which the sudden apostrophe throws into the passage, but on account of the apparent original from which our author drew, viz., Eurip. *Troad.* 45, where Neptune similarly apostrophizes Troy:

αλλ', ω ποτ' ευτυχουσα, χαιρε μοι, πολις,
ξεσπον τε πυργωμ'. ει σε μη διωλεσε
Παλλας, Διος παις, ησθ' αν εν βαθροισ επι'

and of the apparent copy by later authors, as Silius, 10. 658:

"haec tum Roma fuit, post te cui vertere mores
si stabat fatis, potius, Carthago, maneres."

Id. 7. 563:

"nullaque nunc stares terrarum vertice, Roma."

* Victorinus (*Ars Gram.*) gives this reading also, but does not cite the end of the verse.

TROIAQUE NUNC STARES, theme ; PRIAMI ARX ALTA MANERES, variation.

In the same way as the Greeks used *τυγχάνειν* and *πεφυκεναι* as varieties for *εἶναι*—the former adding to the simple conception of existence that of chance or fortune, as the cause of such existence, and the latter that of nature or Birth—so the Romans used *stare* and *manere*, the former adding to the simple conception that of uprightness of position, the latter that of continuance in respect of time. In either language, according to the particular circumstances of the case, it was sometimes the simple conception, sometimes the superadded, which predominated. In the case before us the superadded is strong : “thou Troy shouldst stand upright, and thou citadel of Priam shouldst *continue* in existence.” Compare 6. 300 : “stant lumina flamma,” where “stant” is *stand fixed and wide open*, or, as we say, *stare*. At other times the superadded conception is wholly sunk and lost, as Manil. 1. 643 (Jacob) :

“atque ubi se primis extollit Phoebus ab undis,
illis sexta *manet*, quos tum premit aureus orbis,”

where there is no notion of continuance at all, and “*manet*” is no more than *est*.

59-70.

QUI SE—ACCIPERE

HOC IPSUM UT STRUERET—“Vel ut caperetur, vel quia Graeci simulabant,” Servius. “Ut adduceretur ad regem,” Heyne. By HOC IPSUM is not meant either merely “ut caperetur” or merely “ut ad regem adduceretur,” but both together, viz., that he should be taken into custody and brought before the

king, viz., as the first step or move towards his ultimate object—
TROIAM aperire ACHIVIS.

HOC IPSUM, this very thing which I have just presented to my readers, viz., MANUS POST TERGA REVINCTUM AD REGEM TRAHEBANT. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 9. 723:

“Iphis amat qua posse frui desperat, et augeat
hoc ipsum flammās”

[this very thing, viz., that he loves one whom he despairs of ever enjoying]. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 384:

. . . “sed Alcione coniux excita tumultu
prosilat, et, nondum totos ornata capillos,
disiicit *hos ipsos*”

[the very hair she had just been dressing].

ULTRO. Taking the initiative, doing what he need not have done.

TROIAMQUE APERIRET ACHIVIS. “And open Troy’s gates unto the Greeks,” Surrey. No; not literally *open the gates* of Troy, but *procure an entrance* for the Greeks into Troy; *make Troy accessible* to them. Compare *Aen.* 10. 864: “*aperit si nulla viam vis.*” Statius, *Theb.* 12. 293:

“Theseos ad muros, ut Pallada flecteret, ibat,
supplicibusque piis faciles aperiret Athenas.”

Sil. Ital. 13. 49:

. . . “caeleste reportat
Palladium, ac nostris *aperit* mala Pergama fati.”

Venant. Fortun. *Poemat.* 1. 5. 3 (in cellulam S. Martini): .

“exul enim terris, caeli incola, saepe solchat
clausus Martinus hinc *aperire* polos”

[open heaven, i. e., guide to heaven, show the way by which heaven might be entered]. Iscan. *de bello Troiano*, 1. 47:

“haecenus haec; tuque, oro, tuo da, maxime, vati
ire iter inceptum, Troiamque *aperire* iacentem”

(in which latter the action of opening Troy is figuratively ascribed to the poet who describes it).

DANAUM INSIDIAS. These words are plainly repeated from Dido’s request to Aeneas, *Aen.* 1. 758.

INERMIS. As *arma* means not merely *weapons*, whether *offensive or defensive*, but *all kinds and means of offence and defence*, so its compound *inermis* means not merely *without weapons*, but *without any means of offence or defence ; helpless, defenceless*. The latter is the sense in which I think it is used in the passage before us ; because, first, it is not to be supposed that Virgil, having told us that Sinon was a prisoner, with his hands bound behind his back, would think it necessary to inform us almost instantly afterwards that he was *unarmed or without weapons*. And, secondly, because even if Sinon had not been bound, weapons could have been of no avail to him against the *AGMINA* by whom he was surrounded, and therefore the want of them made no real difference in his condition, and could not have been assigned, even by poetical implication, as a reason for his emotion or conduct. It is in this strong sense of *utterly without means of offence or defence*, and not in its literal sense of *weaponless*, that “*inermis*” is to be understood also, *Aen.* 1. 491 :

“*tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermes ;*”

because, although it might have contributed to the pathos of the picture to have represented a *young warrior's* hands as stretched out *weaponless*, it could have had no such effect to have so represented the hands of Priam, who was so old as to be unable to wield weapons, and was equally “*inermis*” (*helpless and defenceless*) whether he had arms in his hands or not. See *Aen.* 2. 509, 510, *et seq.* ; and compare Tacit. *Ann.* 6. 31 : “*Et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens.*” The same meaning follows *inermis* into the Italian, as *Gerus. Lib.* 3. 11 :

“*i semplici fanciulli, e i vecchi inermi,
e'l volgo delle donne sbigottite.*”

QUAE NUNC TELLUS . . . ACCIPERE ? Compare Quintil. *Declam.* 12. 28 : “*Quomodo me a scelere meo divellerem ? in quas ultimas terras, quae inhospitalia maria conderem ?*”

79.

QUIDVE FERAT MEMORET QUAE SIT FIDUCIA CAPTO

VAR. LECT.

QUIDVE FERAT · MEM. ■ *Pal.* ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670).

[*punct.*] CRETUS, QUIDVE FERAT; MEM. ■■■ Heyne; Wakef.; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

[*punct.*] CRETUS, QUIDVE FERAT, MEM. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Brunck; Voss ("Nach FERAT ein komma").

[*punct.*] CRETUS. QUIDVE FERAT MEMORET. ■ *Med.*

[*punct., &c.*] CRETUS QUIVE FUAT, MEM. ■■■ Ribb.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

QUIDVE FERAT. What news he brings, *i.e.*, what he has to say. Compare Metast. *La Clemenza di Tito*, 1. 11: "e ben, che rechi?" [what do you bring? *i.e.*, what news? what have you to say?]; Metast. *Achille*, 3. 2: "si turbato Arcade! che recasti?" [what news have you?]

QUAE SIT FIDUCIA CAPTO. "Qua fiducia se ipse captivitati obtulisset," Burmann, Forbiger, Kappes. "Quid illud sit quod illi fiduciam apud hostes capto pariat, ut putet a Troianis sibi esse parcendum," Servius; after much trifling, Wagner (1861). In both explanations both FIDUCIA and CAPTO are understood in a stronger sense than, as I think, has been intended by our author. CAPTO has just been used, and exactly in a similar position in the verse, in the simple sense of *the prisoner*; and, as it would seem, for no other reason than as a descriptive substitute for the pronoun (*ei*), always when possible avoided by poets. Why is its sense different, more special and emphatic, here only eleven lines later? Fiducia was the word commonly used by the Romans to express the confidence, expectation, view, object, which a person had on any occasion in his

mind, or with which he went anywhere, or performed any, even the most trifling and indifferent act [compare Martial, 3. 38. 1 :

“ quae te causa trahit, vel quae *fiducia* Romam,
Sexte ? quid aut speras, aut petis inde ? refer.”

Ovid, *Met.* 9. 720 :

. . . “ sed erat *fiducia* dispar.
coniugii pactaeque expectat tempora taedae,
quamque virum putat esse, suum fore credit Iantho.
Iphis amat qua posse frui desperat, et auget
hoc ipsum flammis : ardetque in virgine virgo ”].

What reason is there why its meaning here should be more emphatic and special ? The question, “ what is the prisoner’s case ? what has he to say for himself, on what does he rely ? ” [compare Tacit. *Annal.* 3. 11 : “ Post- quae reo [Pisoni] T. Arruntium, T. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Aeserninus Marcellus, Sext. Pompeius patronos petenti, iisque diversa excusantibus, M. Lepidus, et L. Piso, et Livineius Regulus adfuere, arrepta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, *quae fiducia reo*], is perfectly appropriate ; and according to our author’s custom, completes the meaning of the Trojans, not sufficiently fully expressed in the preceding questions : QUO SANGUINE CRETUS ? QUIDVE FERAT ? precisely as the self-same words (“ quae fiducia ”) in the passage just adduced from Martial complete the similar inquiry : “ quae te causa trahit ? ”

CAPTO, the captive. Compare Sil. 6. 492 (ed. Rup.) :

. . . “ quae [Poenorum cohors] moesta repulsa
ac minitans *capto* [Regulo], patrias properabat ad oras.”

76.

ILLE HAEC DEPOSITA TANDEM FORMIDINE FATUR

VAR. LECT.

ILLE—FATUR ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.; Pott.; Heyne; Wagn. (1832, 1841, and 1861); Haupt; Wilms.

ILLE—FATUR OMITTED ■ *Pal.; Med.* (but the verse written in red ink at bottom of page).

ILLE—FATUR OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Voss; Peerlk.; Ribb.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

I cannot agree with the Leyden octavo edition of 1680, the younger Heinsius, and Burmann, in enclosing this verse between crotchets, and still less with Brunck in expunging it entirely, on the ground that it attributes *fear* to Sinon, whom Virgil but a few lines previously has represented as FIDENS ANIMI, ATQUE PARATUS, &c., and must therefore be supposititious. Neither do I plead in its defence, with Heyne and some other commentators, that Sinon first *pretends* to be agitated with fear (TURBATUS), and then *pretends* to lay his fear aside ("Fingit Sinon et hoc, quasi deposuerit formidinem," Heyne); on the contrary, I think that Virgil, having represented Sinon as entering upon the execution of his plot with boldness and confidence, represents him as *really* TURBATUS (*agitated and frightened*), when he comes to be actually confronted with the danger, and then as *really* recovering from his agitation when he finds that the immediate danger is over, and that the Trojans, instead of putting him to death instantly on the spot, are willing to hear what he has to say.

TURBATUS means *really* agitated, and DEPOSITA FORMIDINE, *really* recovering self-possession, because (■), if Virgil had intended to express by these words only simulated emotion, it can-

not be doubted that he would have afforded some clue by which his intention might have been discovered; but he has not only not afforded any such clue, but has actually assigned sufficient cause for real emotion: Sinon is *TURBATUS*, because he stands *INERMIS* in the midst of the *PIRYGIA AGMINA*; and *DEPOSITA FORMIDINE FATUR*, because *CONVERSI ANIMI, COMPRESSUS ET OMNIS IMPETUS*. (2), if the words mean only simulated emotion, then Virgil represents Sinon as of such heroic constancy and resolution as to look upon instant violent death without blenching; which is to hold him up, for so far at least, as an object of respect and even of admiration to Aeneas's hearers as well as to Virgil's readers, and thus to contradict the intention (evidenced by the terms *DOLIS, ARTE, INSIDIIS, CRIMINE, SCLERUM TANTORUM, PERIURI*) of representing him as a mean-minded man entering upon a dishonourable and dangerous enterprise, with an audacious confidence (*FIDENS ANIMI, ATQUE PARATUS, &c.*) in his own cunning and duplicity. (3), it is altogether unlikely that Virgil should here employ to express *simulated*, the very same words which he employs, *Aen. 3. 612*, in a similar context and similar circumstances, to express *real*, emotion. (4), there is a perfect harmony between *FIDENS ANIMI ATQUE PARATUS, &c.*, and *TURBATUS* understood to mean *real* agitation, because a man may enter upon a dangerous undertaking with confidence, and even with courage (which latter quality, however, it will be observed, is not expressed either by *FIDENS ANIMI*, or *PARATUS, &c.*), and yet quail before the instant imminent danger, as exquisitely shown by Homer in his most natural and touching account of Hector's flight before Achilles: how much more, then, the wretch Sinon? (5), *TURBATUS* means *real* not *simulated* agitation, because *real* agitation was more likely to move the Trojans to pity than any *simulation* of it. Virgil, therefore, taking the most effectual method of moving the hearts of the Trojans; and recollecting perhaps the advice of his friend Horace,

. . . " si vis me flere, dolendum est
primum ipsi tibi,"

presents Sinon to them in a state of real agitation, pleading for

his life with all the eloquence of unaffected fear. So Davus (Ter. *And.* 4. 4), instead of acquainting Mysis with his plot, and instructing her what answers she should give to Chremes, prefers to place her in such a situation that—speaking the truth, and in entire ignorance of his design—her answers must yet of necessity be the very answers which he desired; and when Mysis afterwards inquires why he had not schooled her as to his intentions, replies:

“paullum interesse, censes, ex animo omnia
ut fert natura facias, an de industria?”

It was inconsistent with Virgil's plot to make Sinon speak the truth, but he could with perfect consistency, and therefore did, represent him as actuated by real emotion; which *real* emotion is in express terms contrasted with his *false* words at verse 107, PROSEQUITUR PAVITANS, ET FICTO PECTORE FATUR.

The reader will, however, observe that Virgil, always judicious, carefully avoids ascribing *extreme* fear or agitation to Sinon; he is TURBATUS (*agitated*), PAVITANS (*in a flutter*), but he does not, like Dolon, his undoubted original, become χλωρος υπαι δειους, nor do his teeth chatter (αραβος δε δια στομα γινετ' οδοντων). Such extreme degree of terror, although beautifully consistent with the simple undisguised confession of Dolon, would have been wholly incompatible with the cunning and intricate web which Sinon, almost from the first moment he opens his mouth, begins to wrap round the Trojans. It is, therefore, with the strictest propriety and observance of nature that Virgil represents Sinon at first bold and confident; then disconcerted and agitated at the prospect of immediate death; then reassured by the encouragement he received; then again, losing confidence when the Trojans manifest the vehement impatience expressed by the words TUM VERO ARDEMUS SCITARI, &c., and with renewed fear and trembling (PAVITANS) pursuing his feigned narrative; and then, finally, when he had received an absolute promise of personal safety, going on, without further fear or hesitation, to reveal the pretended secret of his compatriots.

Throughout the whole story the reader must never forget

that, although it was Virgil's ultimate object to deceive the Trojans, by means of Sinon, with respect to the horse, yet he had another object also to effect (prior in point of time, and not less important than his ultimate object, because absolutely indispensable to the attainment of that ultimate object), viz., to save Sinon's life, or in other words, to assign to his reader sufficiently probable and natural reasons why the Trojans did actually spare his life, and did not, as might have been expected, execute such summary judgment upon him as Diomedes and Ulysses executed upon Dolon under similar circumstances. Accordingly, the first words which he puts into the mouth of Sinon are a thrilling exclamation of despair, a piteous cry for mercy: *HEU ! QUAE NUNC TELIUS*, &c. This has the effect of staying the uplifted sword, of averting the first and instant danger, *COMPRESSUS ET OMNIS IMPETUS* ; they encourage him to speak, to tell who he is, and why he should not meet the captive's doom ; Sinon respires, recovers his self-possession, and—endeavouring to make good his ground, and strengthen the favourable impression produced by his first words—says that he was the friend of that Palamedes of whose unjust condemnation and death they might have heard, and the principal cause of which was the opposition given by him to the undertaking of the war against Troy ; and that he had not, like the other Greeks, come to the war out of hostility to the Trojans, or even voluntarily, but had, when a mere boy (and, therefore, irresponsible), been sent by his father, who was so poor as not otherwise to be able to provide for his son. He then enters upon an account of his quarrel with and persecution by Ulysses, their most dreaded and implacable enemy ; but perceiving that they begin to take an interest in what he is saying, suddenly stops short, and artfully begs of them to put him out of pain at once, as he knew that, no matter how great or undeserved his sufferings had been, they could have no pity or forgiveness for one who was guilty of the crime of being a Greek. The Trojan curiosity is inflamed, and they insist to know the sequel. He proceeds *PAVITANS* (whether because he had not yet entirely recovered from his first alarm, or whether alarmed afresh by the vehemence and impatience of the

Trojans, or whether from both these causes conjointly), and relates how by the villanous concert of the priest Calchas with Ulysses he was selected to be offered up as a victim to appease the offended gods; how he escaped from the altar, and lay hid during the night (the preceding night) in a morass; and then lamenting that his escape from death by the hands of the Greeks had only led him to death by the hands of the Trojans, and that he was never more to see his country, home, or relatives, concludes with a pathetic adjuration, in the name of the gods above and of inviolable faith, that they would yet pity such unexampled, such undeserved misery, and spare his life. His tears, his agony of fear, the plausibility of his story, their sympathy with the object of the hatred and persecution of the Greeks and of Ulysses, prevail; they grant him his life; and so closes the first act of the interlude of Sinon.

In nothing is the admirable judgment of Virgil more remarkable than in the skill with which he has all this while kept the wooden horse, as it were in abeyance. No act has been done, no word uttered, which could excite in the Trojan mind, or in the mind of the reader, ignorant of the sequel, the slightest suspicion that Sinon has anything whatsoever to do with the horse, or the horse with Sinon. So careful is the poet to avoid every, even the slightest, ground for a suspicion, which would have been fatal to the entire plot, that it is from a distance, and by the agency of the Trojans themselves, he brings Sinon into the vicinage of the horse; and that, in the whole course of the long history which Sinon gives of himself, and which the reader will observe is now concluded, the horse is never so much as mentioned or even alluded to, except once, and then so artfully (as it were only for the purpose of fixing a date) that the mention which is made, while it stimulates the Trojans to question him on the subject, seems less remarkable than absolute silence would have been, inasmuch as it proves that Sinon does not *de industria* eschew all notice of an object which must have attracted his attention, and of the purport of which he could not but be supposed to have some knowledge.

In the second act of the interlude, or that part which com-

mences with verse 152, we find Sinon totally changed; "now more bold, the tempter . . . new part puts on;" his life secure, guaranteed by the king himself, he is no longer the abject, cringing, hesitating, trembling wretch, but the successful and exulting villain. He loudly and boldly invokes the gods to witness his abjuration of the Greeks and acceptance of the Trojan covenant; and makes his revelation of the important secret which is to be the rich reward of the Trojan clemency, not, as he had pleaded for his life, in broken passages, leaving off at one place and commencing at another, but *uno tenore*—explaining in uninterrupted sequence the absence of the Greeks, their intended return, the object for which they built the horse, and why they built it of so large dimensions; the evil consequences to the Trojans if they offered it any injury, and to the Greeks if it were received into the city, &c. The impostor is fully credited; the generous, unwary, and fate-devoted Trojans are caught in the toils so delicately woven and so noiselessly drawn around them, and the curtain falls.

If the reader happen to be one of those critics who think the story of the wooden horse deficient in verisimilitude, he will receive with the greater favour an interpretation which tends to increase the verisimilitude, by representing the falsehood and cunning of Sinon as united, not with that quality with which falsehood and cunning are so inconsistent and so rarely united, heroic fortitude, but with their very compatible and nearly allied quality, audacity.

It is impossible to leave this subject without remarking how favourably to Trojan faith and generosity (as might be expected, Virgil being the *poeta* and Aeneas the narrator) the conduct of the Trojans towards Sinon contrasts with that of the Greeks towards Dolon. Ulysses and Diomedes encourage Dolon, and tell him not to think of death, on which ambiguous pledge he tells the whole truth; they reward him by coolly cutting off his head, as the last word of his revelation passes his lips. Sinon tells the Trojans a tissue of lies, and not only has his life spared, but is treated with kindness and hospitality.

That most rigid and terrific of all the dispensers of the so-

called divine retributive justice, Dante (see *Inferno*, 30. 46, et seq.), punishes Sinon in hell with an eternal sweating fever, in company (according to the great poet's usual eccentric manner of grouping his characters) on the one side with Potiphar's wife, whom he punishes with a similar fever, and on the other with a famous coiner of base money at Brescia, whom he torments with a never-dying thirst and dropsy, and between whom and Sinon ensues a contention in none of the gentlest billingsgate, which of the two is the greater sinner.

77.

CUNCTA EQUIDEM TIBI REX FUERIT QUODCUNQUE FATEBOR

VAR. LECT.

FUERIT QUODCUNQUE ■ *Med.* ■■ 2^o. ■■■ Serv.; Venice, 1470, 1471, 1475 (Jenson); Modena; Brescia; Milan, 1492; G. Fabric.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (3 eds.); Heyne; Wakef.; Pottier; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Haupt; Ribb.

FUERINT QUÆCUNQUE ■ *Pal.* (thus: FUERINT, the N being, although very pale and almost indiscernible, apparently inserted by original hand. It is omitted by Ribb.) ■■ 4^o (found by Pierius and N. Heins. in the greater number of their MSS., and by Burm. in almost all his). ■■■ Venice, 1472; P. Manut.; Philippe.

FUERIT QUÆCUNQUE ■■■ Milan, 1475.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

FUERIT QUODCUNQUE. "Quicunque me sequatur eventus," Servius. "Quicquid evenerit, mihi que exinde acciderit," Heyne. "QUODCUNQUE referendum ad CUNCTA," Wagner. Arguing against which interpretation of Wagner, and in favour of that of Servius and Heyne, Süpfle says ("Virgili operâ: mit anmerkungen zur Eneide versehen von Karl Fr. Süpfle: Karls-

ruhe, 1847"): "Auch haben schon die alten, wie Phaedrus im prologe zum dritten buche, die worte anders und wohl richtiger gefasst, nämlich: 'was auch daraus werden mag, wie es mir auch ergehen mag, wenn ich in allem euch die wahrheit sage.'"

I agree entirely with Wagner, and think the meaning is: "I will confess all whatever it may have been, whatever there may have been in it." The words are not less obscure in the quotation and application made of them by Phaedrus (see the two-column note on them in Schwabe's edition) than in Sinon's original use of them—a notable proof of the almost hopeless obscurity of the Latin language; an obscurity arising from its brevity, and especially, as it seems to me, from its almost constant omission of pronouns and pronominal adjectives. I am, however, inclined to think that in Phaedrus's quotation of the words "quodcunque fuerit" stands in apposition to "librum exarabo tertium," and that the meaning of them there, as in Sinon's original use of them, is, *such as it is, good or bad, of whatever kind it may turn out to be*. It is as if Phaedrus had said: But now as to this third book of mine, ye shall, as Sinon told King Priam, hear the whole of it such as it is, be it good or be it bad. See Rem. on l. 82.

CUNCTA . . . FUERIT QUODCUNQUE, FATEBOR. ^A As we might say in English: I will tell you the whole of it, let it be how it will—meaning, not how it will be with me, but how it will be with the matter.

CUNCTA QUODCUNQUE, exactly (as well remarked by Wagner, *Praestab.*) the Greek παντα, ο τι. Compare 8. 427: "Fulmen—quae plurima." It may further be alleged in support of the above interpretation, and against the "quicunque me sequatur eventus" of Servius (an interpretation, however, not without the support of Corippus Johannes, 7. 510 :

"tunc Nasamon pinnatus ait: 'me cuncta fateri
iussio dura premit. mortem licet ipsa minentur
verba mihi meritam, narrans tamen omnia dicam'"),

that this third allusion to the danger of death with which Sinon was threatened seems to be a useless repetition of a fear of a danger already sufficiently often mentioned, viz., in almost

every line of the preceding account beginning with CERTAE OCCUMBERE MORTI, verse 62, and ending with INFENSI POENAS CUM SANGUINE POSCUNT, verse 72.

79-87.

HOC PRIMUM NEC SI MISERUM FORTUNA SINONEM
FINXIT VANUM ETIAM MENDACEMQUE IMPROBA FINGET
FANDO ALIQUOD SI FORTE TUAS PERVENIT AD AURES
BELIDAE NOMEN PALAMEDIS ET INCLYTA FAMA
GLORIA QUEM FALSA SUB PRODITIONE PELASGI
INSONTEM INFANDO INDICIO QUJÆ BELLA VETABAT
DEMISERE NECI NUNC CASSUM LUMINE LUGENT
ILLI ME COMITEM ET CONSANGUINITATE PROPINQUUM
PAUPER IN ARMA PATER PRIMIS HUC MISIT AB ANNIS

VANUM ETIAM MENDACEMQUE IMPROBA FINGET. VANUM, one who asserts what is not the fact, from ignorance, folly, or mistake; Gr. *ματαιον, ληρον* (as Soph. *Aj.* 1161 (ed. Brunek) :

. . . καμοι γαρ αισχιστον κλυειν
ανδρος ματαιου, φλαυρ' επη μυθουμενου.

Diog. Laert. 2. 140: Κατεφρονειτο [Menedemus] *Κυων και Αηρος υπο των Ερετριων ακουων*) : MENDACEM, one who asserts what is not the fact from a desire to deceive. In other words, and less specially : VANUM, one who is deceived himself; MENDACEM, one who desires to deceive others. Compare *Æn.* 1. 396 :

“ ni frustra augurium *vani* docuere parentes”

(where “vani” is ill-informed on the subject, and therefore teaching erroneous doctrine; teaching erroneous doctrine, but believing what they taught to be the truth). Also, Liv. 6. 14 : “*Vera an vana iaceret*”—things conformable to fact, or things not conformable to fact, no matter whether he believed them

or not. *Verus* is an ambiguous word, sometimes meaning true in point of fact, *i. e.*, conformable to fact, and sometimes meaning true in the opinion of the speaker; on the contrary, there is no ambiguity either in *vanus* or *mendax*—*vanus* being always untrue in point of fact, *i. e.*, not conformable to fact, and *mendax* being always untrue in the opinion of the speaker, *i. e.*, not conformable to the opinion of the speaker.

Similar to the Latin use of *vanus* is the Italian use of its derivative *vaneggiare*, as Metast. *La Clemenza di Tito*, 2. 7:

“così confuso io sono,
che non so se *vaneggio* o se ragiono.”

Metast. *Zenobia*, 3. 2:

“qual riposo aver poss' io,
se *vaneggio* a tutte l' ore?”

FORTUNA . . . FINXIT . . . IMPROBA FINGET. See Rem. on *Aen.* 2. 552.

FANDO ALIQUOD SI, &c.—NOT FANDO ALIQUOD, but FANDO, SI NOMEN ALIQUOD; FANDO being taken intransitively, as Ovid, *Met.* 15. 497:

“*fando*, aliquem Hippolytum vestras (puto) contigit aures,
credulitate patris, sceleratae fraude novercae
occubuisse neci.”

Politian's Herodian (ed. Boecler), 1. 15: “neque unquam *fando* audiverant.”

FANDO, *inter fandum*, in conversation, as Ausonius, *Epist.* 16. 36:

“quem nemo *fando* dixerit,
qui non prius laudaverit.”

The report or rumour which so came *fando* was the *φᾱτις* of Euripides, *Hippol.* 129 (ed. Stokes):

. . . οθεν μοι
πρωτα φᾱτις ηλθε, δεσποιναν
τειρομεναν νοσηρα
κοιτα, δεμας εντος εχειν
οικων,

where οθεν μοι φᾱτις ηλθε is literally: from whom the first *saying* came to me, *i. e.*, from whom I first heard.

FALSA SUB PRODITIONE, “*h. e. sub falso crimine proditiōis*,” Servius; followed by Heyne, and all the other commentators and translators. To this interpretation I object: *Firstly*, that no authority has been adduced to show that *proditiō* may be used for *crimen proditiōis*; the *act* committed, for the *charge* founded upon the commission of the act. *Secondly*, that if Virgil had intended to say that the Pelasgi had condemned Palamedes, *on or by means of* a false charge of treason, he would more probably have used the words FALSA PRODITIONE in the same manner as INFANDO INDICIO, without a preposition. *Thirdly*, that this interpretation represents the whole Greek nation at Troy (PELASGI) as conspiring against Palamedes; which is (*a*) contrary to all verisimilitude; (*b*) deprives INFANDO INDICIO of its force, because, if all were conspiring against Palamedes, it was of small consequence how “infandous” the information or informer was, or, indeed, whether there were any information or informer at all; and (*c*) contradicts the statement (verse 90) that it was through the machinations of Ulysses that Palamedes’ condemnation was accomplished.

Rejecting, for all these reasons, the received interpretation, I render FALSA SUB PRODITIONE, *during, or at the time of, a false or feigned treason*; i. e., when there was an alarm (whether of accidental or concerted origin it matters not) of treason in the Grecian camp. The words being so interpreted, the meaning of the passage is, not that the Pelasgi brought a *false* charge of treason against Palamedes, and condemned him, *although innocent*; but that the Pelasgi condemned Palamedes on an infandous information, which, being brought against him *at a time when there was an alarm of treason in the camp*, was on that account the more readily credited. In support of this interpretation, I beg to observe—(1), that it restores to PRODITIONE its simple grammatical signification. Compare *Caes. de Bell. Gall.* 7. 20: “‘Haec,’ inquit, ‘a me, Vercingetorix, beneficia habetis, quem *proditiōis* insimulatis’”; and (*ibid.*) “Vercingetorix—*proditiōis* insimulatus—respondit.” (2), that the use of *sub* in the sense of *during, or at the time of*, is familiar to every scholar; thus, *sub nocte, sub somno, sub protectione, sub ad-*

ventu, &c. Livy (26. 16) has even joined *sub* to the close cognate of *proditio*—*deditio*; only putting *deditio* in the accusative, because he wishes to express, not the *precise time*, but *about the time* of the *deditio*. (3), that, this interpretation being adopted, *INSONTEM* is no longer a tautology of *FALSA*; the latter expressing only the falsehood of the general rumour of treason, not of the particular charge brought against Palamedes. (4), that this interpretation represents the Pelasgi, not, unnaturally, in the triple character of conspirators, accusers, and judges, but naturally, in the single character of judges, prevailed upon partly by the prevalent alarm of treason, and partly by the offence they had taken against Palamedes, *QUIA BELLA VETABAT*, to give credit to an infandous information against him. (5), that a greater degree of verisimilitude is thus conferred on the words *NUNC CASSUM LUMINE LUGENT*, because it is more probable that the Pelasgi would lament Palamedes (as soon as experience had taught them the groundlessness of their dislike to him on account of his opposition to the war) if they had themselves been deluded into convicting him on an “infandum indicium,” than that they would, under any circumstances, lament him, if their hatred to him had been so great as to induce them to convict him on a charge which they not only knew to be false, but of which they were themselves the concoctors. **And** (6), that Ovid draws an express and strong distinction between the party who *accused* and the party who *condemned* Palamedes (*Met.* 13. 308):

. . . “an falso Palameden crimine turpe
accusasse mihi [viz. Ulyssi], vobis [viz. Pelasgis] damnassee decorum est?”

FALSA PRODITIONE. Not only was Palamedes innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but the crime itself had no existence, had not been committed by any one; the “*proditio*” was “*falsa*,” a mere concocted *proditio*, which had no existence whatever; just as, Tacitus, *Annal.* 1. 39 (“*Utque mos vulgo, quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus-consulti incusant*”), the *senatus-consultum* which was laid to the charge of Munatius Plancus had no existence whatever, had never been passed at all, was a

feigned (*falsum*) *senatus-consultum*. Compare also Ovid, *Met.* 15. 154:

“quid Styga, quid tenebras, quid nomina vana timetis,
materiem vatū, *falsique* piacula mundi?”

[*a world which has no existence at all, a feigned world*].

QUEM (verse 83). This word (QUEM, and not *illum*) sufficiently shows that Sinon has not yet begun to give any new information to the Trojans, but is employed, as far as the word NECI, in recalling to their recollection facts with which he knew they were perfectly well acquainted (“*incipit a veris*,” Servius). The words NUNC CASSUM LUMINE LUGENT (see below) are thrown in parenthetically between the exordium in which he thus reminds them of known facts and the new information which he begins to convey at verse 86, ILII ME COMITEM, &c. Hence a plain reason why Sinon does not specify the precise charge made against Palamedes, his object being not to give a history of that individual, but merely to recal to the mind of the Trojans what they already knew respecting him.

NECI.—Nex, not merely death, but *death by violence*, and *of the unresisting*; slaughter, butchery, as *Georg.* 3. 478:

“hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
tempestas, totoque autumnū incanduit aestu,
et genus omne *neci* pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,
corruptique lacus infecit pabula tabo.
nec via mortis erat simplex;”

therefore, in our text, NECI, *execution*; and, *Liv.* 34. 44 (quoted below), “*necatus*,” *executed, put to death as a criminal*.

DEMISERE, *sent down*. DEMISERE NECI, *sent down to death by the hands of the executioner*. But why *down*? why the DE? Simply because *nex* is a form of death; and death, *Θάνατος*, *Orcus*, *Pluto*, *Hades*, the *inferi*, the *umbræ*, the *manes*, are all, in relation to this world, *down, below*. Accordingly, 5. 691:

“infesto fulmine *morti*,
si mereor, *demitte*.”

10. 664:

“*obvia multa virum demittit corpora morti*.”

2. 398 : “multos Danaum demittimus Orco,” and especially 12. 883 :

. . . “o quae satis ima dehiscat
terra mihi, manesque deam demittat ad imos!”

(where we have the *down* force of the *de* twice intensified by *imus*). Also, Stat. *Theb.* 1. 658 (of Choroebus challenging Apollo to shoot him with his arrow) :

“proinde move pharetras, arcusque intende sonoros,
insignemque animam leto demitte.”

The same verb is used both by Sallust and Livy to express the letting down of a condemned prisoner into the “Robur” or underground dungeon in which he was to be executed—*necatus* [Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 58 : “Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter xii. pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta, sed inculsa tenebris, odore foeda, atque terribilis eius facies. In eum locum postquam *demissus* est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, . . . laqueo gulam fregere.” Liv. 34. 44 : “Pleminius in inferiorem *demissus* carcerem est, *necatusque*”]. In Rome I have myself visited this lower cell or “Robur,” and a horrible place, indeed, it is—less horrible, however, at present than when it received unhappy Jugurtha or St. Peter ; for it has now, for the convenience of visitors, a second opening (*viz.*, a door on the level of the floor), and to enter it is no longer the same as never to leave it.

The notion of descent to Hades contained in *DEMISERE NECI* is repeated, verse 90, in *SUPERIS CONCESSIT AB ORIS*, where there seems to be a reference to the expression previously used. The ancient idea of descent in death—as expressed in the Latin *demittere neci*, *demittere morti*, *demittere Orco*, *demittere leto*,—seems early to have been lost, or, at least, mislaid and forgotten by the Italians ; for we have in very old Italian the simple “*missono a morte*,” *put to death*. See Leopardi’s *Martirio de’ Santi Padri*, cap. 2.

NUNC CASSUM LUMINE LUGENT, *they now* (*viz.*, convinced by experience that it was unwise to have undertaken the war : see

verse 108) *lament the loss of the prudent counsellor*, who *BELIA VETABAT*. But this is not the sole force of these words: they serve also to excite the Trojan sympathy, first and directly, for Palamedes (not only innocent, but lamented even by his executioners); and secondly and indirectly, for his friend and companion Sinon, *AFFLICTUS* (see verse 92, and Rem.) by his fall; like him, persecuted to the death by the same Ulysses; and (by implication) like him, innocent.

CASSUM LUMINE.—Literally *without light, dark*; compare *Lucret. 5. 718*:

“*nec potis est cerni, quia cassum lumine fertur;*”

and see Rem. on *Aen. 1. 550*. The use made of *cassum* by the Romans seems to correspond nearly with that made by us of the particle *less* in composition. *Cassus lumine*, *lightless*, i. e., *lifeless*; *cassus sanguine* (*Cic. de Divin. 2. 64*), *bloodless*.

PRIMIS AB ANNIS.—“*Ab initio belli*, bene *Burm. post Servium*,” *Heyne*; and so *Wunderlich*, *Wagner* (1845, 1849), and *Kappes*. “*Heyn. recte interpretatur: ab initio belli*. *Alii, velut Gossr. [and Voss], in iuventute prima* (quemadmodum *Aen. 8. 517*), cui tamen explicationi obstare videntur ‘*dulces nati*’ qui vers. 138 memorantur,” *Forbiger*.

The opinion of *Burm. Heyne, Wunderlich, Wagner* (1845, 1849), *Forbiger*, and *Kappes* (I do not say of *Servius*, *Servius* not seeming to have any opinion at all on the subject), that the “*anni*” here spoken of are the *anni* of the war, and not *Sinon’s* own, is, I think, sufficiently disproved by *Aen. 8. 517*: “*primis et te miretur ab annis*,” where the same word in a similar context can by no possibility mean anything else than the *anni* of *Pallas*. See also *Aen. 4. 30*, and compare *Val. Flacc. 1. 22*:

“*Hæmoniam primis Pelias frenabat ab annis.*”

Ovid, ex Ponto, 2. 5. 43:

“*tu comes antiquus, tu primis iunctus ab annis*”

(where observe that it is, as in our text, a *comes* who is spoken of). *Ovid, Met. 13. 595*:

. . . “qui [Memnon] fortia frustra
pro patruo tulit arma suo, *primisque sub annis*
occidit a forti (sic vos voluistis) Achille ”

(where observe that it was to these very arma of which Sinon is speaking that Memnon went). And, finally, Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 517 :

“ quaeque puer [Hyrieus] quondam *primis* diffuderat annis,
prodit fumoso condita vina cado.”

It is to be remarked, however, that the PRIMIS ANNIS spoken of are not the first years of Sinon's life (*i.e.*, Sinon's childhood), but the first years of Sinon's manhood (*i.e.*, his first adult years, his prime), because such, and no other, must be the meaning of the term in the just-quoted examples—Pallas not being a child but a grown man when he was sent in command of Evander's troops to assist and take example by Aeneas ; Pelias not being a child but a grown man when he ruled (“frenabat”) Haemonia; Memnon not being a child but a grown man when he was killed at Troy by Achilles—nay, being expressly styled “vir fortis” by Ovid himself, verse 616 ; and Hyrieus not being a child but a grown man when he barreled the wine with which in his old age he entertained the three divine visitors, the explanation of the words being in Hyrieus's case given by no less an authority than Ovid himself, who at verse 525 informs us that Hyrieus had a wife who was the care of his “prima iuventa.” If Hyrieus had a wife who was the care of his “prima iuventa” (= PRIMIS ANNIS), why might not Sinon also ? and, if a wife, why not children ? Compare also Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 9 (of himself) :

“ quae decuit, *primis* sine crimine lusimus annis ”

[the first years, certainly not of his life, but of his manhood ; the time when he was a young man (Virg. *Aen.* 7. 162 :

. . . “pueri et primaevo flore iuventus”),

precisely of the age described by Sinon in our text]. Ovid, *Met.* 12. 182 (Nestor speaking of himself) :

. . . “quamvis obstat mihi tarda vetustas,
multaque me fugiant *primis* spectata sub annis ”

[observed in my early days, *i. e.*, in my youth]. Silius, 2. 68 :

“haec ignara viri, vacuoque assueta cubili,
venatu et silvis *primos* defenderat annos”

[certainly not her infancy, but her early years of maturity].

Cic. *ad Att.* 2. 3 (ed. Orelli) :

“interea cursus, quos *prima a parte iuventae*,
quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,
hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.”

Id. *ad Fam.* 6. 12 (ed. Orelli) : “quod ego non mirabar, cum recorderer te et a *primis temporibus aetatis* in re publica esse versatum.” Sil. 10. 13 (of Paullus) :

“atque, ubi certamen *primi* ciet immemor *acri*,
foetus Gradivo mentem Cato fertur in hostes.”

And especially Sil. 6. 127 :

“vix puerile mihi tempus confecerat aetas,
cum *primo* malas signabat Regulus *aevos*,”

where the time of boyhood, “puerile tempus,” is directly contrasted with the first time, “*primo aevo*,” *i. e.*, the beginning of manhood.

PRIMIS AB ANNIS is thus neither more nor less than the poetic equivalent for the prosaic *ab ineunte aetate*. Compare the inscription in honour of Stilicho, Gruter, p. 412 : “Ab ineunte aetate per gradus clarissimae militiae ad columnen gloriae sempiternae et regiae affinitatis evecto,” where the context places it beyond doubt (as a similar context places it beyond doubt in Tacit. *Hist.* 2. 77 : “duo iuvenes, capax iam imperii alter, et *primis* militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus”) that the age spoken of is the military age, the age at which the youth is first regarded as a man and fit for military duty. Compare also Pind. *Nem.* 9. 41 (ed. Boeckh) :

. . . δεδोरκεν

παιδι τουτ' Αγησιδαμου φεγγος εν αλικια πρωτα,

and our own Milton, *Par. Lost*, 11. 245 :

“his starry helm unbuckled showed him prime
in manhood, where youth ended”

(where, however, youth is distinguished from manhood, not identified with it, as *iuventus* is by the Latin writers).

Such is the general notion expressed by *primi anni*, viz., “*prima iuventa*” (as Tacit. *Annal.* 4. 1 (of Ael. Sejanus) : “*Genitus Vulsiniis, patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa C. Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus*”), the age of commencing manhood, the age when the individual is regarded no longer as a child, but as a man, and is entitled to wear the *toga virilis* (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 4). Now, what was this age in the Roman polity? Of course, the age of puberty, *i. e.*, fourteen years complete. Up to this age the individual was not a man but a *spes*, and his death during this period was *acerba*, or immature, and celebrated neither by funeral procession nor panegyric. Compare *Aen.* 6. 426 :

“continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
infantumque animæ flentes, in limine primo,
quos dulcis vitæ exsortes et ab ubere raptos
abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo.”

Tac. *Ann.* 13. 15 : “*Turbatus his Nero, et propinquo die, quo quartum decimum ætatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare secum,*” &c. *Ibid.* 13. 17 : “*Festinationem exsequiarum edicto Caesar defendit, id a maioribus institutum referens, ‘subtrahere oculis acerba funera, neque laudationibus aut pompa detinere.’*”

This interpretation of *PRIMIS AB ANNIS*, and that which I have given of “*Tu Marcellus eris,*” *Aen.* 6. 884, confirm each other. Sinon, who lives to be a man, reaches his *primi anni* and is sent to the war, becomes a soldier (*PRIMIS AB ANNIS IN ARMA MISIT*); but Marcellus, who dies in childhood without reaching his *primi anni*, does not become a soldier, does not fight, only *would* have become a soldier, *would* have fought (“*tulisset,*” “*iret,*” “*foderet*”), if he had lived to be a man, if he had reached his *primi anni*, if he had come to be Marcellus. We thus get rid, not only of Forbiger’s (and my own former—see “*Twelve Years’ Voyage*”) objection to refer *ANNIS* to Simon, but of Peerlkamp’s proposed wholesale emendation.

The expression “*primis ab annis*” is preserved in the Italian, as Agnese di Merania, del Visconti di Arlinecourt (traduzione di G. Paganucci): “Il detto Olburgo è stato la sola guida dei di lui *primi anni*.” *Ibid.*: “Il barone di Valdsburgo si era imposto il più assoluto silenzio sugli *anni primi* della sua vita.” Metast. *Regolo*, 1. 1 :

. . . “ah! rammenta
che del tuo genitore emulo antico
fu da' prim' anni.”

La Nazione, Firenze, 7 Aprile, 1862: “Fino dai suoi *primi anni* mostrò grande propensione per la caccia, si esercitò nel maneggio dell' armi, con tanta attività, che acquistossi nel suo paese fama d'infallibile tiratore.”

IN ARMA, “*h. e., ad bellum*,” Heyne. I think the meaning is rather, *to the profession of arms, to seek a military fortune*. Compare Terent. *Heaut.* 1. 1. 59 :

“sed in Asiam abii hinc propter pauperiem, atque ibi
simul rem et gloriam armis belli repperi.”

88-89.

DUM STABAT REGNO INCOLUMIS REGUMQUE VIGEBAT
CONSILIIS

VAR. LECT.

REGNUM ■ *Pal.* (REGNU, the M torn off; Ribb. has omitted the N); Pierius (“REGUM CONCILIIS ego nusquam in his veteribus legi exemplaribus”).
■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Philippe.

REGUM ■ *Med.* (REGVM), *Ver.* (very indistinct). ■■■ Donat.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Peerlk.; Wagn. (1832, 1841, 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

O *Vat., Rom., St. Gall.*

VAR. LECT.

CONSILIIS ■ *Ver.* (CONSILIIS, very indistinct, except the superscribed C); Pierius. ■■■ Rom., 1473; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Wagn. (1841, 1845, 1861).

CONSILIIS ■ *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■ *cod. Canon.* (Butler). ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (1832); Peerlkp.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

O *Vat.*, *Rom.*, *St. Gall.*

Compare Herder, *Der Cid unter Ferd. d. grossen*, 2 :

“ in Asturiens gebirgen
zählet Gormatz tausend freunde,
er in *koenig's rath der erste*,
er der erste in der schlacht.”

Also Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 46 (personified Rome speaking) :

“ armato quondam populo, *patrumque vigebam*
consiliis.”*

Dares Phryg. 18 : “ Dum Agamemnon consulit de tota re, ex Corno advenit Nauplii filius Palamedes cum navibus triginta. Ille se excusavit; morbo affectum Athenas venire non potuisse; quo advenerit, quum primum potuerit. Gratias agunt, rogantque eum *in consilio* esse.”

Query : should not the reading both in Claudian and Virgil be “conciliis?” Compare *Georg.* 1. 24 :

“ tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura decorum
concilia incertum est.”

AFFLICTUS (verse 92). Not *sorrowful*, for that meaning is contained in LUCTU; but *dashed to the ground, beaten down from his prosperity*, viz., by the death of his friend and patron. It is used in this its primitive sense on the only other occasion on which Virgil has used the word, *Aen.* 1. 456; also by Milton, *Par. Lost*, 1. 186, “afflicted powers;” and 2. 166, “afflicting thunder.”

Bentley, ad Hor. *Od.* 3. 6, reads “conciliis” here :

“ armatis quondam populi patrumque vigebam
conciliis.”

96-99.

PROMISI ULTOREM ET VERBIS ODIA ASPERA MOVI
 HINC MIHI PRIMA MALI LABES HINC SEMPER ULIXES
 CRIMINIBUS TERRERE NOVIS HINC SPARGERE VOCES
 IN VULGUM AMBIGUAS ET QUÆRERE CONSCIUS ARMA

ET VERBIS ODIA ASPERA MOVI.—ET is epexegetic, and VERBIS the words in which “promisit se ultorem;” as if Virgil had written: “et movi odia aspera verbis, quibus me promisi ultorem,” or “me promittens ultorem.”

CONSCIUS affords the key to the passage HINC . . . ARMA. Sinon having mentioned no names, but merely threatened the authors of Palamedes’ ruin, Ulysses had no reason to believe himself to be the object of these threats, except his own consciousness that he was the guilty person. Moved by this consciousness (CONSCIUS), he met Sinon’s threats by a recourse to arms (QUÆRERE ARMA), viz., by making accusations against Sinon, by spreading ambiguous reports concerning him, and finally by procuring Calchas first to declare that a Greek life must be sacrificed to Apollo, and then that that life was Sinon’s.

CONSCIUS means *consci*us sibi, as in Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 4. 18:

“nec fore perpetuam sperat sibi numinis iram,
*consci*us in culpa non scelus esse sua.”

Also Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 18 (of Nero): “*sceleris sibi conscio*, et veniam sperante, si largitionibus validissimum quemque obstrinxisset,” as if he had said: “*veniam quaerente largitionibus.*”

The mistake of the commentators is twofold—first, the connecting of CONSCIUS not with the whole three clauses, but with the last only; and secondly, the confounding of QUÆRERE CONSCIUS ARMA with *quaerere conscia arma*: “Quidam CONSCIUS ARMA hypallagen putant, pro *conscientia arma*, ut (5. 595): ‘et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis,’” Servius (ed. Lion)—an *aliter* of Servius which, like so many other of Servius’s *aliter*s, shows the extreme modesty of that critic,

how very little confidence he had in that better judgment with which he had just interpreted *CONSCIUS* ("aut peracti sceleris et de nece Palamedis, aut dolorum suorum . . . aut certe sciens hunc meum animum"). "*ARMA* esse possunt consilia, quae agitabat Ulysses ad depellendum imminens sibi a Sinone periculum, sic *CONSCIUS*, sc. periculi imminentiſ; possunt etiam esse fraudes et insidiae quas, in Sinonem parabat, *CONSCIUS*, tacite intra se; aut *CONSCIUS* est cum aliis, communicato scilicet cum aliis consilio. Hoc verum videtur, cum statim Calchantem consiliorum socium assumpsisse dicatur," Heyne. "Nempe illud *QUAERERE ARMA* vagum est et ambiguum h. l. nisi addatur aliquid, quo appareat, quam notionem his inesse voluerit poeta; adiectum est igitur *CONSCIUS*, quo indicetur communio quaedam; . . . *CONSCIUS ARMA* *QUAERERE* igitur poeta dixit, et cum Ulixis nomine adiectivum copulavit, quum, si metrum pateretur, nihil mutata sententia, etiam *quaerere conscios*, quae est communis ratio, dicere liceret," Wagner (1832), followed by Jacob, *Quaest. Epic.* p. 121. "Diese stelle machte von jeher grosse schwierigkeit. . . . Die zwei bedeutendsten, aber fast entgegengesetzten, erklärungen sind: 'er zieht noch andere in sein geheimniss, sucht vertraute, und mit diesen und durch diese die weiteren feindlichen mittel (*ARMA*) gegen Sinon;' oder, 'Die waffen, die er heimlich im zelte des Palamedes tückisch versteckt hatte, sucht er nun mit mitwissern offen auf, um daraus die klage des verraths gegen denselben zu begründen, und so auch den Sinon zu verderben,' Süpſle. "*QUAERERE CONSCIUS ARMA*, to seek allies as a conspirator—nearly equivalent to *quaerere arma consciorum*, or *quaerere conscios*, as Wagner gives it," Conington.

ARMA, *arms*, in the sense of *war*, as "*arma virumque cano*."

QUAERERE ARMA, *seeks war, sets himself to make war*, viz., with me; *has recourse to war*. We have the precise expression, Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 51: "Tum adversus Vindicem contractae legiones, seque et Gallias expertae, *quaerere* rursus *arma*, novasque discordias; nec *socios*, ut olim, sed *hostes* et victos vocabant." Compare Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 9. 45:

"et modo blanditias dicat; modo iurgia quaerat"

[have recourse to reproaches]. Propert. 1. 7. 5 :

“nos, ut consuemus, nostros agitanus amores,
atque aliquid durum quaerimus in dominam”

[I seek for something—some weapon—to turn against, to use against, my hard mistress]. Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 18 (of Agrippina): “Nomina et virtutes nobilium, qui etiam tum supererant, in honore habere, quasi quaereret ducem et partes,” viz., against Nero.

QUAERERE ARMA differs both from *poscere arma* and *sumere arma*; while *poscere arma* is to call for arms when you are ready and determined for the fight, and *sumere arma*, actually to take up arms, to arm—QUAERERE ARMA is to go in search of arms, to turn towards arms, to have recourse to arms.

QUAERERE CONSCIUS ARMA, conscious that he is the person whom I have threatened, has recourse to arms, *i. e.*, to war; makes war against me as the best means of defending himself, in self-defence begins hostilities.

101-103.

SED QUID EGO HÆC AUTEM NEQUIDQUAM INGRATA REVOLVO
QUIDVE MOROR SI OMNES UNO ORDINE HABETIS ACHIVOS
IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST IAMDUDUM SUMITE POENAS

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] REVOLVO, QUIDVE MOROR? SI OMNES UNO ORDINE HABETIS ACHIVOS, IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST, IAMDUDUM SUMITE POENAS; ■■■ Jahn (1825); Thiel.

[*punct.*] REVOLVO? QUIDVE MOROR? SI OMNES UNO ORDINE HABETIS ACHIVOS, IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST; IAMDUDUM SUMITE POENAS. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne.

[*punct.*] REVOLVO? QUIDVE MOROR, SI OMNES UNO ORDINE HABETIS ACHIVOS, IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST? IAMDUDUM SUMITE POENAS; ■■■ Wagn. (1832, 1861); Forb. (1852); Coningt.

O *Vat., Rom., St. Gall.*

VAR. LECT. (vs. 103).

[*punct.*] IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST. IAMDUDUM SUMITE POENAS. ■■■ Servius; Schol. in Palimps. Veron. (ap. Maium); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Gesner; Voss; Heyne; Wagn. (1832 and 1861); Ribbeck.

[*punct.*] IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST IAMDUDUM. SUMITE POENAS. ■■■ Ancient interpreters cited in the following words by Schol. in Palimps. Veron. (ap. Maium): "Plerique tamen sic distinguunt: IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST IAMDUDUM;" also Donatus ("Professus sum iamdudum me vestrum esse inimicum, sumite de confesso supplicium"); Catrou.

I do not at all doubt that the construction is: "SI HABETIS UNO ORDINE OMNES ACHIVOS et (si) SAT EST vobis ad meam damnationem me AUDIRE Graecum (*i. e.*, me esse ex Graecis), SUMITE IAMDUDUM POENAS de me;" and the meaning: "If ye put to death all Greeks without distinction, merely because they are Greeks, here, I am a Greek, put an end to me at once." In order to indicate this construction and meaning⁹ the punctuation of Jahn and Thiel should be adopted.

IDQUE AUDIRE = *idque me audire* = *Graecumque me audire* = *Graecumque me esse*. Compare Hor. *Epist.* 1. 16. 17 :

"tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis."

Ibid. 1. 7. 37: "rexque paterque *audisti* coram." Diogen. Laert. 2. 140: Κατεφρονεῖτο [Menedemus] Κυῶν καὶ Ἀθησὺν ὑπὸ τῶν Εἰρηρικῶν ἀκουῶν. Theocr. *Idyll.* 16. 30 :

οφρα καὶ εἰν Αἰδαο κεκρυμμενος ἐσθλος ἀκουσῇς.

Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 8 (ed. Boisson.): ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν τῆς Λαοδαμείας· τοῦτι γὰρ χαίρει ἀκουῶν. And especially, Dio Cassius, 72. 16: οὗτος οὐν ὁ χρυσοῦς, οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὗτος ὁ θεός (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἤκουεν), where we have in τοῦτ' the very ID of our text.

I shall not take on me to say in what sense the passage was understood either by Servius or Heyne, the gloss of the former ("IDQUE AUDIRE, etc.: me Graecum esse") being as obscure on account of its brevity as that of the latter (*viz.*, "Placet, AUDIRE ID, esse me unum ex Achivis; et ad primam enuntiationis partem refero: SI SAT EST. Ad apodosin retulisse videtur Cerda,

ut sit, vel hæc audire satis est, nil ut amplius addam necesse. Sed ID ET QUE ET AUDIRE pro *audicisse* valde duram orationem efficerent. Manendum adeo in prima interpretatione, quam et Servius agnoscit”) is obscure, notwithstanding its length. Cynthius Cenetensis (“AUDIRE pro *audicisse*”), Ascensius (“Si sat .i. satis est vobis audire id .s. quod dixi”), Voss (“und das allein zu hören genügt”), Thiel (“aliquem ex numero Graecorum esse”), Wagner (1832), approved doubtfully by Forbiger (“Si ad cognoscenda principum Achivorum ingenia satis est, id, hanc unam rem, audire”), Süpfle (“IDQUE, nämlich, dass auch ich ein Achiver bin”), Gossrau (“IDQUE, sc. me Argivum esse”), Conington (“ID, that I am a Greek, *c.* 78”), **all** agree in understanding the structure to be IDQUE [VOS] AUDIRE SAT EST—Wagner alone correcting his error and interpreting (1861): “ID, *h. c.* Achivum . . . AUDIRE, *h. c.* appellari;” and, of course, then at last understanding the accusative suppressed before AUDIRE to be not *vos*, but *me*.

QUIDVE MOROR? “Vestram, scilicet, festinationem; vel mortem,” Servius. No; the verb is here intransitive, and the sense is: “What am I dallying about? why am I tedious? why am I talking here when there is no use in talking, you having already decided on punishing me with death?” Compare Ovid, *Met.* 13. 516 (of Hecuba lamenting Polyxena):

. . . “quo ferrea resto?
quidve moror? quo me servas, damnosa senectus?”

IDQUE AUDIRE SAT EST IAMDUDUM SUMITE POENAS.—“IAMDUDUM hic est quamprimum, ut: ‘*iamdudum* erumpere nubem ardebant,’” Schol. ad Palimps. Ver. (apud Maium); and so Servius, Ascensius, Heyne, Voss, Thiel, Wagn. (1861). IAMDUDUM is not quamprimum, but the very contrary; refers not to the future, but to the just past time, and is equivalent to the English *already, at last*, the German *schon*. Compare 4. 1:

“At regina gravi *iamdudum* saucia cura”

[not quamprimum, but *now, for some time, already—schon*].
5. 26:

. . . “equidem sic poscere ventos
iamdudum, et frustra cerno te tondere contra.”

5. 513 :

“tūm rapidus *iamdudum* arcu contenta parato
tela tenens”

[*already*]. Also (the very passage quoted by Wagner (1861) as example of *iamdudum* used in the sense of *quamprimum*), Ovid, *Met.* 11. 482 :

“‘ardua’ *iamdudum* ‘demittite cornua’ rector
clamat, ‘et antennis totum subnectite velum’”

(where the structure is not (with Wagner) “*iamdudum* demittite,” and the meaning *quamprimum* demittite; but the structure is “*iamdudum* clamat,” and the meaning, *already* calls out—the sense of the whole passage being: They are not more than half across the sea when the waves begin to swell and show white tops, and the captain *already* shouts out, &c.). Compare also *Georg.* 1. 212 :

“nec non et lini segetem et Cereale papaver
tempus humo tegere, et *iamdudum* incurrere aratris,
dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent”

[*now at last* to press the plough]. Ovid, *Met.* 13. 457 :

“‘utere *iamdudum* generoso sanguine,’ dixit ;
nulla mora est”

—a passage which is the exact counterpart of our text, and in which the meaning is not “shed my blood as fast as possible,” but “now at last shed my blood; shed my blood already, my blood is ready to be shed.”

Iamdudum, therefore, so far from being the equivalent of *quamprimum*, is almost the very opposite,—*quamprimum* looking forward and signifying *as soon as all difficulties shall have been removed*, *iamdudum* looking backward and signifying that all difficulties have been already removed, that all is ready (“*nulla mora*”).

104-105.

HOC ITHACUS VELIT ET MAGNO MERCENTUR ATRIDAE
TUM VERO ARDEMUS SCITARI ET QUAERERE CAUSAS

HOC . . . ATRIDAE. Compare Ovid, *Her.* 9. 7 (Dejanira to Hercules):

“hoc velit Eurystheus, velit hoc germana Tonantis.”

TUM VERO ARDEMUS SCITARI ET QUAERERE CAUSAS. The reader is left, as he is occasionally left elsewhere—*ec. gr.* 1. 86; 4. 663; 6. 77; 6. 529; 12. 603—to conclude the actual fact from the context. We have an exact parallel in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 4. 28:

“la donna di saper ebbe desio,
che fosse il negromante, ed a che effetto
edificasse in quel luogo selvaggio
la rocca, e faccia a tutto 'l mondo oltraggio.

“nè per maligna intenzione, ah! lasso,
disse piangendo il vecchio incantatore,
'feci la bella rocca in cima al sasso,
nè per avidità son rubatore,'”

where the desire to ask the question is, without any question being asked, followed by the answer. Compare 9. 303, where the actual giving of the sword to Euryalus is omitted, and left to be deduced from the context; and *Georg.* 4. 459, where the actual death of Eurydice, and *Aen.* 12. 603, where the actual death of Amata, is omitted, and left to be similarly deduced. The sentence seems to be both in structure and sense a very exact translation of Hom. *Od.* 10. 249 (of Ulysses and his comrades full of anxiety and curiosity to hear some further account of their companions who had been turned into beasts by Circe):

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν πάντες ἀγασσάμεθ' ἐξέρεοντες.

where the text continues:

καὶ τότε τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐταρῶν κατελεξεν ὀλεθρῶν,

and where *αγασσαμένη* is interpreted by Heliodorus (see Apollon. Lexic., where, however, the reading is not *αγασσαμένη*, but, by a manifest error, *αγαπαζομένη*) *αγαν προσέκειμένη*, exactly equivalent to Virgil's ARDEMUS. See Remarks on l. 86; 6. 77, 529.

TUM VERO. "*Then indeed we are all on fire.*" They were curious before to hear his history, see verse 74; but, having heard so far, are now doubly curious. See Rems. on 2. 228; 3. 47, and 4. 396, 449, 571.

ARDEMUS. The force of the verb *ardere* is infinitely more intense than that of its English derivatives; which, having first lost their literal, have at last, as a consequence, almost wholly lost even their metaphorical sense. The Latin word, on the contrary, where it is not literal, is fully metaphorical. Compare Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 45: "*Tantum est flumen gravissimorum optimorumque verborum, tam integræ sententiæ, tam verac, tam novæ, tam sine pigmentis fuceque puerili, ut mihi non solum tu incendere iudicem, sed ipse ardere videaris.*" Argum. ad Terent. *Adolph.*: "*tanta iracundia incitatus est, ut arderet.*"

107.

FICTO PECTORE

"*Pectus pro verbis posuit. Nam nunquam fingitur pectus,*" Servius (ed. Lion). "*Ad fraudem composito animo, h. e. subdolo et fraudulenter,*" Heyne. "*Subdolo animo, h. e. subdolo et fraudulenter. Contrarium est 'apertum pectus' apud Cic. *Lael.* 26. 97,*" Forbiger. "*Subdolo,*" Wagn. (1861). "*Mit heuchelnder seele,*" Voss. According to this interpretation, PECTORE adds nothing to the sense, which, had the metre allowed it, had been fully expressed by "*fictæ fatur,*" = speaks with a feigned meaning, a feigned mind, a feigned purport, *i. e.*, falsely. Let us see whether this be not a mistake, and whether *pectus*—always

elsewhere the breast, either literally or figuratively—have not here, too, its own proper and peculiar meaning; be not here, too, breast, either literally or figuratively. That it is not breast literally being perfectly plain, inasmuch as it is not with the literal physical breast, but with the mouth, we speak, our inquiry immediately limits itself to the question whether *pectus* be not here used in its usual figurative sense of emotion, feeling, heart, as we, using a similar metaphor, sometimes say (see 9. 275 :

“te vero, mea quem spatii propioribus actas
insequitur, venerande puer, iam *pectore* toto
accipio”

[receive you with my whole feeling, my whole heart]. Auctor *Dial. de Cl. Orat.* 28 : “ut sincera et integra, et nullis pravitatibus detorta, uniuscuiusque natura toto statim *pectore* arriperet artes honestas” [take to itself with its whole heart]). And, **first**, the meaning: “speaks with feigned emotion, feigned feeling, feigned heart,” is in perfect accordance with the fact that it is with feigned feeling, feigned emotion, feigned heart, Sinon speaks all through, as, verse 145 :

“his lacrymis vitam damus, et miseresчимus ultro:”

verse 195 :

“talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis
credita res, captique dolis lacrymisque coactis
quos neque,” &c. :

and, secondly, it is in this sense our author uses *pectus* in the precisely parallel passages, (**a**), 1. 525 :

“maximus Ilioneus placido sic *pectore* fatur”

[*not*, surely, with placid words or meaning, *but* with placid *animus*, placid feeling]. (**b**), 9. 740 :

“olli subridens sedato *pectore* Turnus”

[*not*, surely, with sedate words or meaning, *but* with sedate *animus*, sedate feeling, sedate heart]. And, especially, (**c**), 10. 555 :

. . . “truncumque repentem
provolvens super haec inimico *pectore* fatur”

[*not* says these words with hostile meaning, *but* these words with hostile feeling, hostile heart, hostile animus]. Compare also (*d*), Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 561 (Ovid supplicating the clemency of Augustus):

“aspicias, quantum dederis mihi *pectoris* ipse;
quoque favore animi teque tuosque canam”

[with how much feeling, how much love, how much affection you have yourself inspired me]. (*e*), Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 3. 42:

“di quoque habent oculos; di quoque *pectus* habent.
si deus ipse forem, numen sine fraude liceret
foemina mendaci falleret ore meum”

(where “*pectus*” can be nothing else than feeling, susceptibility of the impression, made by beauty, of the passion of love). (*f*), Ovid, *Ep.* 16. 305 (Paris to Helen, of Menelaus):

“huncine tu speres hominem sine *pectore* dotes
posse satis formae, Tyndari, nosse tuae?”

[man without feeling, without sensibility]. (*g*), Ovid, *Met.* 13. 290 (Ulysses, of Ajax): “rudis et sine *pectore* miles” [without feeling, without sensibility]. (*h*), Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 4. 1. 17:

“da mihi, si quid ea est, hebetantem *pectora* Lethen”

[Lethe, that dulls the feeling, the sensibility]. (*i*), Catull. *Epith. Pel. et Thet.* 68 (of Ariadne):

“sed neque tum mitrae, neque tum fluitantis amictus
illa vicem curans, toto ex te *pectore*, Thesen,
toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente”

(where “*pectore*,” being placed in the same category with “*animo*” and “*mente*,” cannot be the literal breast, can only be feeling). (*j*), Hor. *Ep.* 1. 4. 6: “non tu corpus eras sine *pectore*” [a body without feeling, without sensibility]. (*k*), Lucan, 7. 701 (of Caesar, after the battle of Pharsalia):

l . . . “quo *pectore* Romana
intrabit, factus campis felicior istis”

[with what feeling? with what emotion?] (*l*), Val. Flacc.

5. 533 (of Aetes moulding the passion ("pectora") which Jason's demand of the fleece has excited in him) :

"interea quoniam belli pugnaeque propinque
cura prior, fingit placidis fera *pectora* dictis"

[moulds his fierce feeling, his fierce passion]. (*m*), Claud. 4 *Cons. Honor.*, p. 60 (of the unbought affection of the army for Honorius) :

"perdurat non empta fides, nec *pectora* merces
alligat. ipsa suo pro pignore castra laborant."

(*n*), Val. Flacc. 1. 642 (Neptune speaking of the Argo) :

. . . "hanc [Argo] mihi Pallas
et soror hanc," inquit, "mulecens mea *pectora* fletu
abstulerint"

[soothing, softening my feeling]. **And**, above all, (*o*), Quintil. *Inst.* 10. 7. 15: "Quare capiendae sunt illae, de quibus dixi, rerum imagines, quas vocari *φαντασιαις* indicavimus, omniaque de quibus dicturi erimus, *personae, quaestiones, spes, metus*, habenda in oculis, in affectus recipienda; *pectus* [feeling] est enim quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Ideoque imperitis quoque, si modo sunt aliquo affectu concitati, verba non desunt." The commentators, therefore, are wrong in their interpretation, and FICTO PECTORE is not fictæ, i.e., verbis fictis, but ficto affectu, with feigned emotion, with an affectation of emotion.

But with what kind of feigned emotion, what kind of "fictum pectus," is it that Sinon speaks? Are we left to conclude from the "his lacrymis" and "miserescimus" of verse 145, the "lacrymis coactis" of 196, and the kind words of comfort addressed to him by Priam, verses 148 and 149, that Sinon's feigned emotion is that of a heart-broken man, a man bowed to the ground with affliction and sorrow? No, we are not. Our author is quite precise and particular. Sinon is *PAVITANS*, all over in a flutter of agitation and apprehension; and this flutter not being real—for he is

. . . "silens animi atque in utrumque paratus
sen versare dolos seu certae occumbere morti"—

FICTO PECTORE is added for the purpose of reminding us that

it is not: *he proceeds flurried, and speaks with feigned emotion*; the feigned emotion with which he speaks being the flutter (PAVITANS) with which he proceeds. Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 191 (Hero to Leander):

“sed mihi, caeruleas quoties obvertor ad undas,
nescio quae pavidum frigora pectus habent,”

where “pectus,” directly and immediately connected with “pavidum,” is (although somewhat more literally *breast* than the “pectus” of our text) still the sentient, feeling breast, not at all the meaning, intending breast; not at all the thoughts, sentiments, or ideas.

FICTO PECTORE is thus the complement of PAVITANS, and the entire sense of the two sentences, PROSEQUITUR PAVITANS and FICTO PECTORE FATUR, is *prosequitur ficto pavore, or ficto pavore fatur or prosequitur fiete pavitans, or fiete pavitans fatur*—the second verb contributing nothing to the sense, and being added solely for the purpose of making up the second of the two sentences into which the author has thought proper for the sake of rhetorical effect and the more easy completion of his verse to divide the thought *prosequitur ficto pavore, or fieto pavore fatur, or prosequitur fiete pavitans, or fiete pavitans fatur*.

112—115.

CUM IAM HIC TRABIBUS CONTEXTUS ACERNIS
STARET EQUUS TOTO SONUERUNT AETHERE NIMBI
SUSPENSUS EURYPYLUM SCITATUM ORACULA PHOEBI
MITTIMUS

VAR. LECT.

SCITATUM ■ *Med.* (thus SCITANTVM). ■■■ *Mod.*; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.

SCITANTEM ■ *Pal.* ■■ “In Longobardico cod. SCITANTEM legimus,” Pierius. ■■■ Rob. Steph.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

The reading of the Medicean, *scitatum*, is confirmed both by Liv. 5. 15 :

“Quidnam eo dii portenderent prodigio, missi seiscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum ;” and by Iscan. 4. 254 :

“hic patriae et propriis *scitatum* oracula regnis
venerat.”

STARET.—“STARET, esset,” Heyne, Forbiger. This is neither to interpret Virgil, nor to understand poetry. *Stare* is, indeed, one of those verbs which are used in the Latin language in place of *esse*, but it does not on that account lose its own proper meaning. STARET places the horse before our eyes, not merely existing, but *standing* there, a remarkable, striking object. The object is the more striking, the picture the more vivid, not only on account of the position of STARET—first word in its own verse, and preceded by an introduction raising expectation, viz., TRAHIBUS CONTEXTUS ACERNIS (see Rem. on 2. 247)—but on account of its being itself placed before its nominative. The same verb, in the selfsame position in the verse, preceded by a similar introduction, and preceding in the same manner its nominative, will be found applied to a real living horse, 4. 135 :

. . . “ostroque insignis et auro
stat sonipes,”

and with the same effect, that of placing before our eyes, if we only deign to use them, the horse, not merely being or existing, but standing there bodily ; exactly as the same verb in the same position in the verse and similarly preceding its own nominative places so livelily before us the three hundred horses, not merely being or existing in the stables of Latinus, but standing there, 7. 275 :

“*stant* ter centum nitidi in praeseptibus altis.”

It is in the same way the urn is said not to be or exist, but to stand, at 6. 22 : “*stat* ductis sortibus urna ;” the tower is said to stand, 6. 554 : “*stat* ferrea turris ad auras ;” the altars are said to stand, 4. 509 : “*stant* arae circum ;” the silex is said to stand, 8. 233 : “*stabat* acuta silex ;” and this very wooden horse itself is said to stand, Hom. *Od.* 8. 505 : *ως ο μιν εστηκεν*. And such, I believe, will invariably be found to be the use made

by Virgil of stare, viz., to express either, as here, literal, or (as 2. 162 :

“omnis spēs Danaum et coepti fiducia belli
Palladis auxiliis semper stetit,”

where see Rem.) figurative standing, never to express mere existence or esse.

The use of stare in the sense assigned to it in our text by Heyne is happily not to be found either in Virgil, or, as far as my memory at this moment serves me, in other first-class Latin writers. To the great disgust of the Latin scholar, it is very frequent in Italian writers, even of the first class (as Dante, *Inferno*, 34. 13 :

“altre stanno a giacere, altre stanno erete,
quella col capo, e quella con le piante”),

and in Italy jars on his ear many times every day in the ordinary salutation : “Come sta?” Then there is the Sp. *estar*.

SUSPENS. “Solliciti, dubii quid facerent,” Heyne. The latter part of the definition is nearer to the truth than the former. Suspensus is not sollicitus, anxious, uneasy, but suspended, at a loss what to do, and, because at a loss what to do, doing nothing ; suspended, not merely mentally, but in act, at a nonplus, ἀπορία κερχόμενοι, as Euripides (*Iphig. Aul.* 89) says of the same persons in that precisely similar situation at Aulis which is referred to at verse 116. Compare (α), 4. 9 : “quae me *suspensam* insomnia terrent?” [not sollicitam, but, as is plain from the context, irresolute, undecided, taking no step, suspended from action by the terrifying dreams (“insomnia terrent”), the effect of which upon her is so great that it is only after her sister has encouraged her—

“his dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore,
spemque dedit dubiae menti, solvitque pudorem”—

that she begins to act (“principio delubra adeunt,” &c.)]. Also (b), 2. 728 :

“nunc omnes terrent aerae, sonus excitat omnis
suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem”

[not anxious, but irresolute, undecided whether to go on or

stop—otherwise the poet has failed to convey the full picture, and the words “omnes terrent auras, sonus excitat omnis” are without their most ordinary and natural consequence]. **And (c)**, Sil. 15. 460 :

“ille, ubi *suspensi* Patres, et curia vocem
posceret, ut cantu ducebat corda Senatus”

[where the fathers were at a nonplus, did not know what step to take]. That *suspensus* is not *sollicitus*, but *suspended*, *hanging undetermined*, appears further from the marked distinction made by Cicero between the two terms, *ad Att.* 2. 18 (ed. Orelli) : “intellexi, quam *suspensio* animo et *sollicito* scire aures, quid esset novi;” *de Leg. Agrar.* 1. 8 (ed. Orelli) : “*sollicitam* mihi civitatem suspicione, *suspensam* metu, perturbatam vestris legibus et concionibus et seditionibus, tradidistis.” Compare Manil. 1. 66 :

“nam rudis ante illos, nullo discrimine, vita
in speciem conversa operum ratione carebat,
et *stupefacta* novo *pendebat* lumine mundi,”

where “*pendebat stupefacta*,” *hung stupefied*, is equivalent to : remained stupefied, not able or not knowing how to advance.

119-126.

ARGOLICA—RECUSAT

ARGOLICA, the emphatic word of the sentence. It was this word which filled the minds of the hearers with horror. No matter how much blood was to be shed, if it had not been *Argolic* blood there would have been no horror. To aid the effect of the word and point out the precise meaning and import, our author has placed it in the most emphatic position, viz., at the end of the sentence to which it belongs, and in the beginning of a new line, from the rest of which it is separated by an abrupt and complete pause. See Rem. on 2. 246.

CUI FATA PARENT, QUEM POSCAT APOLLO.—CUI FATA PARENT, theme ; QUEM POSCAT APOLLO, variation ; QUEM corresponding to CUI, POSCAT to PARENT, and APOLLO to FATA, as if he had said : who it is for whom the fates are preparing ruin ; who it is whom Apollo, the oracle of the fates, demands. That this is the true structure is placed beyond doubt by Stat. *Theb.* 3. 700 :

“hic certe est, quem fata dabant, quem dixit Apollo,”

where we have not only the same fata and the same Apollo, but the same repeated relative, the same rhythm, and the same theme and variation, and where “fata” is the nominative. Who is there who, observing that the two relatives in the line of Statius have one and the same antecedent, does not at once conclude that the two relatives in the line of Virgil must have one and the same antecedent ; and that, therefore, the received reading CUI is not to be ejected to make room either for Peerlkamp’s conjectural QUID, or for Dietsch’s no less conjectural QUOD or QUAE, each of the three requiring an antecedent of its own ? Who is there who, observing that “fata” in Statius’s line is the nominative to “dabant,” and varied in “Apollo,” does not immediately conclude that FATA in Virgil’s line is the nominative to PARENT, and varied in APOLLO, and that the alteration proposed in the *Misc. Obserr.*, p. 86, of PARENT into PARET is as little called for as it is little in accordance with Apollo’s recognized office and mission—that of announcing, not at all that of ordering or disposing of, the future, as in 3. 251 :

“quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit ? ”

Thus, as I am fain to hope, is set at rest a question so long at issue among Virgilian students ; and not only the reading of the manuscripts justified, but the opinion of Servius and the majority of commentators, viz., that FATA is in the nominative, established as against that of Freudenberg (*Spicil. Vindic. Virg.*) and those who, quoting Ovid, *Met.* 14. 213 :

“talìa fingebam misero mihi fata parari,”

insist that FATA is the accusative, and the sense either CUI illi PARENT FATA (an interpretation to which there is the special

objection that there was as yet no suspicion of foul play), or CUI *ea verba* (verses 116-119) PARENT FATA, to which there is the no less strong objection that the plural *ea verba* cannot consistently be supplied after the singular QUAE VOX immediately preceding.

The verb *parare* has been (a) repeatedly joined with the nominative *fata* by Lucan, as 2. 131 :

“ ille fuit vitæ Mario modus, omnia passo,
quæ peior fortuna potest, atque omnibus uso,
quæ melior, mensoque, homini quid *fata parent*,”

and 6. 783 :

. . . “ quid *fata parent*
hi[*hic*, Weber] fecere palam ;”

(b), once with the same nominative by Seneca, *Oedipus*, 28 :

“ iam iam aliquid in nos *fata moliri parent* ;”

(c), once with the nominative *fortuna* by Valerius Flaccus, 1. 326: “ sin aliud *Fortuna parat* ;” (d), once with the nominative *superi* by Silius, 1. 136 :

“ magna *parent superi* ; tonat alti regia cæli,
bellantemque Iovem cerno ;”

and, (e), once by our author himself with the nominative “ [vos, o] di patrii,” 9. 247 :

“ di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,
non tamen omnino Teucros delere *paratis*”

—instances to which might be added very numerous others, but slightly different in construction, in which either the fates or the gods are said *parare*, to prepare, whether good or evil, for men ; as Lucan, 2. 68 :

“ non alios,” inquit, “ motus tunc *fata parabant*
quum,” &c.

Ibid., 1. 642 :

“ aut hic errat,” ait, “ nulla cum lege per ævum
mundus, et incerto discurrunt sidera motu ;
aut, si *fata movent*, urbi generique *paratur*
humano matura lues.”

Ibid., 649 :

“ quod cladis genus, o *superi*, qua peste *paratis*
sævitiam !”

Ibid. 2. 4:

. "rector Olympi,
sit subitum, quodeunque *paras*."

Plant., *Mil. Glor.* 725 (ed. Ritschl):

. "aequum fuit
deos *paravisse*, uno exemplo ne omnes vitam viverent."

Aen. 5. 14: "quidve, pater Neptune, *paras*?"

FATA PARENT, the fates may be preparing, as Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* 3. 9: "Pompeius abest; Appius misect; Hirrus *parat*" [Hirrus is preparing].

QUAE SINT EA NUMINA DIVUM, FLAGITAT. "Qui sint ii dii, scilicet, qui tam atrocia postulent, ut, quasi dubitans nec credens id fieri posse, quaerat Ulixes, num dii sint, qui talia postulare possint," Dietsch (*Theolog. Virg.*, p. 5). This is not the meaning. Ulysses merely demands an explanation of the NUMINA—will or pleasure of the gods as announced by the oracular response—first, because it is to give this explanation Calchas refuses:

HIS QUINOS SILET ILLE DIES, TECTUSQUE RECUSAT
PRODERE VOCE SUA QUEMQUAM, AUT OPPONERE MORTE;

and secondly, because the exactly corresponding expression, 3. 100: "cuncti quae sint ea moenia quaerunt," contains no reprobation of the "moenia" spoken of, but only the simple inquiry what those "moenia" are. Servius, therefore, is perfectly right in his gloss: "quaeritur modo non quid dicant (nam planum), sed quis debeat immolari."

NUMINA, the will or pleasure of the gods concealed under the mysterious oracular announcement. See Rem. on "perverso numine," 7. 584; and on "haud numine nostro," 2. 396.

ARTIFICIS SCELUS. Precisely the converse expression is used by Euripides, *Med.* 410 (ed. Pors.):

κακῶν δὲ πάντων τεκτονὲς σφωτᾶται

TECTUS. That TECTUS is here used, not in its derived sense of *secret*, but in its literal and primitive sense of *covered*, i. e., *shut up*, or *closed up*, viz., in his dwelling, is sufficiently proved by Statius's imitation (*Theb.* 3. 570):

“ ille nec aspectum vulgi, nec fida tyranni
colloquia, aut coetus procerum perferre, sed *atrâ*
sede tegi, et superum *clausus* negat acta fateri.”

Compare also Stat. *ibid.* 621.; *Aen.* 7. 600 (of Latinus) :

“ saepsit se *tertis*, rerumque reliquit habenas;”

7. 618 (also of Latinus) :

“ abstinuit tactu pater aversusque refugit
foeda ministeria et caecis se condidit umbris :”

Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 320 (Tiresias refusing to acquaint Oedipus with his guilt) : *αφες μ' ες οικους*.

129-137.

COMPOSITO—VIDENDI

RUMPIT VOCEM. Compare Div. Paul. *ad Galat.* 4. 27 : *ρηξον κατ βουσον, η ουκ ωδινουσα*, where Wakefield, with his usual rough vigour, “*i. e.*, *ρηξον βουν*. Nos Angli pariter locutionem *break* de sonis [he should have said *de flatu*] usurpamus, sed illis quidem minimè honestis et ab altera porta erumpentibus.” He might have still more appositely quoted Shakesp. *Com. of Errors*, 3. 1 :

“ a man may *break a word* with you, sir, and words are but wind ;
ay, and break it in your face, so he break it not behind.”

CONVERSA TULERE. “ Passi sunt verti ”—“ *conversa passi sunt*,” say Ruaens, Voss, Jahn, Forbiger, Kappes and Weidner. “ *Converterunt*,” say Heyne, Wagner, and Gossrau ; while Conington hesitates between the former of these interpretations and that which I advocated in my “*Twelve Years’ Voyage*,” viz., “*converterunt et tulerunt*, turned and carried to,” *i. e.*, “not only turned to but carried to”—an interpretation which I now find to have been La Cerda’s before it was mine, and before I adduced in support of it *Aen.* 4. 376 : “*furiis incensa feror*,”

TULERE is after all so vague, and therefore so weak and insignificant a word, that too much fault is not to be found with those commentators who regard it as here serving merely to make out the verse and give the participle the force of a finite verb. On a similar occasion Livy (5. 47)—happily for himself not under the necessity of either measuring the length or counting the number of his syllables—has expressed, forcibly and without any ambiguity, the thought which our so much and often so justly vaunted author has here required two to express weakly, lamely, and ambiguously: “*Tum vigiles eius loci, quae fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati; et quum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronuntiasset; consentiente clamore militum, in unum vigilem conuincientium culpam, deterritus, a ceteris abstinuit: reum haud dubium eius noxae, approbantibus cunctis, de saxo deiecit.*”

ERIPUI, FATEOR, LETO ME ET VINCULA RUPI.—VINCULA, “quibus ligatus servabatur, et ad aram adducebatur,” Heyne. No, Thiel is right; VINCULA is not to be taken too strictly. It is merely confinement, state of restraint, state of being a prisoner—VINCULA RUPI, I broke away, burst from among my guards, from the confinement in which I was held. Compare 1. 58: “*vinclis et carcere frenat*,” where the meaning is, as correctly explained by Heyne himself, not *with chains and a prison* (the winds not having been chained), but *with the restraint of a prison*. Compare also 8. 651:

“*et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis*”

[*not* her chains being broken, *but* her confinement, or state of custody, being broken—“*frustrata custodes*,” Liv. 2. 13]. Also 12. 29:

“*victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus,
coniugis et maestae lacrymis, vincla omnia rupi,
promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi.*”

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 602:

“*statque semel iuncti rumpere vincla tori.*”

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 2. 3:

“*scilicet asserui iam me, rupique catenas;
et quae depuduit ferre, tulisse pudet*”

—examples, the two former of the use of the expression *rumperere vincula*, the latter of the use of the even more precise expression *rumperere catenas*, in a still less literal sense, the confinement or bondage spoken of being not even so much as physical, only moral. Sinon's chains had been already taken off, and he was standing at the altar with the sacred fillet round his head (verses 155 and 156), when he burst away from among the hands of his executioners ("*vincula rupit et eripuit se leto*"). See Rem. on "*vinclis et carcere frenat*," l. 58.

Wagner (1861) does not know what *VINCULA* are here spoken of, but is quite sure they are not the same as those spoken of in verse 147: "*Quae VINCULA? certe non ea quae, vers. 147, commemorantur*"—a piece of information second in importance to none in his entire work, the *VINCULA* of verse 147 being those Trojan *VINCULA* with which Sinon is brought bound before Priam and from which Priam now orders him to be relieved (*ATQUE ARCTA LEVARI VINCULA IUBET PRIAMUS*); and the *VINCULA* of our text being those (Grecian) *VINCULA* from which he had previously broken loose (*ERIPUI, FATEOR, LETO ME, ET VINCULA RUPI*). In his next edition Wagner's doubt will have been cleared up, and he will be able to tell us all this.

DELITUI DUM VELA DARENT, SI FORTE DEDISSENT. I adhere to the received punctuation, and reject that of Heyne, which places the words *DARENT SI FORTE* between two commas so as to refer *VELA* not to *DARENT*, but to *DEDISSENT*. I am determined to this choice, not only by the reasons assigned by Wagner, but by the very remarkable parallel, verse 756:

"inde domum si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,
me refero."

PATRIAM ANTIQUAM.—*ANTIQUAM*, not merely *old* ("*Pristinam, nihil amplius*," Heyne), but, as occasionally elsewhere, *dear old* ("*der heimath alte gefilde*," Voss)—old, and because of its being old, and therefore associated with so many recollections, dear. This suggested meaning, if I may so call it, does not accompany the word into the English language, but is found in the Saxon derivative *old*, which therefore and not "*ancient*" is

the word which corresponds with the *ANTIQUAM* of our text. Thus we never say in this sense “ancient England,” or “ancient Ireland,” but always “old England,” and “old Ireland;” never “the good ancient times,” but always “the good old times.” Compare *Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1394* : τα πατρια λογω παλαια δωμαθ’.

141-143.

QUOD TE PER SUPEROS ET CONSCIA NUMINA VERI
PER SI QUA EST QUAE RESSTAT ADHUC MORTALIBUS USQUAM
INTEMERATA FIDES ORO

SUPEROS and *NUMINA* are not two distinct co-ordinate subjects joined together in the sense as they are joined together in the grammar by the copulative *ET*. There is in the sense but one subject, *SUPEROS* (*i. e.* the gods, appealed to by Sinon as *conscios veri*); but, it being a matter of difficulty for the author to connect *conscios veri* with that word and at the same time round his verse, *NUMINA* is had recourse to in order to supply the necessary dactyl in the fifth place, and so a word wholly superfluous to the sense, and both embarrassing to and deceptive of the reader, introduced—the sense being neither more nor less than *superos conscios veri*; and the reader being lured away in search of some difference in meaning between *SUPEROS* and *NUMINA* to account for the latter alone, and not the former, being conscious of truth. Such is the real nature of the *epexegetis* so much admired by those numerous readers who, to admire anything, require no more than to find it in Virgil. See *Rem. on “Italianam Lavinaque littora,”* l. 6-9, and concluding paragraph of *Rem. on “molem et montes altos,”* l. 65.

FIDES.—“*FIDES* quam hic inelamat est iusti rectique observantia, *h. l.*, iuris divini et humanitatis,” Heyne; as if Sinon

adjured Priam by his reverence for the gods on the one hand, and by his respect for right and justice on the other. This is not the meaning. There is neither a double adjuration, nor is fides ever “observantia iusti rectique.” For (1), the adjuration is not double, but single and simple,—“I adjure thee by the gods and by *INTEMERATA FIDES*, if there is any among men,” *i. e.* by the *INTEMERATA FIDES* of the gods, and men if, indeed, there is any such thing among men; plainly an adaptation to the epo of the “pro deum atque hominum fidem” of every-day life, and the genteel comedy. Compare 6. 458 (Aeneas addressing the shade of Dido):

. . . “per sidera inro
per *superos*, et si qua *fides* tellure sub ima est.”

“I swear by the gods above, and by whatever fides there is here in Hades,” *i. e.*, “I swear by the fides both of the gods above, and of the Manes; **and** (2), *FIDES* is not “observantia iusti rectique,” *i. e.* ⁹ *iuris divini et humanitatis*,” but, as fides is always and invariably *faith*, the keeping inviolate of one’s word, promise, or pledge (as Cic. *de Off.* 1. 7: “Fundamentum est autem iustitiae *fides*; id est, dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas”); in other words, fides is moral truth. Compare 11. 511:

. . . “ut fama *fidem* missique reportant
exploratores”

[as public rumour and the report of our scouts pledge us their faith, *i. e.* assure us]; 4. 597: “en dextra *fidesque*,” [see how he has kept his pledged faith]; 4. 552:

“non servata *fides*, cineri promissa Sychaeo.”

And such, if I am not mistaken, will be found to be the meaning of fides wherever it occurs, and it is also the meaning of our English derivative and parallel, *Faith*, as Clarke, *Sermon*, 8. “The word faith always contains the notion of faithfulness or fidelity.”

It being Sinon’s first and principal object, failing which all he could say or do would be worse than useless, to convince his hearers of his moral truth, of his fides [Gr. το πιστον, It. *lealtà*, Fr. *loy-*

anté), nothing could be more proper than his adjuring Priam by the *FIDES*, *i. e.* moral truth, of gods and men, especially of the gods who knew the facts, the absolute truth (*CONSCIA NUMINA VERI*), and would themselves their own *FIDES* being *INTEMERATA*, testify truly. Into what court were ever more competent witnesses brought—unimpeachable themselves, and acquainted besides with all the facts? Never in any treatise of Ethics were the two so essentially different kinds of truth more accurately distinguished from each other: the *verum*, or the true in fact and independently of opinion; and the *fides*, or true in opinion independently of fact. In like manner, 6. 458, it being Aeneas's first and principal object to convince Dido of his *fides*, his moral truth and sincerity, his appeal is as before to the *fides* or moral truth and sincerity; but being no longer among men, his appeal is no longer to the same *fides*, the same moral truth and sincerity as before, *viz.*, the *fides* of gods and men, but to the *fides* of the gods and of those among whom he now finds himself, *viz.*, the *Manes* :

. . . “ per sidera iuro
per superos, et si qua *fides* tellure sub ima est.”

On the contrary, Aeneas's object in his first interview with Dido being not to inspire her with confidence in his words (entire confidence being already and beforehand placed in them by the guileless, generous, and candid queen), but to express his unbounded gratitude and everlasting obligation to her, his appeal is made not to *fides*, but to *iustitia*, that *iustitia* which, whether to be found in heaven or wherever else, would never leave unrewarded, such unexpected and unexampled benignity, generosity, and munificence :

. . . “ si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
usquam *iustitia* est,”

with which appeal to *iustitia*, Heyne, followed, as I believe, by most commentators, has confounded the very different appeal in our text to *FIDES*. Again, and with similar propriety, 2. 535, it is neither to *fides* nor to *iustitia*, but to *pietas*, tender-heartedness, the tender-heartedness of heaven (see Rem. on l. 14), that Priam appeals when he calls upon the gods to

reward, as it deserves, the outrage inflicted by Pyrrhus on an affectionate tender-hearted parent :

“ ‘ at tibi pro scelere’ exclamat, ‘ pro talibus ausis,
di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet,
persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum,
fecisti, et patrios foedasti funere vultus.’ ”

CONSCIA NUMINA VERI. NOT NUMINA VERI, but CONSCIA VERI
as, *Aen. 4. 519* :

“ testatur moritura deos et *conscia fati*
sidera.”

Manil. 1. 1 :

carmine divinas artes et *conscia fati*
sidera
. deducere mundo
aggredior.”

The two expressions *conscia fati* and *conscia veri* are, indeed, nearly identical, that which is fated being of course true, and that which is true being fated.

145.

MISERESCIMUS ULTRO

“ ULTRO autem non est *sponte*, nam iam rogaverat, sed *insuper*,” Servius (ed. Lion), followed by Wagner (1861), and Conington. “ ULTRO est *libenter, facili promptoque animo*,” Heyne, followed by Wagner, *Quaest. Virg.* “ Non solum eius precibus et lacrymis impulsus, sed nostro etiam sensu commoti, facili promptoque animo,” Forbiger. “ Talibus LACRYMIS VITAM DAMUS, ET MISERESCIMUS *vel* ULTRO; nedum rogati, ut ab hoc nunc duri

simus," Doederlein. Let us try to extricate ourselves out of this cloudy uncertainty and confusion, and in order to arrive at the meaning of ULTRO in our text, of ULTRO in connexion with MISERESCIMUS, inquire first what is the meaning of ultro elsewhere, what is the proper and usual meaning of the word ultro. The proper and usual meaning of ultro, like the proper and usual meaning of any other word, is only to be ascertained by induction. Compare, accordingly (*a*), Caelius Symposius, *Aenigm.* 96 (of Echo) :

"virgo modesta sacri legem bene servo pudoris;
ore procax non sum, nec sum temeraria lingua;
ultro nolo loqui, sed do responsu loquenti"

[here "ultro" is plainly neither "insuper," nor "facili promptoque animo," nor both together, but *proprio motu*; *i.e.* of myself, taking the initiative]. (*b*), Terent. *Eunuch.* 7. 42 :

. . . "novi ingenium mulierum:
nolunt, ubi velis; ubi nolis, cupiunt *ultro*"

[*i.e.* cupiunt proprio motu; of themselves, taking the initiative]. (*c*), Sen. *Hippol.* 441 :

"at si quis *ultro* se malis offert volens,
seque ipse torquet, perdere est dignus bona,
queis nescit uti"

[*i.e.* proprio motu offert]. (*d*), Liv. 21. 1: "Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi *ultro* inferrent arma; Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse" [*i.e.* proprio motu inferrent; of themselves, taking the initiative]. (*e*), Liv. 26. 17: "Ne iis quidem quao *ultro* dicta erant stabatur" [*i.e.* proprio motu dicta erant]. (*f*), *Aen.* 2. 193 :

"*ultro* Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello
venturam"

[where also "ultro" is *proprio motu*, of itself, taking the initiative]. (*g*), *Ibid.* 9. 126 :

"at non audaci cessit fiducia Turno
ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat *ultro*"

[where also "ultra" is proprio motu, of itself, taking the initiative]. (*h*), 10. 312:

"occiso Therone, virum qui maximus *ultra*
Aenean petit"

[where also "ultra" is proprio motu]. (*i*), 11. 471:

"multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit *ultra*
Dardanium Aenean"

[where also "ultra" is proprio motu]. (*j*), 9. 6:

"Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo
auderet, volvenda dies en attulit *ultra*"

[where also "ultra" is proprio motu]. **And** (*k*), 5. 446:

"Entellus vires in ventum effudit, et *ultra*
ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
concidit"

[where also (although we do not usually employ the expression proprio motu in such cases) "ultra" is really proprio motu, of himself, Entellus being himself the cause of his own fall]. Nor is there one single one either of the examples adduced by Tursellini to show that "ultra ex contrariis varias significationes accipit, nam cum *coacto* opponitur est *sponte*, cum *petenti* est *non petenti*," or of the still more numerous examples adduced by Wagner (*Quaest. Virg.*) to show that ultra is sometimes *εις το περαν*, sometimes *περαιοθεν*, in which ultra is not simply and without any *ambages* proprio motu, *αυτοματως*, *αυτομολως*, of one's self. See Rem. on 4. 304.

Let us now see what objection can be made to ULTRO understood here also in this its usual and proper sense: "To these tears we grant his life, and pity him proprio motu." There is, I am told, the objection put forward by Servius, viz., that ULTRO, so understood, is in contradiction to HIS LACRYMIS DAMUS. Their pity, I am told, cannot be proprio motu because Sinon had besought it ("iam rogaverat"); and not only had Sinon besought it, but the author taking up in HIS . . . MISERESCIMUS Sinon's most pitiful MISERERE, MISERERE, had called our special attention to the fact that Sinon had besought it. The objection is not without weight so long as ULTRO is regarded

as belonging no less to HIS LACRYMIS VITAM DAMUS than to MISERESCIMUS, for it is not easy to conceive the life which we have just heard was granted to tears to be granted proprio motu. But the moment we confine the operation of ULTRO to its own clause, the difficulty vanishes, and we have Sinon's life granted to his tears, and at the same time his hearers so softened that they pity him proprio motu. To be sure, this softening effect is, philosophically speaking, produced by Sinon's tears, nor is there any such thing in nature as motion without motor, any such thing as proprio motu at all; but it is not so felt by the Trojans, who regarded it as Aeneas describes it, viz., as a spontaneous uncaused proprio motu (ULTRO) operation of their own minds. We have a precisely similar apparently uncaused, but really caused, proprio motu of the mind of Turnus, expressed by the same ultro, in the beginning of the twelfth book, where Turnus, stimulated by the public impatience that he should come forward and redeem his pledge of meeting Aeneas in fight, not only comes forward, but

. . . "ultro implacabilis ardet
attollitque animos,"

i. e., proprio motu will not be appeased, but is on fire for the battle.

The second clause of the verse is thus a climax of the first—"not merely do we grant his life to his tears, but we pity him proprio motu also." Thus, also, the MISERESCIMUS of our text is really "insuper," but this meaning is not contained in, is only a deduction from, ULTRO.

To the suggestion of Gesner: "Malim tamen ULTRO ad sequentia referre: ULTRO IPSE VIRO PRIMUS MANICAS, &c., ut indicetur animus Priami mitis, qui non rogatus, non monitus, demi iubet Sinoni vincula." I object (α), That HIS LACRYMIS VITAM DAMUS ET MISERESCIMUS, "we grant him his life and pity him," is a bald, a much less fitting, response to Sinon's thrilling cry for pity:

MISERERE LABORUM
TANTORUM; MISERERE ANIMI NON DIGNA FERENTIS.
HIS LACRYMIS VITAM DAMUS ET MISERESCIMUS ULTRO,

“we grant his life and pity him proprio motu, *i. e.* by the impulse of our own hearts.” (**b**), That IPSE PRIMUS IUBET gains nothing, whatever it may lose, by the addition of ULTRO—those words of themselves sufficiently expressing the alacrity of Priam, himself one of those who “miserescunt” ULTRO. (**c**), That the euphony of the verse forbids the separation of the sixth foot from the fifth by a period. (**d**), That such separation, if occurring at all in the Aeneid, is of the rarest; and (**e**), That miseri and ultro are not only joined together, but joined together at the end of a verse, and so as to afford the same sense as in our text, by Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 679 :

“iamdudum persuasus erit, miserebitur ultro.”

148-156.

QUISQUIS—FUGI

The elder Heinsius placed a semicolon at GRAIOS and a comma at ERIS. The younger Heinsius, and, after him, Emmenessius and Burmann, retain the semicolon at GRAIOS, but substitute a colon for the comma at ERIS—correctly, as I think; NOSTER ERIS being thrown in according to Virgil’s usual manner (see Rems. on *Aen.* 1. 4; 3. 571; 4. 484; 6. 84, 741 and 882) parenthetically between the two connected verbs OBLIVISCERE and EDISSE, and the sense running thus: “forget the Greeks (for thou shalt from henceforward be ours) and answer me truly these questions.” Wagner in his edition of Heyne returns to the punctuation of the elder Heinsius, and observes in his note: “Comma post ERIS ponendum, et quae sequuntur hunc in modum accipienda: ac proinde EDISSE;” thus separating the two similar verbs, and connecting the two dissimilar. In his *Praestabilior*, however, the same critic, profiting *sub silentio* by the lessons read him in my “Twelve Years’ Voyage” and “Advers. Virgil.,” restores with his right hand the punctuation to the state from which he had removed it with his left.

NOSTER ERIS, *i. e.* shalt be Trojan, shalt be counted as one of us. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 272 (Attulus permitting the statue of Cybele to go to Rome): “nostra eris,” *thou shalt [still] be Phrygian.*

SIDERA, sky, as *Aen.* 5. 126, 628; and “astris,” 5. 517.

IGNES, not, with Servius and Donatus; the fires of or in the sky, *i. e.* the sun, moon, and stars, but the sky itself considered as fire, the fiery ethereal sky. The sun, moon, and stars considered as fires in the sky cannot have a numen (NON VIOLABILE VESTRUM NUMEN), but the whole sky—sun, moon, and stars inclusive—considered as a unity, can. See Apuleius, *de Mundo*, quoted below.

NON VIOLABILE, not to be profaned, viz., by any nefas, such for instance as a false oath, as if he had said: by whom to swear falsely were a profanity requiring expiation. Compare Liv. 2. 38: “An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? vos omnibus civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? vestras coniuges, vestros liberos, traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui audivere vocem praeconis? quid qui vos videre abeuntes? quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existimasse putatis? nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quo si intersimus spectaculo, *violaturi* sumus ludos, piaculumque merituri: ideo nos ab sede piorum, coetu concilioque abigi.” Eurip. *Med.* 750:

ομνυμι γαιαν, ηλιου θ' αγνον σεβας,
θεους τε παντας, εμμενειν α σου κλυω.

Apuleius, *de Mundo* (ed. Flor. p. 708): “Caelum ipsum, stellaeque caeligenae, omnisque siderea compago aether vocatur: non, ut quidam putant, quod ignitus sit et incensus, sed quod cursibus rapidis semper rotetur: elementum, non unum ex quatuor quae nota sunt cunctis, sed longe aliud, numero quintum, ordine primum, genere divinum et *inviolabile.*” Sil. 9. 168:

“tuni juvenis, maestum attollens ad sidera vultum:
'pollutae dextrae et facti Titania testis
infandi, quae nocturno mea lumine tela
dirigis in patrum corpus, non amplius,' inquit,
'his oculis et damnato *violabere* visu.'”

The sense assigned to the word by Servius (viz., *αφθαρτον*) belongs to a later latinity. Compare Flav. Vopisc. *Vita Diti Aureliani*, 41: "Recte atque ordine consulissent dii immortales, P. C., si boni ferro *inviolabiles* exstitissent, ut longiorem ducerent vitam: neque contra eos aliqua esset potestas iis qui neces infandas tristissima mente concipiunt. Viveret enim princeps noster Aurelianus quo neque utilior fuit quisquam."

VOS ARAE ENSESQUE NEFANDI QUOS FUGI. "Neque ullis adpetitus insidiis est, neque devotus hostiae; denique sic de omnibus iurat, ut per ea quae non fuerunt dans sacramentum, careat obiurgatore," Fragm. vet. interp. in Virg. ap. Maium, vol. 7, p. 272. See the similarly equivocating oath of Andromache, Senec. *Troad.* 604.

156-170.

VITTAETQUE—DANAUM

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] VITTAETQUE DEUM, QUAS ■■■ Servius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Heyne; Wagn. (*Præst.*); Ribb.

[*punct.*] VITTAETQUE, DEUM QUAS ■■■ "Multi hic distinguunt, et sic subiungunt: DEUM QUAS HOSTIA GESSI," Servius; Voss.

Not HOSTIA DEUM, but VITTAET DEUM, exactly as 11. 4:

"*Vota deum primo victor solvebat Eo.*"

To make DEUM the commencing word of the clause is to throw an emphasis on it wholly foreign to the sense. On the contrary, it comes in easily and naturally after VITTAET, bringing with it, in that secondary position, no emphasis.

FAS MIHI. The subsequent TENEOR points out the structure; FAS est, not FAS sit; i. e. TESTOR FAS MIHI esse: . . . et me teneri.

OMNIA FERRE SUB AURAS. Compare Timaeus, *Lex. Platon.*: Υπ' αυρας, υπο του ορθρου, η υπο του πεφωτισμενον αερα,

where Hemsterhusius: "Usitata locutio υπ' αυγας αγειν in apertam lucem proferri."

SERVATAQUE SERVES. Compare Petron. (ed. Hadrian.), p. 155: "serva me, servabo te." Sil. 14. 172: "servas nondum servatus ab hoste."

STETIT (163).—"STETIT pro vulgari *posita fuit in*," Heyne. On the contrary, stare, in this the figurative use of the term, loses nothing of its sense of *standing*, and the hope and confidence of the Danai is said to stand—not *in*, but—*by* the assistance of Pallas, exactly **as** the Roman state is said to stand—not *in*, but—*by* military discipline, Liv. 8. 7 (T. Manlius Torquatus to his son): "Disciplinam militarem, *qua stetit* ad hanc diem Romana res, solvisti;" **as** the Latin state is said to stand—not *in*, but—*by* the guardianship of a woman, Liv. 1. 3: "Tantis-per tutela muliebri (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat) res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero *stetit*;" **as** the Lacedaemonian state is said to have stood for so many years by the laws of Lycurgus, Liv. 39. 33: "ademptas, *quibus* ad eam diem civitas *stetisset*, Lycurgi leges;" **as** the Italian kingdom is said by Scipio Africanus the elder (Silius, 13. 654, ed. Rup.) to have stood—not *in*, but—*by* P. Corn. Scipio, his father:

"quis te, care pater, *quo stabant* Italia regna,
exosus Latium deus abstulit?"

as the Romans are said by Propertius (3. 22. 21) not merely to be, but to *stand* powerful:

"nam quantum ferro tantum pietate potentes
stamus: victrices temperat ira manus;"

and as Cicero, *ad Fam.* 13. 30, informs Plancus that he (Plancus) knows by what men and men of what rank he (Cicero) stood, (held his erect position): "per quos homines ordinesque *steterim*, quibusque munitus fuerim, non ignoras." Compare also Propert. 4. 11. 1:

"desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum:
panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces.
cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges,
non exorato *stant* adamante viae"

[the ways (*i. e.* the passages) stand (*i. e.* stand closed) with ada-

mant]. Compare also Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 383: "*saxo stant antra vetusto*" [caves stand built of old rock]. *Aen.* 4. 509: "*stant arae circum*" [altars not merely are around, but *stand* around].

STETIT, so understood, is well opposed to FLUERE AC RETRO SUBLAPSA REFERRI, verse 169.

PALLADIUM.—The best account I know of the Trojan Palladium is in Procopius, *Bell. Gothic.* 1. 15, where he thus describes a representation of it, cut in stone, in these words: *αυτη δε η εν τω λιθω εικων πολεμουση τε και το δορυ ανατεινουση ατε ες ζυμβολην εοικε. ποδηρη δε και ως τον χιτωνα . . . εχει, &c.*

FLUERE AC RETRO SUBLAPSA REFERRI SPES DANAUM.—“FLUERE, delabi, et est των μεσων. Nam ideo addidit RETRO. Contra Sallustius: ‘rebus supra vota fluentibus,’” Serv. (ed. Lion). That Servius is right, and the Latin fluere simply *to flow*, is still further placed beyond doubt by Cicero, *de Off.* 1. 26: “In rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram *fluentibus*, superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque, fugiamus” compared with Liv. 27. 17: “Hasdrubal, quum hostium res tantis augescere incrementis cerneret, suas imminui, ac fore ut, nisi audendo aliquid moveret, qua coepissent *fluere*, dimicare quam primum statuit.” As in each of these passages, no less than in the Sallustian, the further meaning of the word fluere, *i. e.* whether the flowing signified by that word is flowing in a good sense, or flowing in a bad, is determined by the context, so in our text whether the flowing spoken of is flowing in a good sense or in a bad, is to be determined by the context only; and fortunately the context is sufficiently decisive—RETRO SUBLAPSA REFERRI explaining as clearly and unmistakably as it is possible for words to explain, that the flowing is backward, or in a bad sense; in other words, FLUERE AC RETRO SUBLAPSA REFERRI SPES DANAUM is neither more nor less than the thought: *the hope of the Danai is ebbing*, expressed for the verse sake, by two theses instead of one, *flows and is carried back*; in one word, *ebbs*. Compare Lucret. 4. 699:

“ quippe etenim *fluere* atque *recedere* corpora rebus
multa modis multis docui, sed plurima debent
ex animalibus iis quae sunt exercita motu,”

where “fluere” is the very FLUERE of our text, and where “fluere” and “recedere” make up jointly the notion of ebbing; exactly as in our text FLUERE and RETRO SUBLAPSA REFERRI make up jointly the same notion, viz., that of ebbing. Nothing is farther from Virgil’s mind than the “*retro ferri, labi*,” of a “moles, quae in altum erat invecta” (Heyne), or of a “fragminis saxi quod vetustas subruit, vel ruina qualibet decidentis” (Wakefield), unless it be Conington’s “man carried off from his standing-ground *in solido* by the reflux of a wave, and so borne back to sea.”

Little objection will be made to the *ebb* of hope by anyone who happens to remember Edmund Burke’s ebb and flow of monarchies (*On a regicide peace*): “Such, and often influenced by such causes, has commonly been the fate of monarchies of long duration. They have their ebbs and their flows. This has been eminently the fate of the monarchy of France.”

178-179.

OMINA NI REPETANT ARGIS NUMENQUE REDUCANT
QUOD PELAGO ET CURVIS SECUM AVEXERE CARINIS

VAR. LECT.

AVEXERE ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.*; “In Mediceo cod. et aliquot aliis AVEXERE legitur,” Pierius. ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ N. Heins.; Phil.; Burm.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Jaek; Dorph.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.* and *Præst.*); Ribb.; Kappes.

ADVEXERE ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; La Cerda; Lad.; Bask.

VEXERE ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$.

EVEXERE ■■ $\frac{1}{4}$.

AUXERE ■■ $\frac{1}{4}$. ■■■ Pr.

ADDUXERE ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$.

DUXERE ■■ $\frac{1}{4}$.

O Rom., Ver., St. Gall.

NUMEN REDUCANT.—“Cum ipso Palladio avecto ut solennibus sacris restituitur in sedem suam revertendum,” Heyne, Wagner, Kappes, and commentators generally. Erroneously, as I think; NUMEN is not the Palladium, the statue of the goddess, nor is the Palladium to be restored. NUMEN is the approbation, the good will of the gods, the blessing of heaven (not by any means the blessing of Pallas in particular), that blessing of heaven with which the Greeks formerly sailed to Troy—

QUOD PELAGO ET CURVIS SECUM AVEXERE CARINIS.

This NUMEN is rendered *ipso facto* void and null by their return; in other words, having been obtained only for the expedition, it ceases of itself, that expedition being concluded; and it becomes necessary to obtain a new numen for the new expedition. This is precisely the *rationale* of the superstition as it prevailed in Virgil's own time. Disappointed in his expedition, the consul, or other commander of the army, returned to Rome, in order to set out *de novo* on the new expedition to the same place with new auspices; and so precisely our text: NUMEN REDUCANT, go home with the NUMEN; QUOD AVEXERE CARINIS, with which they had set out; OMINA REPETANT, take new auspices (DEOS PARANT COMITES, obtain a new NUMEN; PELAGOQUE REMENSO ADERUNT, set out again and arrive afresh). NUMEN REDUCANT is thus, not a totally independent action from OMINA REPETANT, but that previous action which was necessary and indispensable before OMINA REPETANT was possible—in other words, OMINA REPETANT and NUMEN REDUCANT, intimately bound together by the conjunction QUE, constitute one whole; and RE-PETANT and REDUCANT are but modifications of the same general idea of applying to heaven *de novo*.

NUMEN REDUCANT, although expressive of an action which in point of time precedes, is yet placed after OMINA REPETANT, according to Virgil's usual custom (*υστερον προτερον*) of placing the principal or main action first, and that which was only subsidiary to the main action, after.

The Palladium is not to be restored, profaned and violated by bloodstained hands; it is now worth nothing, enters no more

into the calculations either of the Trojans or Calchas, reappears no more upon the scene. Pallas is to be atoned not by the restoration of the old image, but by the presentation of the wooden horse, which, according to Sinon's story, has been made of so enormous size expressly in order that it might not be taken into the city, and serve the purpose of a new Palladium.

As to NUMEN see, further, Rem. on "numine laeso," 1. 12.

182-184.

ITA DIGERIT OMINA CALCHAS
HANC PRO PALLADIO MONITI PRO NUMINE LAESO
EFFIGIEM STATUERE NEFAS QUAE TRISTE PIARET

ITA DIGERIT OMINA CALCHAS.—What is the force of ITA? Of course, *thus, in hoc modo*—this is the way in which Calchas DIGERIT OMINA; or—this is Calchas's mode digerendi omina. But is this all? does Virgil indeed only mean to tell us that the way, which he has just informed us is the way in which Calchas DIGERIT OMINA, is the way in which Calchas DIGERIT OMINA? Impossible! There must be some further meaning in the words, or they are useless, this meaning having been previously expressed. The further meaning is, as I think: it is in this manner Calchas DIGERIT OMINA, *i. e.* this is the effect of Calchas's manner digerendi omina, viz., not to rid you of the Greeks, as you ignorantly suppose, but to bring the Greeks back upon you under new religious auspices, and with increased force (ARMA DEOSQUE PARANT COMITES, PELAGOQUE REMENSO IMPROVISI ADERUNT)—ITA, this is the way in which Calchas DIGERIT OMINA; this is the ultimate result of all this designing priest's manipulation of omens, viz., to bring greater danger on you than ever; it is not I alone who am ruined by them, but you also. No argument could be more powerful to enlist the sympathies of the Trojans on the side of Sinon than the argument that Calchas was their enemy no less than his, was using

all the means in his power to effect the ruin of both—ITA DIGERIT.

DIGERIT, digests, *i. e.* analyses, calculates, solves the problem of, disposes of. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 12. 21 (of the same Calchas similarly expounding portents) :

“ atque novem volucres in belli *digerit* annos.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 625 :

“ cui pater est vivax, qui matris *digerit* annos.”

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 469 (of Ajax Oileus) :

“ quam meruit solus poenam *digessit* in omnes”

[distributes and so gets rid of, disposes of]. Senec. *de Constantia Sapientis*, 15 : “ Domus hæc sapientis angusta, sine cultu, sine strepitu, sine apparatu, nullis observatur ianitoribus, turbam venali fastidio *digerentibus*” [arranging and disposing of according to pleasure]. Senec. *Thyest.* 822 :

“ . . . “ non succedunt
astra, nec ullo micat igne polus :
nec Luna graves *digerit* umbras”

[clears up, dissipates, and so disposes of]. Senec. *Quæst. Nat.* 7. 22 : “ Nubes . . . modo congregantur, modo *digeruntur*” [cleared up, dissipated, and so disposed of]. Liv. 2. 21 : “ Nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate, non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum, *digerere* possis.”

Nor is this the whole force of the DIGERIT of our text ; there is something offensive in it, not properly or essentially belonging to, but nevertheless occasionally to be found both in *digerere* itself and the synonyms of *digerere* in other languages. See Hom. *Il.* 2. 236 :

. . . τονδε δ' εωμεν
αυτου ενι Τροιη γερα πεσσεμεν, οφρα ιδηται
η ρα τι οι χ' ημεις προσαμνομεν, ηε και ουκι.

Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 184 (ed. Dissen) :

τον δε παμπειθη γλυκυν ημιθεοισι ποθον προσδαιεν Ηρα
ναος Αργους, μη τινα λειπομενον
ταν ακινδυνον παρα ματρι μενειν αιωνα πεσσοντ', αλλ' επι και θανατω
φαρμακον καλλιστον εας αρετας αλιξιν ευρεσθαι συν αλλοις.

NUMINE LAESO, *not* the violated image or Palladium, *but* the violated supreme will of the deity—violated, viz., by the carrying off of the Palladium. The latter part of the verse is the variation of the theme contained in the former part; and theme and variation taken together are equivalent to: for the violation of the supreme will (numen) of the goddess, by the carrying off of the Palladium. The words NUMINE LAESO are used, both of them, in the precise sense in which they are used, l. 12, where see Rem.

193-200,

ULTRO—TURBAT

ULTRO ASIAM MAGNO PELOPEA AD MOENIA BELLO VENTURAM.—Compare Liv. 3. 8 (ed. Walk.): “iam satis valida civitate, ut non solum arcere bellum, sed ultro etiam inferre posset.”

QUOS NEQUE . . . CARINAE. Compare Luc. 6. 140:

“quem non mille simul turmis, nec Caesare toto
auferret Fortuna locum, victoribus unus
cripuit, vetuitque capi.”

HIC ALIUD MAIUS MISERIS MULTOQUE TREMENDUM OBIICITUR
MAGIS ATQUE IMPROVIDA PECTORA TURBAT.—This prodigy is not merely *ominous*, but *typical*, of the destruction about to come upon Troy. The twin serpents prefigure the Grecian armament, which, like them, comes from Tenedos (where, as must not be forgotten, it is lying concealed at the very moment of the prodigy); like them, crosses the tranquil deep; like them, lands; and, going up straight (probably over the very same ground) to the city, slaughters the surprised and unresisting Trojans (prefigured by Laocoon's sons), and overturns the religion and drives out the gods (prefigured by the priest Laocoon). Even in the most minute particulars the type is perfect; the serpents come

abreast towards the shore, like ships sailing together ("Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat . . . littora . . . petens"), with flaming eyes raised above the waves by the whole length of the neck and breast ("flammas quum regia puppis extulerat"), and with the hinder part floating and curling along on the surface of the water (the hinder vessels of the fleet following the lead of the foremost); and, when their work is done (the Trojans slaughtered, or, with their gods, driven out of the city), take possession of the citadel, under the protection of Pallas ("iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas insedit," &c.).

The Greek army besieging Troy is always typified by a serpent. Compare *Il. 2. 326*:

ὡς οὗτος [δρακὼν] κατὰ τεκνὺν ἔφαγε στρουθοῖο, καὶ αὐτὴν,
οκτῶ, ἀτὰρ μητὴρ ἐνατὴ ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα·
ὡς ἡμεῖς [Ἀχαιοὶ] τοσσάυτ' ἔτεα πτολεμίζομεν αὐθι,
τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πολὺν αἰρησόμεν εὐρυαγυῖαν.

Il. 12. 201:

αἰετός ὑψιπέτης
φοινηγента δρακοντα φερων ονυχεσσι πελωρον
.
ὡς ἡμεῖς, &c.

Also the swarm of bees, 7. 69, not only ominous, but typical, of the arrival of Aeneas and his Trojans at Laurentum:

. . . "et partes petere agmen easdem
partibus ex isdem, et summa dominarier arce."

Also the serpent, which, issuing from the tumulus at Saguntum (*Sil. 2. 592*) and gliding through the middle of the town directly into the sea, typified the flight of the Manes of the dead from the city which was soon to be taken by storm by the enemy:

. . . "ceu prodita tecta
expulsi fugiant Manes, umbraequae recusent
captive iacuisse solo."

Since the above commentary was written, I have found a confirmation of the opinion therein expressed, in Petronius's poem descriptive of the taking of Troy (see his *Satyr.*, ed. Hadrian., p. 328), in one part of which he informs us that the noise made by the serpents in their passage through the water

was like that of vessels rowing and at the same time cutting their way through the sea—

“qualis silenti nocte remorum sonus
longe refertur, quum premunt classes mare,
pulsumque marmor abiete inposita gemit” . .

and in another (two verses lower down on same page), that the necks and breasts of the serpents, as they came along through the water, resembled tall ships :

. . . “tumida quorum pectora,
rates ut altae, lateribus spumas agunt.”

HIC ALIUD MAIUS, . . . MULTOQUE TREMENDUM. Compare Hom. *Od.* 4. 698 :

αλλα πολυ μειζον τε και αργαλεωτερον αλλο.

IMPROVIDA PECTORA TURBAT,—“TURBAT PECTORA ita ut fierent IMPROVIDA ; ita enim praecipites egit ea res Troianos, ut omissa omni cautione facerent quod Sinon optabat,” Wagner. No ; but IMPROVIDA TURBAT are to be taken as so connected together as to form one complex idea, viz., that expressed by the single English word *alarm*—TURBAT (*disturbs*) IMPROVIDA (*unforeseeing, not-expecting*), i. e. *alarms*. The Latin language being poor of words, is frequently thus constrained to describe or express by a phrase what in richer languages is expressed by a single word, as : “gelidus coit,” *freezes* ; “angusti claustra Pelori,” *straits of Pelorus* ; “aggredior dictis,” *accost* ; “expediam dictis,” *explain* ; “excussos laxare,” *uncoil* ; “vela damus,” *sail* ; “eques sternit,” *ride over* ; “aequare sequendo” (3. 671), *overtake*, &c. See Rem. on 6. 801.

203-213.

ECCE—PETUNT

HORRESCO REFERENS.—This interjection is not placed indifferently anywhere in the middle of the sentence, but in its most natural and effective position, after the words GEMINI A TENEDO

TRANQUILLA PER ALTA, excitatory of expectation; and immediately before IMMENSIS ORBIBUS ANGUES, expressive of the actual horrid object. The weaker effect which it would have had, if placed at a greater distance *before* IMMENSIS ORBIBUS ANGUES, is shown by Dryden's translation:

“ when, dreadful to behold, from sea we spied
two serpents, ranked abreast, the seas divide,”

and the still weaker which it would have had if placed *after*, by Surrey's:

“ from Tenedon, behold, in circles great
by the calm seas come fleeting adders twain:
which plied towards the shore (I loathe to tell)
with reared breast lift up above the seas.”

Compare “Tritonia, respice, Pallas,” verse 615, and Rem.

PECTORA QUORUM, &c. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, l. 192:

“ thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
with head uplift above the wave, and eyes
that sparkling blazed; his other parts besides
prone on the flood, extended long and large,
lay floating many a rood.”

FIT SONITUS SPUMANTE SALO.—*The brine foams audibly.* Compare Quint. Smyrn. 12. 456 (ed. Heyn.), of the same serpents: *επισμαραγησε δε ποντος νισσομενων* and Petr. 89 (of the same): “dat cauda sonitum.”

Dryden's translation of the passage is marked by even more than Dryden's usual extravagance, recklessness, and ignorance of his author's meaning:

“ their speckled tails advance to steer their course,
and, on the sounding shore, the flying billows force;”

with which mistranslation I know none, not Dryden's own, at all comparable, unless it be Pope's of Hom. *II. 19. 126*:

“ from his ambrosial head, where perched she sate,
he snatched the fury-goddess of debate.”

ARVA.—There is no occasion to suppose, with Heyne, that ARVA is used “pro littore,” because, interpreted literally, it affords a better meaning, viz., *the fields*, or *cultivated plain*, inside

the beach, where it is probable the “*solennis ara*” stood, at such a distance from the actual shore as to be in no danger from the violence of the sea during stormy weather. Compare: “*pelago premit arva sonanti*,” *Aen.* 1. 250, and Rem.

ILLI AGMINE CERTO LAOCOONTA PETUNT. Wagner (1861), followed by Conington, refers to “*ille agmine longo*” (5. 90), and “*agmina caudae*” (*Georg.* 3. 423), and interprets: “*Intellege spiras ac volumina longumque eorum tractum*”—confounding, as it seems to me, *agmina caudae*, the *agmina* of a serpent’s tail (the joints of the serpent’s tail, so numerous as to be called *agmina*, his troops), and the *agmen*, march, or course of a serpent. I agree, however, with Wagner in his other comparison, viz., that of “*agmine longo*” (5. 90) with our text, drawing, however, from it the very opposite conclusion, viz., that AGMINE CERTO in our text, means not “*spiras ac volumina longumque eorum tractum*,” but “*certum eorum cursum*,” their sure and certain march; exactly as “*agmine longo*” in the passage compared by Wagner means the long march of the serpent there spoken of, and as “*leni agmine*,” 2. 782, means the mild march of the Tiber. See Rem. on 2. 782.

213-217.

ET PRIMUM PARVA DUORUM
CORPORA NATORUM SERPENS AMPLEXUS UTERQUE
IMPLICAT ET MISEROS MORSU DEPASCITUR ARTUS
POST IPSUM AUXILIO SUBEUNTEM AC TELA FERENTEM
CORRIPIUNT SPIRISQUE LIGANT INGENTIBUS

PRIMUM . . . POST.—There is a most material discrepancy between the account given by Virgil and the view presented by the sculptor, of the death of Laocoon and his two sons. According to the former, the serpents first (PRIMUM) kill the two sons,

and afterwards (POST) seize (CORRIPIUNT) the father, SUBEUNTEM AC TELA FERENTEM, and kill him also ; while, according to the latter, the serpents are twined about and kill the father and the two sons simultaneously. Virgil's is the more natural and probable account, because it was more easy for the serpents to conquer Laocoon's powerful strength (see verse 50) with the whole of their united force and folds than with such part only of their force and folds as was not employed upon the sons. There is even some difficulty in understanding (nor does an examination of the sculpture tend much to diminish the difficulty) how two serpents, already twined about and encumbered with the bodies of two persons, even although those bodies were small (PARVA), could seize and squeeze to death a third person possessed of more than ordinary strength, and armed.

The sculptor, if he had had the choice, would, doubtless, no less than the poet, have represented the killing of Laocoon to have been subsequent to the killing of the sons ; but his art failed him ; sculpture could not represent *successive acts* ; the chisel could fix no more than a single instant of fleeting time : driven, therefore, by necessity, he places the three persons simultaneously in the folds of the serpents, and his so much admired group becomes, in consequence, complicated and almost incomprehensible, and appears in the most disadvantageous contrast with the simple and natural narrative of Virgil.

Such is the infinite inferiority of sculpture, and of painting, to poetry. The sculptor, or painter, labours day and night, and for years together, on one object ; and, in the end, his work, representing but an instant of time, fails to present to the mind as many ideas as the poet supplies in half-a-dozen lines, the work perhaps of half an hour.

PRIMUM . . . ARTUS.—NOT AMPLEXUS CORPORA, IMPLICAT ET DEPASCITUR ARTUS, but AMPLEXUS IMPLICAT CORPORA ET DEPASCITUR ARTUS. In order that the structure may be shown by the punctuation, the comma, placed by the older editors (the two Heinsii and Heyne), and removed by Forbiger, Thiel, Wagner (*Praest.*), and Ribbeck, should be restored.

IMPLICAT—winds round, twines round. See Rem. on 12. 743.

AMPLEXUS IMPLICAT: as verse 218, AMPLEXI SUPERANT; verse 290, “*amplexae tenent.*”

DEPASCITUR—feeds *away* on. See Rem. on “*desaevit*,” 4. 52.

SPIRIS. — *Spirae* are not merely *coils*, but *spiral coils*—tending upwards, like those of a corkscrew held point-upward. See *Georg.* 2. 153 & 154, where Virgil informs us, almost in express terms, that a snake is in *orbs* (“*orbes*”), while coiled upon the ground, but in *spires* (“*spirae*”), when he raised himself with a motion twisting upwards. The same distinction is observable in the passage before us, where the serpents are said to be in *orbs* while on the water, and in *spires* when folded round Laocoon. A right understanding of this word is the more necessary, because it is the only word in the description, except SUPERANT CAPITE ET CERVICIBUS ALTIS, which shows that the poet so far agrees with the sculptor as to represent Laocoon and the serpents twined about him as forming an *erect* group. With a similar correct precision, our own Milton applies the term *spires* to the coils of the serpent when *erect*, or *raised upright*. Compare his *Par. Lost*, 9. 496 :

. . . “not with indented wave,
prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,

with burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
amidst his circling spires.”

Leopardi, therefore (*Libr. Sec. del En.*), is incorrect :

. . . “e l' altra parte si strascina
radendo l' acqua, e si contorce, *in spire*
gli smisurati dorsi ripiegando.”

SCELUS, indeed, but well deserved by him

SACRUM QUI CUSPIDE ROBUR

LAESERIT, ET TERGO SCCELERATAM INTORSERIT HASTAM.

It was but right that he should suffer a scelus (EXPENDISSE SCELUS) who had himself committed a scelus (TERGO SCCELERATAM INTORSERIT HASTAM). He who had with his "scelerata hasta" violated (LAESERIT), the SACRUM ROBUR had merited the SCELUS they had seen him suffer. And so exactly, 7. 307 :

"quod scelus aut Lapithas tantum aut Calydon merentem"

(where we have the same scelus and the same merentem; "scelus" is not poenas scelerum, but scelus poenarum; and, the cases of the Lapithae and Calydon being the reverse of that of Laocoon, neither the Lapithae nor Calydon having committed a scelus to justify the scelus of their punishment, a scelus to justify their scelestas poenas, the question is triumphantly asked: what so great scelus (poenarum) had they merited? what scelus had they committed to justify the "scelus" of their punishment?) Compare also Stat. *Silv.* 2. 1. 19:

"ipse etenim tecum nigrae solennia pompae,
spectatumque urbi scelus, et puerile feretrum
produxi, et saevos, damnati thuris acervos,
plorantemque animam supra sua funera vidi"

(where "scelus" is only the premature death of the innocent young man). How much more abominable, how much more detestable, how much more fitly termed SCELUS, the atrocious spectacle of Laocoon! of Laocoon the priest, along with his two sons devoured alive by serpents, while he was in the very act of sacrificing. It was, if there ever was, a scelus (Scott, *Lay of the last Minstrel*, 1. 4) :

"deadly to hear and deadly to tell;
Jesu! Maria! shield us well."

For another example of the application of the term scelus to an awful spectacle, see Stat. *Theb.* 10. 546 :

"lora excussa manu, retroque in terga volutus,
semianimos artus ocreis retinentibus haeret;
mirandum visu belli scelus! arma trahuntur,
fumantesque rotae tellurem, et tertius hastae
sulcus arant."

Compare also Val. Flacc. 2. 294 (Hypsipyle speaking) :

“ solvimus heu ! serum Furiis *scelus* ? ”

[not *poenas scelerum*, but *scelestas poenas*]; and Stat. *Silv.* 2. 175 (of the funeral of the favourite of Melior) :

. . . “ plebs cuncta *nefas*, et praevia flerunt
agmina,”

[the sin, the *scelus*, the *nefas*, that so young and amiable a person should have died]. See Remm. on 2. 576 ; 5. 793.

SACRUM . . . IASTAM. Compare Coleridge, *Anc. Mar.* :

“ is it he ? quoth one. Is this the man ?
by him who died on cross,
with his cruel bow he laid full low
the harmless albatross.”

SACRUM QUI CUSPIDE ROBUR LAESERIT, theme ; TERGO SCELE-
RATAM INTORSERIT IASTAM, variation.

234-243.

DIVIDIMUS MUROS ET MOENIA PANDIMUS URBIS. ▲
ACCINGUNT OMNES OPERI PEDIBUSQUE ROTARUM
SUBIICIUNT LAPsus ET STUPEA VINCULA COLLO
INTENDUNT SCANDIT FATALIS MACHINA MUROS
FOETA ARMIS PUERI CIRCUM INNUPTAEQUE PUELLAE
SACRA CANUNT FUNEMQUE MANU CONTINGERE GAUDENT
ILLA SUBIT MEDIAEQUE MINANS ILLABITUR URBI
O PATRIA O DIVUM DOMUS ILIUM ET INCLYTA BELLO
MOENIA DARDANIDUM QUATER IPSO IN LIMINE PORTAE
SUBSTITIT ATQUE UTERO SONITUM QUATER ARMA DEDERE

DIVIDIMUS MUROS, ET MOENIA PANDIMUS URBIS. In order to understand the picture here presented, it must be borne in mind that the gates of ancient cities were very small, little larger than our modern doors ; and that the walls, which were high, were carried

across over the gates, so that there was no division of the wall, but only a hole or opening in the undivided wall, where the gate stood. By the expression *DIVIDIMUS MUROS*, therefore, we are to understand that the Trojans enlarged the gate so as to make a complete division of the wall, viz., by breaking down that part of the wall over the gate on which the continuity of the wall depended. It appears from Plaut. *Bacchid.* 953 (ed. Ritschl), that the breaking down of the wall over the Scaean gate was one of the three “*fata*” of Troy :

“ Ilio tria fuisse audiavi *fata*, quae illi fuere exitio :
signum ex arce si perisset ; alterum autemst Troili mors ;
tertium, quum portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur.”

It is, no doubt, in tacit reference to this prophecy that our author dwells so emphatically on the breaking down of the wall :

DIVIDIMUS MUROS, ET MOENIA PANDIMUS URBIS.

Compare the similar tacit reference to another (fourth) *fatum* of Troy, in the words (*Aen.* 1. 476) :

. . . “ priusquam
pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.”

DIVIDIMUS MUROS and *MOENIA PANDIMUS* are not two distinct acts, but one act and its consequence—“ we breach the walls, and by so doing open the fortifications of the city, leave the city unprotected and exposed to the enemy”—and this in a double sense, because not only is an opening made through which the enemy may enter, but the city is deprived of the charm or talisman which it had possessed in the continuity of its enclosure.

In Statius’s account of the equestrian statue of Domitian (*Silv.* 1. 7), not only is this same *fatum* of Troy alluded to, but, in words which are a manifest copy of our author’s, a similar stress is laid upon the *division* of the wall :

“ hunc neque *divisis* cepissent Pergama muris.”

ACCINGUNT . . . GAUDENT.—Man is essentially the same in all ages and countries. With this reception of, these divine honours paid to, the wooden horse, compare the account given by Anna Harriette Leonowens in her work, “The English

Governess at the Siamese Court" (Trübner and Company, London, 1870), ch. 16, of the conveyance of the sacred white elephant to Bangkok, the capital of Siam: "Thus in more than princely state he is floated down the river [Meinam] to a point within seventy miles of the capital, where the king and his court, all the chief personages of the kingdom, and a multitude of priests, both Buddhist and Brahmin, accompanied by troops of players and musicians, come out to meet him, and conduct him with all the honours to his stable-palace. A great number of cords and ropes of all qualities and lengths are attached to the raft, those in the centre being of fine silk. These are for the king and his noble retinue, who, with their own hands, make them fast to their gilded barges; the rest are secured to the great fleet of lesser boats, and so with shouts of joy, beating of drums, blare of trumpets, boom of cannon, a hallelujah of music, and various splendid revelry, the great Chang Phoonk [white elephant] is conducted in triumph to the capital."

ACCINGUNT OMNES OPERI, not, literally, *gird themselves up for the work*, but *set themselves to the work*. Compare 9. 74:

"atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris"

[not, of course, *engirt with dark torches*, but *is furnished or armed with dark torches, having dark torches in their hands*].

STUPEA VINCULA COLLO INTENDUNT.—In order to tow it along as if it were a ship. Compare Eurip. *Troad.* 538 (of this same drawing up of the horse with ropes into the citadel):

κλωστού δ' ἀμφιβολοῖς λινοῖσι, ναὸς ὦδει
σκαφος κελαῖνον, εἰς ἐδράνα
λαῖνα δαπέδα τε φονία πατριδι
Παλλὰδος θέσαν θεᾶς.

Also Auson. *Mosell.* 39 (apostrophizing the Mosello):

"tu duplices sortite vias, et quum amne secundo
defluis, ut celeres feriant vada concita remi;
et quum per ripas nusquam cessante remulco
intendunt collo malorum vincula nautae." *

* Query whether collo malorum, or collo nautarum? Lemaire understands it to be the latter, I the former.

Heyne, Forbiger, and Thiel inform us without doubt or hesitation, that *INTENDUNT* is here elegantly used (“*exquisitius*”) in place of *illigant*, *innectunt*; and this is the meaning which has been adopted by all the translators, as well as by Forcellini in his Dictionary. I dissent, however, on two grounds: (*a*), because there is not only no instance of *intendere* being used in this sense, but no instance of its being used in any sense bordering on, or at all related to, this sense; and (*b*), because the strict interpretation of *INTENDUNT* (*viz.*, *stretch* or *extend*) affords an unobjectionable meaning of the passage: *they stretch ropes to the neck*; prosaically, *throw ropes over the neck*. Compare 5. 136: “*intentaque brachia remis*,” where see Rem. This meaning is not only unobjectionable in itself, but preferable to the former, inasmuch as it was easier to throw a rope over the neck than to tie or fasten it at so great a height.

The idea of stretching, or extension, will, I think, be found to enter into all the significations, whether literal or metaphorical, of *intendere*.

COLLO.—“In *COLLO* noli argutare; cum fune ex eo nexo trahi equus vix commode posset, intellige simpl. funem ex anteriore parte aptum,” Heyne; who seems not to have perceived how useful the rope round the neck would be, not alone for steadying and preventing the horse from toppling over to one side, but for drawing it *up* into the city, *viz.*, over the broken down fortifications (*SCANDIT MUROS*, verse 237). See Quint. Smyrn. 12. 422:

. . . αγειρομενοι δ' αρα παντες,
σειρην αμφεβαλονται θως περιμηκει ιππω,
δησαμενοι καθυπερθεν, επει ρα οι εσθλος Επειος
ποσσιν υπο βριαροισιν ευτροχα δουρατα θηκεν,
οφρα κεν αιζηοισιν επι πτολιεθρον επηται,
ελκομενος Τρωων υπο χειρεσιν·

where *καθυπερθεν* answers exactly to our author's *COLLO*.

ILLA SUBIT MEDIAEQUE MINANS ILLABITUR URBI.—“Placet etiam mens Donati haec: SUBIT [MACHINA] et ILLABITUR, et, nondum ingressa, adhuc etiam in porta *haerebat*; nam infra, QUATER IPSO IN LIMINE PORTAE SUBSTITIT; iam mediae urbi minari videbatur,” Lemaire. This is all, and in every respect,

erroneous: QUATER IPSO IN LIMINE PORTAE SUBSTITIT, although in position it comes after MINANS ILLABITUR, is previous to it in the order of time (see Rem.); and MEDIAE URBI depends, as rightly observed by Heyne, not on MINANS, but on ILLABITUR.

MINANS.—Servius's first explanation, "eminens" (high and towering), is correct. Servius's second explanation, "minitans"—especially as explained in some editions by the further gloss, "eventum aliquem malum ominans"—is incorrect. The horse, if "minitans" at all, was "minitans" only in the sense in which all tall towering objects are minitantia, viz., in the sense of *awe-inspiring* (see Remm. on l. 166; 2. 628; 4. 88; 8. 668). Boileau's reprehension of our author therefore (*Refl. Crit.* 11: "Il ne se contente pas de prêter de la colère à cet arbre [where has our author been guilty even of this minor offence?] mais il lui fait faire des menaces à ces laboureurs") falls to the ground harmless, or harming only the critic himself.

O PATRIA . . . DARDANIDUM.—"Versus Ennianus," Servius. On which comment of Servius, Heyne observes: "Scilicet in verbis: 'O pater, O patria, O Priami domus'!" The original of both apostrophes is no doubt that most touching apostrophe of Oedipus, Soph. *Oed. T.* 1394:

ω Πολυβε και Κορινθε, και τα πατρια
λογω παλαια δωμαθ', οιον αρ' εμε
καλλος κακων υπουλον εξεθρεψατε!

the parental relationship of which passage to our text is declared and made plain not merely by the resemblance between the two apostrophes, but by the similarity of the reflections which gave rise to them—the reflection, in the case of Oedipus, that he was himself a *καλλος κακων υπουλον* to his country; in the case of Aeneas, that the wooden horse was a *καλλος κακων υπουλον* to Troy, a fair outside pregnant within with destruction:

QUATER IPSO IN LIMINE PORTAE
SUBSTITIT, ATQUE UTERO SONITUM QUATER ARMA DEDERE.

246-247.

TUNC ETIAM FATIS APERIT CASSANDRA FUTURIS
ORA DEI IUSSU NON UNQUAM CREDITA TEUCRIS

TUNC ETIAM.—ETIAM has been understood by some commentators to connect the sentence to which it belongs, viz., TUNC FATIS APERIT CASSANDRA FUTURIS, with the preceding context, so as to afford the sense : *besides all the warnings we had had not to do as we were doing, we had the additional warning of Cassandra ; Cassandra also raised her warning voice.* “ETIAM : not, then as often before ; but, besides our other warnings,” says Conington. “Etiam ei vocabulo, quod efferendum sit, postponi satis constat (Fabr. ad Liv. 21. 1. 5), sed apparet *h. l.* non tam tempus illud efferendum esse quam vaticinia Cassandrae ad ea quae, versu 242, commemorata sunt omina accessisse, nec tamen magis quam illa Troianos ab temeraria laceritia ad sanam mentem traduxisse,” says Dietsch (*Theolog.* p. 22)—**both** of them combating the opinion adopted by Heyne and Gossrau, as well as by Forbiger, from Servius, viz., that TUNC ETIAM is equivalent to etiam tunc (“TUNC ETIAM int. pro etiam tunc, alias languet,” Heyne. “Sicut antehac saepius,” Gossrau. “Sicut antea iam saepius,” Forbiger)—an opinion as correct and well-founded as that of its impugnors is ill-founded and incorrect. The vaticination of Cassandra is not an omen ; is not, like the three sudden haltings of the horse in the Scæcan gate, a warning not to proceed with their blind act : the act has been already accomplished ; the omens—that of the hollow sound returned by the wood to the spear, that of the punishment of Laocoon, and that of the three haltings of the horse in the Scæcan gate—have all alike failed to deter the Trojans from carrying their fatal determination into effect, and they have actually placed the horse in the citadel :

ET MONSTRUM INFELIX SACRATA SISTIMUS ARCE.

Omens are now too late ; the act has been already done, and

Cassandra opens her mouth, TUNC ETIAM, then also (*i. e.* then, as so often before : “Sicut antehac saepius, nam Helena veniente praedixerat futura bella et mala,” Servius (ed. Lion)), not to add an omen, or to increase the effects of the preceding omens, but to inform the Trojans in inspired, but as usual wholly disbelieved words, of their impending ruin, FATIS FUTURIS. It is as if our author had said : “We place the unlucky monster in the citadel, on which occasion, as on so many previous ones, Cassandra announces our impending ruin ; we nevertheless, who were never to see another day, put as little faith as ever in her words, and deck all our temples out with wreaths of rejoicing and thanksgiving.”

If it be objected to the preceding interpretation that it leaves the sentence unconnected by any particle with the preceding, I ask, in reply, where is the particle which connects the succeeding sentence with this ?

ORA.—Let us see if there be anything in the position or circumstances of this word to raise a suspicion that it is of somewhat more weight than commonly supposed ; that it is something more than a mere supplement for the purpose of making up with APERIT the simple sense *breaks silence, speaks*. First, it is the *first* word in the line. Now, a word placed in this position is advantageously placed for the reception of an emphasis from the voice of the reader or reciter, **if** the line be the first line of the sentence, on account of the natural impetus with which the mind sets out on any undertaking ; **if** the line be not the first line, as in the present instance it is not, **then** on account of the rise in the voice which naturally follows the fall and accompanying pause at the close of the immediately preceding line. But ORA is not alone the first word of its own line ; it is also the last word of its own sentence, and separated from all the succeeding context by a pause. Both these circumstances render it still more marked. Being the last word of its own sentence, the preceding words of the sentence lead to it, prepare both the voice of the speaker and the mind of the hearer for it ; and, being separated from the succeeding context by a pause, the voice of the speaker and the attention of the hearer are prevented from

hurrying off from it to the next word. We would expect *a priori* that a word placed in this situation should be an important word; and, on examining the words which Virgil has placed in similar situations, we find that they are always important—*ex. gr.*, 2. 13, “incipiam;” 5. 480, “arduus;” 5. 319, “emicat;” 8. 672, “aurea;” 12. 340, “sanguineos;” 1. 153, “seditio;” 8. 562, “stravi.” In some instances—as, *ex. gr.*, the two last cited—it will even be found that the single word so placed has more weight and importance than the whole of the rest of the verse; nay, that this whole rest of the verse is a mere illustration (*erläuterung*) of that single word. Considered according to these principles, ORA should be an important word—not merely the supplement to APERIT, but the subject of the whole remainder of the line—CREDITA agreeing with it and not with CASSANDRA. The inference is confirmed by Ovid, *Met.* 15. 74 :

. . . “primus quoque talibus ora
docta quidem solvit, sed non et credita, verbis,”*

where, the person spoken of being masculine, “credita” must agree with “ora” even although the position of “ora” does not indicate such agreement. Compare also (*α*), *Aen.* 10. 822 :

“ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,”

the “ora pallentia” of which corresponds exactly with the ORA CREDITA of our text. (*β*), 9. 181 :

“ora puer prima signans intonsa inventa,”

where not only do “ora” and “intonsa” occupy the precise po-

* Gossrau is no doubt at liberty—who shall cripple the commentator’s liberty, or clip the free wings of thought?—to understand the “credita” of this passage, not as accusative plural and belonging to “ora,” but as nominative singular belonging to some unspecified unknown feminine subject; nay, is at liberty to draw such argument as he can from the Ovidian passage so understood in favour of his (the received) interpretation of the Virgilian text, and to insist as much as he pleases, first that Ovid’s “credita” is feminine and singular, and then that Virgil’s CREDITA must therefore be feminine and singular: but he is not at liberty to leave out of his Ovidian parallel all that part of it which impugns and disproves his own statement, and establishes that of his adversary—is not at liberty to quote Ovid as saying :

. . . “ora
docta quidem solvit, sed non est credita verbis,”

sitions of ORA and CREDITA in our text, but where we have the entire line cast in the same mould as, and having the precise cadence of, our text. (c), Ovid, *Met.* 10. 209 : "vero . . . Apollinis ore." (d), Apul. *De deo Socrat.* 18 : "incredita vaticinia Cassandreae." Add to all which (e), the quotation by Nonius of the verse,

ORA DEI IUSSU NON UNQUAM CREDITA TEUCRIS,

without either CASSANDRA or other part of the preceding verse, is a more than sufficient balance for Iscanius's (6. 894) :

"at regina gemens, et nunquam credita Teucris,
Cernusium Cassandra petit."

In like manner, "Troia," 1. 253, considered according to these principles, is an important word embracing not merely the near "arma" but the distant "nomen" (see Rem. on 1. 253). "Troas" also, 1. 34, is an important word, the subject not merely of the preceding "iactatos acquore toto" but of the succeeding "reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achillei," as if Virgil had said: these famous Trojans, the subject not only of the Iliad, but of the whole of the following poem. Owing to this position, Africus, alone, 1. 90, has a weight equal to that of Eurys and Notus, in the preceding line, taken together. Compare 2. 418, where "Eurys equis," owing to its similar position, possesses a

while in point of fact what Ovid says is:

. . . "primus quoque talibus ora
docta quidem solvit, sed non et credita verbis."

The same commentator is at liberty to argue from the fact of the "credita" of Ovid's (*Fast.* 4. 307) "casta quidem sed non et credita" being nominative singular, that the CREDITA of Virgil is nominative singular also, and to show if he can that Ovid's "credita" is spoken of Cassandra; but he is not at liberty to omit from the Ovidian passage the words which show that the subject of Ovid's "credita" is not Cassandra, but Claudia Quinta:

"Claudia Quinta genus Clauso-referebat ab alto;
nec facies impar nobilitate fuit.
casta quidem, sed non et credita."

The following are the *ipsissima verba* of Gossrau—not to be misunderstood by anyone: "Ita 'credor' dicunt pro 'mihi creditur'; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 307, eadem Cassandra dicitur 'casta quidem sed non et credita'; cf. *Met.* 15. 74: 'ora docta quidem solvit, sed non est credita.'"

similar weight. Sarpedon, 1. 104, the son of Jove, has as honourable mention as Hector, though Hector is the first named; and the single "Spartanae," 1. 320, without further help or adjunct, is a balance for the "Threissa Harpalyce," though the latter is in possession of nearly two whole lines. So also the voice and sense delight to dwell *on* the long slow word "conspexere," 1. 156, for which the attention has been prepared by the preceding "pictate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem;" *on* "solabar," 1. 243; *on* "Teucrorum," 1. 252, correlative to "Troia" in the next line, as if Virgil had said "of *his* (Antenor's) Teuceri;" *on* "prodinur," 1. 256, explained by the whole remainder of the line; *on* "vultu," 1. 259, also explained by the remainder of the line; *on* "Romanos," 1. 286, also explained by the whole remainder of the line; *on* "iactemur," 1. 336, explained by remainder of the line and following line; *on* "nudavit," 1. 360, explained by the whole remainder of the line; *on* "thesauros," 1. 363, item; *on* "suspiciens," 1. 375, item; *on* "regia," 8. 242, item; also *on* "spiravere," 1. 408; "imminet," 1. 424; "condebatur," 1. 451; "suppliciter," 1. 485 (does not the reader's ear rebel against the union of this word with "tristes"?). And need I do more than point with the finger to "bellatrix," 1. 497; "incessit," 1. 501; "dispulerat," 1. 516; "ardebant," 1. 519; "oramus," 1. 529; "aetherea," 1. 551; "arvaque," 1. 554; "purpureum," 1. 595; "argentum," 1. 597; "Troianae," 1. 628; "iactatam," 1. 633; "munera," 1. 640; "instruitur," 1. 642; "consilia," 1. 662; "vocibus," 1. 675; "irrigat," 1. 696; "conveniunt," 1. 704; "expediunt," 1. 706; "convenere," 1. 712; "Phoenissa," 1. 718; "haeret," 1. 722; "incipit," 1. 725; "hiberni," 1. 750; "insidias," 1. 758?

It would be an affront to the reader's good sense to accompany him in this manner through the other books, but I must not pass by unnoticed the eminently emphatic position of "Argolica," 2. 119—*last word* both of the sentence to which it belongs and of the whole oracle; prepared for as well by the repeated "sanguine" of the preceding verse as by the whole of that verse, especially by the awful words "animaque litan-

dum:" while at the same time it is *first word* of its own verse, and separated from the sequel not merely by a full pause but by the change of the speaker. Nor is the whole of our author's art exhausted when he has placed the word in this emphatic position. He can render the word still more emphatic, double its emphasis, **either** by making it the repetition of a former word, as "lumina," 2. 406; "Crethea," 9. 775; "Misenum," 6. 164; "ora," 10. 822; "Parthus," 12. 858; "uni," 10. 692; "Gallo," *Ecl.* 10. 72 (compare "ibimus," repeated with such extraordinary effect by Statius, *Silv.* 2. 1. 219), **or** by entirely cutting off its connexion with the subsequent context by means of a full and sudden stop, as "incipiam," 2. 13; "effera," 8. 6; "impulit," 8. 239; "horrisono," 9. 55; "terribilis," 12. 947; "dividit," 12. 45; "suscipiunt," 11. 806; "substiterat," 11. 609; "desiluit," 11. 500; "buccina," 11. 475; "devovi," 11. 442; "viximus," 10. 862; "Tydides," 10. 29; "femina," 4. 570; "respice," 4. 275; "debentur," 4. 276; "deseruere," 3. 618; and *Hom. Il.* 1. 51:

αυταρ επειτ' αυτοισι βελος εχεπευκες εφεις,
βαλλ',

where βαλλ', being but one single syllable, is even more emphatic than any of the Virgilian examples. And who is there will dispute with me that it was not by mere accident, but by artistic design, that Euripides (*Hipp.* 312, ed. Stokes) placed precisely in this position—viz., last word of the nurse's long address, and at the same time first word of a new line, with every word of several preceding lines pointing directly to it—that fatal *Ιππολυτον* which, like the last turn of the torturer's vice, wrung from Phaedra her first groan of confession, that never enough to be admired *οιμοι*?

ΝΥΤΡ. μα την ανασσαν ιππιαν Αμαζονα,
η σοις τεκνοισι δεσποτην εγεινατο
νοθον, φρονουντα γνησι', οισθα νιν καλως,
ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΝ.

ΡΗΑΕΔ. οιμοι.

ΝΥΤΡ. θιγγανει σεθεν τοδε;

Where even in our own Shakespeare is there an equal amount of

dramatic effect within an equal compass, and how much of this effect is owing to the mere position of the word *Ἰππολυτον*?

The reader will of himself understand that all that has just been said respecting single words is no less applicable to a word which is not absolutely the first in the line, but preceded by a short connecting link (see Rem. on “fugis,” 4. 314), for instance, “et ferit,” 12. 730; or to a phrase consisting of two or even three words intimately bound together, as “it lacrymans,” “ossa tremor,” “intemerata colit pelagi rupes” (where we have not only the position, but the reduplication), “voce vocat,” “bella gero.”

In Leopardi’s translation of the passage:

“allor, *volente il Dio*, Cassandra il labbro
non mai creduta apre al futuro,”

there is not only the usual error, the connexion of CASSANDRA with CREDITA, but the still more unpardonable one, that of the junction of DEI IUSSU with APERIT.

ORA . . . CREDITA. Compare the somewhat similar application of “credula” to “ora” by Prudent. *Cathem.* 3. 48:

“piscis item sequitur calamum,
raptus acumine vulnifico,
credula saucius *ora* cibo;”

also the “ora nescia” of the same author, where the face is said *not to know*, by the same figure by which in our text the mouth is said *not to be believed* (*Met.* 4. 329):

. . . “pueri rubor *ora* notavit
nescia quid sit amor.”

The above interpretation, never entirely without advocates—for [first proposed by Servius as an alternative (“CREDITA: dubium a quo verbo veniat, et an femininum singulare sit participium an neutrum plurale”), and afterwards adopted by J. H. Voss in his translation,

“jetzo entschliesst auch Kassandra den mund annahendem schicksal,
der, auf des gottes gebot, nie sprach, das glaubten die Teuerer”]

it was three several times discussed by myself, and established

not only on particular, but on general grounds—(see “Twelve Years’ Voyage,” 1853; “Jahrb. für Phil.” 68, p. 509; and “Adversaria Virgiliana,” Göttingen Philologus, bd. 11, 1856)—found, nevertheless, but slow and partial acceptance with Virgilian students, until by some happy chance not the interpretation only, but the very Ovidian parallel with which I had established, it made their appearance in Wagner’s *Virgil*, *Carm.* ed. min. 1861 (no word of either in any of Wagner’s previous editions); and being, as usual with the interpretations of that work—no, not put forward, God forbid! but—mistaken for the editor’s own, CREDITA came forthwith to be joined to ORA, at least in all the gymnasia in Germany.

FESTA VELAMUS FRONDE.—VELAMUS (very imperfectly rendered by Thiel, “ornamus”; by Surrey, “deck”) means *to veil*, i.e., *to cover in such a manner, or to such an extent, as to hide from view*; and thus denotes the profusion of green boughs used. Compare *Aen.* 3. 25: “ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras.”

250-255.

RUIT—LUNAE

Inasmuch as the ancients always represented night as following the course of the sun, i.e., as rising in the east, traversing the sky, and descending or setting in the west (see *Stat. Theb.* 2. 61; *Virg. Aen.* 2. 8, and *Remm.*; 3. 512), the words RUIT OCEANO NOX, applied to the commencement of night, are to be understood, not as presenting us with the ordinary English image, of night *falling on the ocean*, but as presenting us with the directly reverse image, of personified night *rising (rushing) from the ocean*. So Dante (*Il Purgat.* 2. 1), philosophically, and following the ancient model:

“ già era 'l sole all' orizzonte giunto,
 lo cui meridian cerchio coverchia
 Ierusalem col suo più alto punto :
 e la notte ch' opposita a lui cerchia
 uscìa di Gange fuor.”

And Shelley (*Prometheus Unbound*, act 1, sc. 1) :

“ and yet to me welcome is day and night ;
 whether one breaks the hoarfrost of the morn,
 or starry, dim, and slow the other *climbs*
 the leaden-coloured east.”

And Schiller (“ Der abend”) :

“ an dem himmel *herauf* mit leisen schritten
 kommt die duftende *nacht*.”

If it be doubted that *ruere* can express motion upwards toward the sky, I beg to refer to *Georg. 2. 308* :

. . . “ *ruit* atram
ad caelum picca crassus caligine nubem ;”

and to *Aen. 10. 256*, where the rising of the day is described by the very same term :

. . . “ *revoluta rucbat*
matura iam luce dies noctemque fugarat.”

See also Rem. on *Aen. 1. 749*.

Leopardi has fallen into the vulgar error :

. . . “ il ciel fra tanto
 si cangia, e notte a l' *occàn* ruina,
 in grande ombra avvolgendo e terra e polo,” &c.

FUSI PER MOENIA TEUCRI CONTIGUERE. — “ Dispersi per urbem,” Forbiger. No ; FUSI is not *dispersi*, but, as rightly interpreted by Forbiger himself at *Aen. 1. 218*, “ *prostrati, hingestreckt*.” Compare Stat. *Silv. 1. 2. 59* : “ *fusa iacet stratis*,” and see Rem. on *Aen. 1. 218*.

TACITAE PER AMICA SILENTIA LUNAE. The silence (*i. e.*, silent time) of the night was favourable to the descent of the Grecians, there being no one in the way to observe their motions. The moon is called *tacit*, because she does not tell—does not blab—says nothing about what she sees. In other words, and connecting the two terms SILENTIA and TACITAE, *nobody sees them*.

but the moon, and she does not tell what she sees—does not betray.
Compare Tibull. (ed. Amst. 1708), 1. 7. 5:

. . . "iam Delia furtim
nescio quem *tacita* callida nocte fovet."

Also *Ibid.* 1. 7. 12:

"cardine nunc *tacito* vertere posse fores."

That SILENTIA LUNAE does not mean the interlunium, but the time when the moon was actually shining, appears from Stat. *Theb.* 2. 58:

"inde per Arcturum *mediaeque silentia lunae*
arva super populosque meat."

TACITAE PER AMICA SILENTIA LUNAE belongs not to PETENS but to IBAT, and is, therefore, to be placed (with D. Heins., N. Heins., Heyne, and Ribbeck) between two commas, not (with Wagner, ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*) to be thrown by the expunction of the comma after LUNAE entirely to PETENS. To place the words before LITTORA NOTA PETENS as forming part of the same clause is to make them emphatic. Being unemphatic, and merely heightening and completing the picture, they come in with propriety only in the second place, *i. e.* after, not before, the word descriptive of action.

256-260.

FLAMMAS—EQUUS

FLAMMAS QUUM REGIA PUPPIS EXTULERAT.—"Intelligendum est . . . Agamemnonem signa Sinoni dedisse veniendi, sublata face," Servius, Voss, Wagn. (1861). "Fax sublata, signum profectionis, e nave praetoria," Heyne. It being usual, when a fleet was to sail by night, for a light to be hoisted on the admiral's ship, or whatever ship was to take the lead, as the signal for sailing (see Livy, 29. 25: "Lumina in navibus singula rostratae, bina

onerariae haberent: in praetoria nave insigne nocturnum trium
luminum fore." Stat. *Achill.* 1. 33:

" ecce novam Priamo, facibus de puppe levatis,
fert Bellona nurum),

and there being no mention at all of Sinon in our text, but only of the light hoisted on the admiral's ship, and the sailing of the fleet as soon as the light is hoisted, there seems no ground whatever for the assumption that the light was other than the usual signal for sailing. I therefore agree with Heyne against Servius, Voss, and Wagner, and find in the following words of Servius's as usual confused and contradictory gloss a confirmation of my opinion: "More militiae, ut (3. 519) 'dat clarum e puppi signum'"—equivalent to saying: a signal for sailing.

EXTULERAT. — Efferre being the verb employed in Roman military tactics (see Liv. 10. 19; 40. 28) to express the raising of the standard, and the carrying it forward out of the camp against the enemy, there can, I think, be little doubt that there is here a tacit comparison of the personified REGIA PUPPIS raising its signal flame, and followed by the ARGIVA PHALANX INSTRUCTIS NAVIBUS, to the standard-bearer of an army raising the standard, and followed by the soldiers to battle.

The practice of the admiral's ship carrying a light by night for the guidance of the other vessels of the fleet, having come down to more modern times, is thus humorously alluded to by Shakespeare, *Henry 4*, part 1, act 3, sc. 3 (Falstaff to Bardolph): "Thou art our admiral; thou bearest the lantern in the poop,—but 'tis in the nose of thee."

INCLUSOS . . . SINON. — CLAUSTRA, not the closed doors or vents, but the enclosure itself, the *chiostri*.

PINEA CLAUSTRA repeats and explains UTERO, and is substantially a variation of that theme, although—there being only one verb for the two clauses—the form is less strictly that which I have so often designated theme and variation. The picture of the enclosure, the *chiostri*, presented in UTERO, and repeated in PINEA CLAUSTRA, is again repeated in the very next breath: ILLOS PATEFACTUS AD AURAS REDDIT EQUUS. Here EQUUS is substantially a variation of PINEA CLAUSTRA as PINEA CLAUSTRA has

been of UTERO, and as CAVO ROBORE in the same verse is of EQUUS.

LAXAT . . . EQUUS.—Compare “Impulit in latus : ac venti,” &c., *Aen.* 1. 86, and Rem. LAXAT is simply *opens* : as Stat. *Theb.* 10. 550 (of Ganymede’s dogs) :

. . . “frustra^que sonantia laxant
ora canes umbramque petunt et nubila latrant.”

Stat. *Theb.* 2. 128 :

. “tigris
bella cupit, laxatque genas, et temperat ungues.”

263.

PRIMUSQUE MACHAON

“PRIMUS : aut princeps (inter primos, aut arte primus) aut numeri sui, nam per ternos divisit,” Servius. “Qui primus aut inter primos egressus est,” Heyne. “Molestum *h. l.* PRIMUS : interim amplector Heynii explicationem : ‘qui primus aut inter primos egressus est ;’ quanquam fateor, ita nescio quid exile inferri orationi,” Wagner (*Quaest. Virg.* 28. 5, and *Praest.*). I understand PRIMUS here to mean not who was the first to come out of the horse, but who took the principal part in the business, who regulated and directed the movement of the party, ο ἀριστεύων, as if he had said : “and especially Machaon,” or : “foremost, most prominent of them all, Machaon.” Compare (α), Sil. 7. 85 :

“nec non et proprio venerantur Pallada dono,
Phoebumque, armigerumque deum, primamque Dionem,”

where the meaning is not *Dione first in order*, or *they worshipped Dione first* ; but *Dione of most and principal consequence, paid chief and special honour to Dione*, viz., as mother of Aeneas and best friend and protectress of Rome—“Aeneadum nutrix.” (b), verse 32, above : “primusque Thymoetes”—Thymoetes, not the first in

order, but the principal person, the person who takes the lead, management, or initiative—and observe how exactly parallel the two passages are in structure, in location in the line, even in the connecting particle *que*, no less than in the sense. Observe also how both passages stand in exactly similar relation to the horse, one of them referring to the party outside, and the other referring to the party coming out. Compare also (e), 8. 6: “ductores primi,” where see Rem. (d), Lucr. 1. 85:

“Aulide quo pacto Triviai virginis aram
Iphianassaco turparunt sanguine foede
ductores Danaum delectei *prima* virorum”

[principal among men, first and foremost among men]. (e), 2. 612:

. . . “hic Iuno Scæas sævissima portas
prima tenet”

(where “*prima*” can mean nothing else than principal person, taking chief part in the assault and occupation of the gate, directing the party). (f), 10. 241:

. . . “Aurora socios veniente vocari
primus in arma iube”

[taking the initiative, setting yourself at the head of the movement]. (g), Sil. 2. 579:

“fama dehinc gliscento sono iam sidera adibat,
iam maria et terras *primamque* intraverat urbem”

[the city more than all, the city specially]. Whoever last got into the horse was likely, from the necessity of position, to be the first to get out. Now, the last who got in was not Machaon, but Epeus (Tryphiodorus, 179):

. . . ὅστας αὐτὲ
τέχνης ἀγλαομήτις ἐνς ἐπεβαίνειν Ἐπειός.

Epeus therefore, not Machaon, was likely to be the first who got out. Compare **also** (h), Capitolin. *Vita Maxim. Iunioris*, 1: “Literis et Graecis et Latinis imbutus ad *primam* disciplinam,” where Salmasius: “‘Prima disciplina’ hic non est quæ pueris incipientibus traditur, sed præcipua. . . Sic ‘*primam doctrinam*’ dixit supra Spartianus; sic ‘*primum amatorem*’ pro ‘*præcipuum et egregium amatorem*’; sic etiam ‘*prime*’

Latinis' pro 'egregie': ut 'prime proba,' apud Naevium in *Acontizomeno* :

'Acontizomenus fabula est *prime* proba.'

Ita Plautus 'prime catam' dixit in *Milite Glorioso* :

PA. 'At scietis. sed equa est ancilla illi? PE. Est *prime* cata.'

Ita fere Graeci *πρωτον* usurpant, ut *πρωτον* *ειδος*, praecipua et primaria forma."

I have dwelt the longer on this passage, because *primus* is precisely, on account of the difficulty of determining whether it is to be understood in its literal or in its figurative sense, perhaps the most frequently ambiguous word in our author's whole poem. A similar ambiguity attends the synonyms of *primus* in other languages. An almost ludicrous example of this in our own language is read every day, if not with admiration at least without a smile, by the thousand English visitors of the eternal city: it is where the indispensable red book pronounces its judgment of a picture which to me, profane and uninitiated as I am, is as bad a specimen of pictorial composition as the sentence in which the judgment is couched is of verbal: "The TRANSFIGURATION,' the *last* and greatest oil picture of the immortal master, and justly considered as the *first* oil painting in the world."*

* The above Rem. was written in 1865. Upon further consideration, I may add that—while still fully adhering to the view enunciated above, that *PRIMUS* is here not *first in order*, but *first in quality*—I am now rather inclined to think that the epithet is bestowed on Machaon in compliment to the usefulness of his art. Compare Hom. II. 11. 514 :

ιητρος γαρ ανηρ πολλων ανταξιος αλλων
ιους τ' εκταμνειν, επι τ' ηπια φαρμακα πασσειν.

The word is used in the same manner by Auson. *Idyll.* 2. 1 :

"nomen ego Ausonius, non ultimus arte medendi,
et mea si nosset tempora, *primus* eram,"

where not only is "*primus*" first in merit, but the merit is that of a physician. And so the *PRIMUS* of our text has been understood by Cynthius Cenetensis ("Machaon filius Aesculapii, *primus in arte medendi*"), exercising his own judgment, not as usual echoing Servius, who leaves us uncertain between no less than three meanings: "Aut princeps (inter primos, aut arte primus) aut numeri sui, nam per ternos divisit."

268-269.

TEMPUS ERAT QUO PRIMA QUIES MORTALIBUS AEGRIS
INCIPIT ET DONO DIVUM GRATISSIMA SERPIT

Compare Spenser, *Visions of Bellay*, 1 :

“ It was the time when rest, soft sliding down
from heaven's height into men's heavy eyes,
in the forgetfulness of sleep doth drown
the careful thoughts of mortal miseries.”

“ GRATISSIMA answers to PRIMA : ‘ PRIMA eademque GRATISSIMA,’ ”
Conington. I think not. Sleep is always gratissima, no
matter whether early or late (as Eurip. *Rhesus*, 555 :

θελγει δ' ομματος εδραν
υπνος' αδιστος γαρ εβα βλεφαροις προς αους) :

and GRATISSIMA in our text belongs to QUIES only, not at all to
PRIMA, the sense being the same as if Virgil had written :
“ Tempus erat quo primum quies,” &c.

270-279.

IN SOMNIS ECCE ANTE OCULOS MOESTISSIMUS HECTOR
VISUS ADESSE MIHI LARGOSQUE EFFUNDERE FLETUS
RAPTATUS BIGIS UT QUONDAM ATERQUE CRUENTO
PULVERE PERQUE PEDES TRAIECTUS LORA TUMENTES
HEI MIHI QUALIS ERAT QUANTUM MUTATUS AB ILLO
HECTORE QUI REDIT EXUVIAS INDUTUS ACHILLI
VEL DANAUM PHRYGIOS IACULATUS PUPPIBUS IGNES
SQUALENTEM BARBAM ET CONCRETOS SANGUINE CRINES
VULNERAQUE ILLA GERENS QUAE CIRCUM PLURIMA MUROS
ACCEPIT PATRIOS

“ VISUS est ADESSE MIHI talis QUALIS erat quum RAPTATUS esset,”
Wagner. No; this is entirely erroneous. The meaning is not :

appeared to be present to me in such condition as he had been when *RAPTATUS BIGIS ATERQUE*; but: *RAPTATUS BIGIS ATERQUE*, appeared to be present to me and to shed floods of tears. The whole force and beauty of the picture consists in the positiveness of the predications concerning Hector, viz., that being (not appearing to be) *MAESTISSIMUS*, and *RAPTATUS BIGIS*, and *ATER CRUENTO PULVERE*, he appeared to be present to Aeneas, and to shed floods of tears. *VISUS ADESSE MIHI LARGOSQUE EFFUNDERE FLETUS* is placed immediately after the subject in order to satisfy the impatience of the reader. Instead of reserving his account of what the subject appeared to do, until after he had completed his account of the subject himself, our author informs you as speedily as possible that he appeared to stand before Aeneas and shed floods of tears. There is then time, without teasing the reader with uncertainty, to complete the description of the subject, commenced with *MAESTISSIMUS* and immediately broken off; and the description is accordingly completed in the words *RAPTATUS BIGIS, ATERQUE CRUENTO PULVERE, PERQUE PEDES TRAIECTUS LORA TUMENTES*. We have thus, according to our author's usual manner, first (viz., from *IN SOMNIS* as far as *FLETUS*), a rapid sketch of the whole, and then (viz., from *RAPTATUS* as far as *TUMENTES*), the colouring and filling up of the details. The prosaic arrangement would be: *HECTOR, MAESTISSIMUS, RAPTATUS BIGIS, ATERQUE CRUENTO PULVERE, PERQUE PEDES TRAIECTUS, VISUS ADESSE MIHI LARGOSQUE EFFUNDERE FLETUS*. At *TUMENTES* the direct description of the plight of Hector in the dream is again interrupted, in order to place in pathetic contrast with it the appearance presented by the same Hector in the pride of strength and flush of victory on the battle-field before Troy, and so introduce with the greater effect the remainder of the description, the last finish of the picture (*SQUALENTEM . . . PATRIOS*), the beard and hair clotted with blood and dust, and the person gashed with wounds received in the defence of his country.

How comparatively dull and tedious had been the narrative, had the natural as it is called, or prosaic order, been preserved throughout—the description of Hector's plight first completed

in every particular, then that plight contrasted with the appearance formerly presented by him on the field of battle, and only then at last the listening audience and the reader informed that this so described Hector appeared to stand beside Aeneas and shed floods of tears! So arranged, the passage would have run pretty much as follows:—HECTOR, MAESTISSIMUS, RAPTATUS BIGIS (UT QUONDAM [raptatus erat]), ATERQUE CRUENTO PULVERE, PERQUE PEDES TRAIECTUS LORA TUMENTES, SQUALENTEM BARBAM, ET CONCRETOS SANGUINE CRINES, VULNERAQUE ILLA GERENS QUAE CIRCUM PLURIMA MUROS ACCEPIT PATRIOS—HEI MIHI, QUALIS ERAT! QUANTUM MUTATUS AB ILLO HECTORE QUI REDIT EXUVIAS INDUTUS ACHILLI, VEL DANAUM PHRYGIOS IACULATUS PUPPIBUS IGNES!—IN SOMNIS ANTE OCULOS VISUS ADESSE MIHI LARGOSQUE EFFUNDERE FLETUS.

Gronovius (*Diatrib. Stat. 22*)—removing the comma from after BIGIS, and placing a comma instead of a period at TUMENTES, and a comma before as well as after ERAT—connects ERAT with RAPTATUS, ATER, and TRAIECTUS, and thus observes:—"Distinctio huius loci, quae omnes editiones occupavit, arguit nemini hactenus eum satis intellectum. Intricatio constructio est sic evolvenda: VISUS MIHI, UT QUONDAM ERAT RAPTATUS BIGIS, ATERQUE PULVERE CRUENTO, ET PER PEDES LORA TRAIECTUS (HEI MIHI!) QUALIS? QUANTUM MUTATUS, &c. Imitatio Val. Flacc. hoc satis docet (4. 397):

‘Inachias errore etiam defertur ad undas,
qualis? et a prima quantum mutata iuvenca?’”

But how very much simpler, more natural, and more pathetic is the passage considered as consisting of four paragraphs, each grammatically complete and independent, and all four constituting so many intimately connected and mutually supporting links of thought, each preceding one of which as it passes through the mind draws the other after it, the first link terminating at FLETUS, the second at TUMENTES, the third at IGNES, and the fourth at PATRIOS!

UT QUONDAM.—These words are thrown in parenthetically in order to connect the appearance presented by the ghost of Hector in the dream with the appearance the real Hector pre-

sented at Troy after he had been dragged at Achilles' chariot wheels. Hector presented in Aeneas's dream exactly the appearance he had presented on that fatal day at Troy. The comma therefore, placed after *BIGIS* by the more correct judgment of the older editors, and removed by Wakefield, Heyne, and Wagner, should be replaced.

I need scarcely point out to the reader that the words *UT QUONDAM*, although intended only to illustrate the meaning of *RAPTATUS BIGIS*, present us also with a natural and philosophical explanation why Aeneas, in his dream, saw Hector *quasi RAPTATUS BIGIS*; viz., because of the strong impression made upon his mind by the sight of Hector after he had been actually dragged by the bigae of Achilles.

CRUENTO PULVERE = *λυθρω*, Hom. *Il.* 11. 169; 20. 503; *Od.* 22. 402; 23. 48.

TUMENTES.—Dead limbs do not swell in consequence of violence: either, therefore, Virgil means that the swelling of Hector's feet was the result of putrefaction, or he applies the adjunct *TUMENTES* in ignorance of the physiological truth; or, aware of the truth, falsely, for the sake of effect; or else he means that both the swelling and the violence which produced it were anterior to death.

It is highly improbable that he means that the swelling was the consequence of putrefaction; because, although he might not have felt himself bound by the authority of Homer, who expressly states (*Iliad*, books 23 and 24) that Apollo prevented putrefaction from taking place in the corpse of Hector, yet no poetical advantage was to be gained by suggesting the idea of putrefaction, inasmuch as that idea was not only revolting in itself, but, by removing our thought so much the further from the living sentient Hector, directly tended to diminish that sympathy with him which it was the sole object of the description to excite.

It is still less likely that Virgil, aware of the physiological truth, applied the term falsely, for the sake of effect; the unworthy supposition is contradicted by everything which is known, or has even been heard, of Virgil.

The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable, either that Virgil applied the term *TUMENTES* in ignorance of the physiological truth, that violence inflicted on dead limbs will not cause them to swell; or that the non-Homeric narrative (see Heyne, *Excurs.* 18 ad *Aen.* 1), which he certainly must have followed, when describing Hector as having been dragged round the walls of Troy (and not, as in the *Iliad*, from Troy to the Grecian tents, and round the tomb of Patroclus), represented Achilles as having bored Hector's feet and dragged him after his chariot before he was yet dead. Nor let the reader, living in times when man has some bowels of compassion for brother man, reject with horror the imputation to Achilles of so atrocious cruelty; let him rather call to mind the boring of the feet of Oedipus, of the feet and hands of malefactors on the cross, the slitting of noses and cropping of ears, the burnings at the stake and breakings on the wheel, not so very long since discontinued in Christian countries. This latter explanation of the difficulty involved in the word *TUMENTES* derives no small confirmation from the words in which Virgil (*Aen.* 1. 487) has described the dragging of Hector round the walls of Troy :

“ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,
exanimunq; auro corpus vendebat Achilles.”

There must be some good reason (see Rem. on verse 552) why in these lines “exanimun corpus” is not applied, as might have been expected, to “raptaverat,” but solely to “vendebat;” and such good reason is at once suggested by the explanation just given of the word *TUMENTES*. Achilles drags round the Ilian walls *Hector* (not Hector's “exanimun corpus,” Hector being yet alive), and having thus deprived him of life, sells his *corpse* (“exanimun corpus”) for gold. Compare :

ἥτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τροχῆλατους
κατείδον, οὐκ ὥρως τ' Ἴλιον πυρρῶμενον,

quoted by Hesselius ex Graeca *Andromache* in his note on the following verses of the *Andromache* of Ennius :

“vidi, viderequo passa sum aegerrime,
curru Hectorem quadriungo raptarier.”

Also Ovid, *Met.* 13. 435 (of Polydorus) :

“ ut cecidit fortuna Phrygum, capit inpius ensem
rex Thracum, iuguloque sui defigit alumni;
et tanquam tolli cum corpore crimina possent,
exanimem e scopulo subiectas misit in undas.”

If its discrepancy from the Homeric narrative raise any considerable obstacle in the mind of the reader against the reception of this explanation, I beg to refer him for a discrepancy, not merely with an isolated passage, but with a very large and important part of the story of the *Iliad*, to Euripides's *Helen*, who never even so much as saw Troy.*

HEI MIHI, QUALIS ERAT!—Here again, as at verse 270, the even tenor of the narrative, which should be HEI MIHI, QUALIS ERAT! SQUALENTEM BARBAM ET CONCRETOS CRINES VULNERAQUE ILLA GERENS, is broken off at QUALIS ERAT, in order to follow

* Since the above Comment was written and published (in “The first two books of the *Aeneis* rendered into English blank iambic,” Lond. 1845), I have fallen accidentally upon the following passage in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, verse 1030 (ed. Eton. 1786) :

Εκτωρ μὲν, ὡ δὲ τοῦδ' ἐδωρήθη παρὰ
ζώσῳ τῳ πρὶς θείῳ ἐπὶ κίων ἐξ ἀντιγών,
ἐκράπτετ' αἶεν ἐστ' ἀπεψύχεν βίον.

Although these lines, proving the existence of an account of Hector's having been dragged alive after Achilles' chariot, convert almost into certainty the argument which in that Comment I have presented only as a probability, I have yet allowed the Comment to remain unaltered, in order to exemplify the importance and necessity of a closer examination than is usual of the apparently trivial or supposed well-understood expressions of our author.

Still more lately (January, 1853), I have found the following additional evidence that some writers did describe Hector as having been dragged alive after the chariot of Achilles. It is in the account given by Q. Curtius (4. 28) of Alexander the Great having caused Betis to be fastened alive to a chariot, and so dragged to death: “Per talos enim *spirantis* lora traiceta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi; gloriantem rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda.”

I can hardly sufficiently praise the docility—slow, albeit, and almost too late—of my venerable pupil, Wagner. Compare the total darkness in which he leaves this passage, not only in his edition of Heyne's *Virgil* (1832), but in his own *Virgils* of 1845 and 1849, with the marvellous light which, translating, and as usual without acknowledgment, from my “*Twelve Years' Voyage*” (1853), he throws on it in his edition of 1861: “Viva membra tument sic mulcata, non mortua. Vivum raptatum esse Hectorem etiam Soph. refert, *Aj.* 1030, *sqq.*, Curt. 4. 28.”

out and enlarge upon (in the words *QUANTUM MUTATUS . . . IGNES*) the thought *QUALIS ERAT*!

HEI MIHI, QUALIS ERAT!—Compare that most touching lamentation in that most pathetic perhaps of all the ancient dramas, the *Electra* of Sophocles, verse 1126: *ω φιλτατου μνημιου*, &c. Classical scholars, so called, delight to quote Shakespeare's certainly neither very correct nor very apt reference to this passage, *King Henry* 4, part 2, act 1, sc. 1:

NORTH. "Even such a man, so faint, so spiritless,
so dull, so dead in look, so woe-begone,
drew Priam's curtain in the dead of night,
and would have told him half his Troy was burnt,
but Priam found the fire ere he his tongue,"

as one of a thousand proofs of the great imperfection of Shakespeare's scholastic acquirements. The proof is a cogent one perhaps, and even if it were not, it could be spared, for there is no lack of others to which no exception can be taken. But scholars will excuse me if I ask in the name of those who admire Shakespeare only the more because he is so little of a classical scholar, so little of a Milton or Ben Jonson, which of the two is the more ridiculous—Shakespeare, who puts Priam in the place of Aeneas; or that Coryphaeus of classical scholars, Bentley, who bids us put "*Ucalegon*" in place of "*so woe-begone*" in Shakespeare's line, and instead of

"so dull, so dead in look, so woe-begone,"

read

"so dull, so dead in look, *Ucalegon*?"

The whole passage *HEI MIHI, QUALIS ERAT*! . . . *ACCEPTIT PATRIOS* has been taken by Silius, 10. 508, and applied almost *verbatim* to Paullus:

"heu, quis erat! quam non similis modo Punica telis
agmina turbanti! vel cum Taulantia regna
vertit, et Illyrico sunt addita vincla tyranno!
pulvere canities atro, arentique cruore
squalebat barba, et perfracti turbine dentes
muralis saxi, tum toto corpore vulnus."

Chateaubriand (*Génie du Christianisme*, part 2, livre 5, c. 11), instituting a parallel between this dream of Aeneas and that in

which *Athalie* (Racine, *Athalie*, 2. 5) sees her mother Jesabel, observes: "Quel Hector paraît au premier moment devant Enée, tel il se montre à la fin. Mais la pompe, mais l'éclat emprunté de Jesabel, 'pour réparer des ans l'irréparable outrage,' suivi tout à coup, non d'une forme entière, mais

. . . 'de lambeaux affreux
que des chiens dévorans se disputaient entr' eux,'

est une sorte de changement d'état, de péripétie, qui donne au songe de Racine une beauté qui manque à celui de Virgile. Enfin cette ombre d'une mère qui se baisse vers le lit de sa fille, comme pour s'y cacher, et qui se transforme tout à coup 'en os et en chairs meurtris,' est une de ces beautés vagues, de ces circonstances terribles, de la vraie nature du fantôme." In reply to which criticism I shall perhaps be permitted to observe: **first**, that the absence from Aeneas's dream of a "péripétie" similar to that which has been so much and so justly admired in the dream of *Athalie*, so far from being a defect, is rather new evidence of that superior poetical judgment which informed Virgil that the proper place for such a "péripétie" was not in the warning, exhorting, encouraging dream of Aeneas, but exactly where the poet has placed it, in the horrifying dream of Turnus (*Aen.* 7. 445):

"talibus Alecto dictis exarsit in iras," &c.

It was **with** this similar dream of Turnus—with that Calybe changing into the furious Alecto hissing with all her hydras; **or** with the similar dream of Eteocles—with that Tiresias converted into the ominous Laius baring his divided throat, and deluging his grandson's sleep with blood ("undanti perfundit vulnere somnum," Stat. *Theb.* 2. 124), **not** with the totally dissimilar Hector of the totally dissimilar dream of Aeneas, that Chateaubriand might have correctly compared the Jesabel of *Athalie*. But lest it should be imagined that I use this plea of dissimilarity as a mere pretext for eschewing a comparison from which my favourite Virgil might perhaps issue with tarnished laurels, I beg to add, **secondly**, that I prefer Aeneas's dream to *Athalie*'s, (*a*), on account of its greater simplicity—the former

consisting of a single view or scene, with but a single actor; while the latter is complicated of two scenes, each with its separate actor, and those scenes so far distinct and independent of each other, that Chateaubriand in his parallel has (whether disingenuously or through mere error I will not pretend to say) assumed and treated one of them as the whole dream, and compared Aeneas's dream with that one, without making any, even the least, reference or allusion to the other. (**B**). Because the rôle assigned to Hector (viz., that of announcing to Aeneas the capture of the city and his own immediate personal danger; of urging, and thereby justifying, his flight; of conveying to him the first information that it was he who was to take charge of the "sacra" of Troy, and establish for them a new and great settlement beyond the sea—that settlement no less than the beginning of that Roman empire whose foundation was the subject and key of the whole poem—and finally of actually committing those "sacra" into his hands) confers upon Hector the dignity and importance of a real character—of one of the poet's actual *dramatis personae*; while Jesabel, whose part rises little, if at all, beyond the production of a certain amount of terror, is a mere phantom, subsidiary to and making way for the child Joas; who, as that personage of the dream on which the whole plot and future incidents of the drama hinge, mainly attracts and fixes on himself the interest. **Finally**, Aeneas's dream is to be preferred to Athalie's, because the former is interwoven with and forms part of the narrative; the latter stands separate from it, and is only explanatory, or, at the most, casual. The sailing of the ambushed fleet from Tenedos, Sinon's opening the CLAUSTRA of the wooden horse, the descent of the chiefs into the city, the throwing wide the gates to the whole Grecian army, Aeneas's seeing Hector in a dream, receiving from him the "sacra" of Troy, waking and hearing the tumult, taking arms, &c., are so many mutually dependent and connected parts of the same history, related in one even uninterrupted tenor by the same narrator, and received by the audience with the same undoubting faith; while on the other hand even Athalie herself does not credit her own dream until she has

dreamt it twice over, and even then, when she comes to relate it, thinks it necessary to warn her hearers, in verbiage sufficiently French and tedious, against taking so bizarre an assemblage of objects of different kinds for the work of chance :

“ de tant d'objets divers le bizarre assemblage
peut-être du hasard vous paraît un ouvrage ;
moi-même quelque temps, honteuse de ma peur,
je l'ai pris pour l'effet d'une sombre vapeur.
Mais de ce souvenir mon âme possédée
a deux fois en dormant revu la même idée ;
deux fois mes tristes yeux se sont vu retracer.”

I should not perhaps have so long dwelt on this comparison, if Racine had not been put forward, not merely by Chateaubriand but by so many other French critics, and by the French nation generally, as the French Virgil—in his other performances equal, in *Athalie* superior, to the Mantuan. Alas for that superiority which even here, in this selected passage of this selected work, is guilty, I will not say of a mere inaccuracy of expression, but of a downright confusion of ideas; inasmuch as, *Athalie* having made no mention of the real Jesabel but only of that Jesabel which appeared to her in the dream, the “*son ombre*” intended by Racine to refer to the real Jesabel must of necessity be referred by the audience or reader to the Jesabel of the dream, and be understood as meaning the shade of that apparition; or, in other words, although Racine undoubtedly wished his audience to understand that the figure which stooped down to embrace *Athalie* was no other than the apparition which had just spoken to her; yet as the only correlative in the whole context for the word “*son*” is the preceding “*elle*,” the sense which he has actually expressed is, that the figure which stooped down to embrace *Athalie* was not that figure which had just spoken to her, but only the shade of that figure, *i. e.*, the shade of a shade—a confusion of ideas, or, to use the milder term, an inaccuracy of expression, for which we in vain seek a parallel even in the least correct of the Latin authors.

279-287.

FLENS—MORATUR

FLENS IPSE.—“Non minus quam ille,” Forbiger, correctly. Compare Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 1. 4. 53:

“et narrare meos *fletu fletus* ipse labores.”

O LUX DARDANIAE. Compare Cic. *ad Fam.* 14. 5: “Si tu et Tullia, *lux nostra*, valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus.” Pind. *Ol.* 2. 9 (ed. Dissen): Σικελίας τ’ εσαν οφθαλμος. *Ibid.* 6. 16:

. . . ποθεω στρατίας οφθαλμον εμας,
αμφοτερον μαντιν τ’ αγαθον και δουρι μαρνασθαι.

EXPECTATE: not *expected*; but *longed for, desired, desiderated*, as Cic. *pro domo* (ed. Lamb.), 406: “Cum illo die minus valem, in senatum nominatim vocabar. Veni *expectatus* . . . meae valetudinis ratio non habebatur.” Ter. *Adelph.* 5. 4. 20:

“illum, ut vivat, optant; meam autem mortem *expectant*.”

EXPECTATE VENIS. Compare Cicero, just quoted: “Veni *expectatus*.”

UT TE . . . DEFESSI ASPICIMUS! &c.—UT belongs not to DEFESSI (Voss, Wagner), but, as sufficiently shown by the exactly corresponding (*Aen.* 8. 154):

. . . “ut te, fortissime Teucrûm,
accipio agnoscoque libens! Ut verba parentis
et vocem Anchisae magni vultumque *recordor*,

to ASPICIMUS, the force of which is increased by DEFESSI, as in the passage just quoted that of “accipio” and “agnosco” is increased by “libens.” Translate therefore: “How we behold you! *i. e.*, with what pleasure we behold you!” exactly as in the first clause of the just quoted parallel (even without attending at all to the “libens”): “How I receive and recognise you! *i. e.*, how gladly I receive and recognise you!” and in the second it is

“Ut recorder,” “how I remember! *i. e.*, how well I remember!” Conington coincides with this interpretation.

TE POST URBIS LABORES ASPICIMUS! Query, is there a tacit reference here to the expression of the Greeks, *προσωπον πολειως*?

ILLE NIHIL. Not, *he does not say anything*, for, as immediately appears, he says a great deal, but, taken together with the complement, NEC ME QUARENTEM VANA MORATUR, *he does not say anything in reply, nor mind my vain inquiries, i. e., he does not say anything in reply to my vain inquiries.*

NEC ME QUARENTEM VANA MORATUR. Not, as I have rendered it in my “Adversaria Virgiliana,” *does not delay me* (*i. e.*, my instant flight) *by answering my idle inquiries*, but, *does not mind me asking idle questions, i. e., does not mind my idle questions.* Compare 5. 400: “nec dona moror” [nor do I mind, *i. e.*, care for, pay attention to, the presents]. Leopardi, so often astray in his translation, is right in this instance: “nè di mie vane inchieste cura.”*

* As remarked above, I formerly entertained a different opinion on the text. I may add that in favour of this other view I had noted the following passages: *Aen. 1. 674*:

“hunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque *moratur*
vocibus.”

Lucret. 6. 245 (quoted by Conington):

“expediam neque te in promissis plura *morabor*.”

Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 4:

“si longo sermone *moror* tua tempora, Caesar.”

Georg. 2. 45:

“non hic te carmine ficto
atque per ambages et longa exorsa *tenebo*,”

290-301.

HOSTIS—SONITUS

VAR. LECT.

ALTA A CULMINE ■■■ Wakef. ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.* and *Praest.*)

ALTO A CULMINE ■ *Vat.* (ALTO^A CULMINE, the A in original ink) ; *Pal.* ; *Med.* (a point in the middle of the added A has been omitted by Foggini) ; *Ver.* ■■■ Pierius ; P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Philippe ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.) ; Ribbeck.

O Rom., St. Gall.

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] QUAERE: MAGNA PERERRATO ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670).

[*punct.*] QUAERE MAGNA, PERERRATO ■■■ Servius ; Voss.

[*punct.*] QUAERE, MAGNA PERERRATO ■■■ "Multi QUAERE distinguunt, et sic subiungunt: MAGNA PERERRATO," Servius ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*) ; Lad. ; Ribb.

RUIT ALTO A CULMINE TROIA. Compare Hom. *Il.* 11. 117 :

ος δη πολλων πολων κατελυσε καρηνα,
ηδ' ετι και λυσει.

FATORUM COMITES, literally, *companions of your fates*, but, in sense, *your companions in your fates* ; i. e., to share your fates, to partake of the same good or evil which befalls you. Hector performs only the one act, viz., that described in the words MANIBUS . . . IGNEM, and this act is accompanied with the words HOS CAPE FATORUM COMITES. This is undoubtedly the meaning, whether we understand the word PENATES to mean several statuettes, which are represented at verse 296 by the most considerable of

them, VESTA ; or whether we consider the PENATES of verse 293 and the VESTA of verse 296 to mean one and the same thing, viz., the statuette of Vesta alone.

It has also been thought that the visioned Hector actually puts the real objects into the hands of Aeneas, not merely seems to put them—an opinion which certainly derives general countenance from the fashion of visions to perform (let him explain it who can) real and substantial acts (as, for instance, Venus in a dream puts into the hands of Polyxo a real sword, Stat. *Theb.* 5. 139 :

“ ‘ ipsa facies alias, melioraque foedera iungam,’
dixit, et hoc ferrum stratis, hoc (credite) ferrum,
imposuit”),

but to which there seems to me to be this strong objection, that it is little likely our author would have made so remarkable a statement without some historical or mythical authority for it ; and if there had been any such, some notice of or reference to it would have been found somewhere among the ancient writers ; whereas so far is such reference from being to be found, that there is not to be found even so much as a repetition of the statement on the authority of Virgil.

MAGNA (verse 295). Not QUAE STATUES MAGNA, but MOENIA MAGNA, QUAE STATUES : (1), On account of the much greater emphasis thus thrown on MAGNA (see Rem. on 2. 246). (2), Because, according to my sense at least, the line reads so much better broken than wholly unbroken—not to say that it is so much according to our author’s manner so to break his lines by a pause after the first or second word, thus at one and the same time better connecting the lines in respect of sense, and better preventing that sing-song which inevitably results from the conclusion of the separate thoughts within an equal number of separate lines, the beauty of short poems, but the great damning defect of long, especially of the long Latin poems of the early churchmen, and, with perhaps the single brilliant exception of the *Paradise Lost* and *Regained*, of all the long poems of modern languages. And (3), Because such is the structure in the repetition of the injunction, 3. 159 :

. . . “tu moenia magnis
magna para, longumque fugae ne linque laborem.”

ET MANIBUS . . . IGNEM.—It has been thought (Conington *ad locum*) that the act here described is separate from and independent of an act with which Hector's ghost accompanied the words *HOSTES CAPE*, verses 294 *et seq.* In other words, it has been thought that the ghost while uttering the words *HOSTES CAPE*, &c., put the Penates into the hands of Aeneas, and only now, after he has ceased to speak, brings Vesta out of the penetralia and puts her also into his hands. This is the usual error of understanding our author's words too literally. The fact is, the ghost does it not really, but only in appearance. Compare Val. Flacc. 5. 242 (of Phrixus, in the vision, appearing to put the golden fleece into Jason's hands):

“dixit et admota pariter fatalia *visus*
 tradere terga manu.”

DIVERSO LUCTU.—*Diversus* indicates difference, not of kind or quality, but of situation. “*Diversus luctus*”: *woe in a quarter of the city at some distance from the house of Anchises*. By this single word thus happily placed at the commencement of the new action, not only is the reader carried at once out of the retired house in which Aeneas is sleeping, into the midst of the sacking and burning of the city, but time allowed for the numerous events described by Pantheus (verses 325 *et seqq.*) to occur before Aeneas is awakened by the noise.

QUAMQUAM SECRETA PARENTIS ANCHISAE DOMUS ARBORIBUSQUE OBTECTA RECESSIT.—One of the objections made by Napoleon (see his “*Note sur le deuxième livre de l'Énéide*,” quoted in *Rem. on verse 5*) to Virgil's account of the taking of Troy is, that it was impossible for Aeneas, “dans ce peu d'heures et malgré les combats,” to have made numerous journeys (“*plusieurs voyages*”) to the house of Anchises, situated “dans un bois à une demi-lieue de Troyes [*sic*].” This criticism is doubly erroneous; first, because the house of Anchises was not half a league's distance, nor any distance, from Troy, but in Troy itself, as evidenced by the account (verses 730, 753) of Aeneas's flight from Anchises' house, *out of Troy, through the gate of the*

city ; and, secondly, because Aeneas visits the house only twice, and on one of these occasions (as if Virgil had been careful to guard against any demur being made to so many as even two visits to a house situated, as he here informs us, in a remote part of the town) is miraculously expedited by a goddess.

I know not whether it will be regarded as an extenuation, and not rather as an aggravation, of Napoleon's error, that he has here (as in the other parts of his critique) depended wholly on Delille's very incorrect translation :

“ déjà le bruit affreux (quoique *loin de la ville*
mon père eût sa demeure *au fond d'un bois* tranquille), &c.”

It was incumbent on him, before he sent forward to the world, under the sanction of his illustrious name, a condemnation of the second book of the Aeneid both in the general and in the detail, to have taken, at least, ordinary pains to ascertain Virgil's true meaning ; and to have assured himself that he was not fulminating his condemnation against errors the greater part of which had no existence except in the false medium through which alone (as sufficiently evidenced both by his own words and his quotations) he had any acquaintance with Virgil.

302-312.

SUMMI—UCALEGON

FASTIGIA TECTI, i. e., *tectum fastigatum* ; a sloping or ridged roof, such as is commonly used throughout Europe at the present day. That this is the meaning of the term is placed beyond doubt by the passage in which Livy describes the *testudo* (44. 9) : “*Scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis submissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nisis, fastigatum sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt testudinem faciebant.*”

TUM VERO MANIFESTA FIDES, DANAUMQUE PATESCUNT IN-

SIDIAE.—TUM VERO marks as usual the acme, the extreme degree. He had first heard the noise, increasing continually in nearness and clearness (ET MAGIS ATQUE MAGIS . . . CLARESCUNT SONITUS, ARMORUMQUE INGRUIT HORROR), but now from the top of the house (TUM VERO) all is plain.

MANIFESTA FIDES.—“Non somnii, ut quidam volunt, sed fraudis Graecorum,” Servius, La Cerda. But the “fraus Graecorum” being the very thing of which the dream had told, the “FIDES fraudis Graecorum,” *i. e.*, the truth of the Grecian fraud, comes to be the truth of the dream—TUM VERO MANIFESTA FIDES, *then indeed the truth of what the dream had told was plain*; DANAUMQUE PATESCUNT INSIDIAE, *and the INSIDIAE of the Danaï are open to my senses*. I cannot at all agree with Conington, that “it matters little whether MANIFESTA be taken as a predicate, or FIDES constructed with PATESCUNT.” The two distinct predications, FIDES [est] MANIFESTA and INSIDIAE PATESCUNT, have double the force and energy of the single predication, MANIFESTA FIDES INSIDIAEQUE PATESCUNT, and Virgil prefers wherever he can to make distinct separate sentences—the making one verb serve two clauses being with him the exception, not the rule, unless where some advantage is to be gained by the contrary proceeding. Even taking the words as they occur in Livy, 6. 13 (“manifesta fides, publica ope Volscos hostes adiutos”), to guide us in our analysis of the Virgilian sentence, we have still the double predication:—Then indeed (there is) clear proof, clear evidence (in other words: the truth is clear); and the INSIDIAE of the Danaï are exposed, lie wide open. The second clause is, as so often elsewhere, explanatory of the first. The Latin fides is here, as always, precisely the Greek πιστις.

I do not at all doubt but that there is a direct reference in the words to the words of the chorus in Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 846 (ed. Blomf.). The chorus who have *heard* from the αγγελος the account of the death of the two brothers by each other's hands *sees* the two dead bodies brought in on the stage and *says*:

. . . ηλθε δ' αϊ-
 ακτα πηματ' ου λογω.
 ταδ' αυτοδηλα προπτος αγγελου λογος.

manifesta fides was a current expression among the Romans. Our text affords one instance of its use. A second instance occurs in Livy as above quoted; a third in Lucan, 1. 522; and I doubt not there are many others. The precise expression in the precise sense has descended into the Italian. Compare Biagioli, on Dante, *Inferno*, 2. 98: "In prova della prima parte si può addurre . . . queste parole del Convito, che ne fanno *manifesta fede*."

IAM PROXIMUS ARDET UCALEGON.—The prosopopoeia is plain and unobjectionable: Ucalegon for *Ucalegon's house*. It is seldom our author uses the figure so happily, only too often he introduces with it confusion into a picture otherwise faultless, *cr. gr. (a)*, *Aen.* 5. 203:

"namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburguet
interior spatioque subit *Sergestus* iniquo
infelix saxis in procurentibus *haesit*;"

where it is the real bodily *Sergestus* who is "furens" and "infelix," and who "suburguet," while it is only the figured *Sergestus*, *i. e.*, the ship of *Sergestus* which "subit" and "haesit." Also (*b*), 5. 270:

"cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte *revulsus*,
amissis remis atque ordine *debilis* uno,
irrisam sine honore ratem *Sergestus* agebat;"

where it is the real bodily *Sergestus* who "agebat ratem," while it is only the figured *Sergestus*, *i. e.*, the rates itself which is "revulsus" and "debilis"; and (*c*), 10. 207:

"*it gravis Aulestes*, centenaque arbore fluctum
verberat assurgens:
hunc vehit immanis Triton,"

where, if we understand *Aulestes* to be a prosopopoeia of the ship, *i. e.*, to mean the ship itself, we have the ship carried by itself the ship on board the ship ("hunc vehit immanis Triton"); and if we understand *Aulestes* to be the veritable captain *Aulestes* himself, we have the veritable captain *Aulestes* himself not only heavy ("gravis") but, notwithstanding his heaviness, rising to and lashing the sea with a hundred oars, a piece of confusion worthy of *Bavius* or *Maevius*.

Instances of this sort of confusion, this intermixture, direct and figurative, are unhappily of so frequent occurrence in our author, that I have sometimes been disposed to explain “illum expirantem” (where see Rem.) in a similar manner, and to understand “illum” literally in respect of “expirantem transfixo pectore flammæ,” and figuratively, or as a prosopopoeia of the ship, in respect of “turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto”: an explication which I have however been prevented from ultimately adopting, first, by its too great aberration from the Homeric myth; and secondly, by the too great lameness and commonplace of the picture it presents.

320-327.

SACRA MANU VICTOSQUE DEOS PARVUMQUE NEPOTEM
IPSE TRAHIT CURSUQUE AMENS AD LIMINA TENDIT
QUO RES SUMMA LOCO PANTHU QUAM PRENDIMUS ARCEM
VIX EA FATUS ERAM GEMITU CUM TALIA REDDIT
VENIT SUMMA DIES ET INELUCTABILE TEMPUS
DARDANIAE FUIMUS TROES FUIT ILIUM ET INGENS
GLORIA TEUCRORUM FERUS OMNIA IUPITER ARGOS
TRANSTULIT

SACRA . . . TRAHIT. Compare Callim. *Lacr. Pallad.* 38 (of Eumædes, priest of Minerva) :

ὅς ποκα βουλευτὸν γένους ἐπὶ οἱ θανάτων
δαμον ἐτοιμαζόντα, φυγα τεὸν ἱρὸν ἀγάλμα
ᾠχετ' ἐχών, Κρείον δ' εἰς ὅρος ᾠκίσατο.

DEOS is the explanation of SACRA, and the meaning is, not *the sacred objects and the gods' images*, but *the sacred images of the gods*, first because Pantheus would be too much encumbered by three different objects—sacred things, gods' images, and his grandson; and secondly, because we find *sacra*, by itself and

without any explanation, meaning *sacred images*, or *images of the gods*, as Ovid, *Met.* 10. 696: "*sacra retorserunt oculos.*" *Ibid.* 624:

. . . " *sacra et, sacra altera, patrem,
fert humeris, venerabile onus, Cythereius heros.*"

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 527:

" *iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem,
afferet. Iliacos excipe, Vesta, deos.*"

Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 157 (Dido to Aeneas):

" *tu modo per matrem fraternaue tela, sagittas,
perque fugae comites, Dardana sacra, deos.*"

This use of *sacra* to signify, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, the images of the gods exactly corresponds to the use of *iusta* to signify funeral, of *tithes* to signify the special tenths which are the church's dues, &c.

QUO RES SUMMA LOCO, PANTHU, QUAM PRENDIMUS ARCEM?—

The meaning of this passage, so much and to so little purpose disputed by the commentators, is placed beyond all doubt, *no less* by Silius's imitation, 1. 598:

" *o patria, o Fidei domus inclyta, quo tua nunc sunt
fata loco? sacraene manent in collibus arces?*"

the first clause of which is the first, and the second clause of which is the second clause of Virgil's sentence expressed in different words, *than* by Plautus's prototype, *Mercat.* 986 (ed. Ritschl):

" *ubi loci siet res summa publica?*"

Quo Loco, not, *where?* but *in what condition?* Compare Senec. *Hippol.* 358:

CHOR. " *altrix, profare; quid feras? quonam in loco est
regina? saevis equis est flammis modus?*"

[not, *where is*, but *in what condition is the queen?* as shown by "*saevis*," &c., and by the answer "*spes nulla*," &c.]. Lucan, 8. 557:

. . . " *nescis, puer improbe, nescis,
quo tua sit fortuna oco*"

[*in what condition thy fortune is*]. Terent. *Adelph.* 3. 2. 46 :

“peiore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quo nunc sita est.”

QUO RES SUMMA LOCO? *In what condition is the State?* RES SUMMA, *our all, the main chance, that on which everything hinges, by consequence, the State, “salus suprema publica.”* See *Aen.* 11. 302; Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 12; C. Nepos, *Eumen.* 9. 2; Liv. 33. 7 and 8; *Hist. Rom.* Parth. App. tributa: φοβω δε περι του συμπαντος, αμα και ποθω του παιδος. Procop. *de Bello Gothico*, 3. 13: Βελισαριος δε περι τε τη Ρωμη και τοις ολ πραγμασι δεισας. *La Riforma* [newspaper], Firenze, 4 Gen. 1868: “Vedendo la persistenza del conte Menabrea [prime minister] a voler tenere in mano *la somma* della cose italiane.” Milton, *Par. Lost*, 6. 671 :

“had not the Almighty Father, where he sits
shrined in his sanctuary of heaven secure,
consulting on the *sum of things*, foreseen
this tumult, and permitted all, advised;”

and again, verse 697 :

. . . “which makes
wild work in heaven, and dangerous to *the main*.”

QUAM PRENDIMUS ARCEM?—*If we throw ourselves into the “arx,” what kind of an arx shall we find it to be? is the “arx” any longer defensible?* Compare Cic. *ad Fam.* 14. 5: “Etsi in quam rempublicam veniamus intelligo.” PRENDIMUS is nearly as in Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* 3. 112: “Pharon prehendit, atque ibi praesidium posuit.” Aeneas uses the present tense because he is actually (see verse 315) on his way to the “arx” at the moment when he meets Pantheus coming from it, verse 319.

The questions QUO RES SUMMA LOCO? and QUAM PRENDIMUS ARCEM? are not to be considered as two distinct independent questions, but the second as supplementary to the first, the RES SUMMA being lost if the “arx” was lost. Compare Aristeas, *Hist.* 72 *interpretum* (Gallandi, vol. ii., p. 784), of the arx which stood beside the temple of Jerusalem: του δη ιερου την πασαν ειναι φυλακην την ακραν. The second clause of the verse is thus a variety of the first, and sets before the reader in the

concrete form that which the first presents merely in the abstract. See also Sil. Ital., as above, where precisely the same two questions stand in precisely the same relation to each other.

INELUCTABILE TEMPUS.—Not *inevitable*, but *out of which there is no possibility of escaping by any exertion*; therefore, *final*, *that shall finish and utterly destroy us*, as Stat. *Theb.* 5. 45 (of the Nemean forest):

“quippe obtenta comis, et *ineluctabilis* umbra”

[so dense, intricate, and large, that no exertion would get you out of it]. Senec. *Nat. Quaest.* 6. 7: “*Ineluctabiles* navigio paludes, nec ipsis quidem inter se pervias quibus incoluntur.” *Ibid.* 6. 8: “Pervenimus ad immensas paludes, quarum exitum nec incolae noverant nec sperare quisquam potest, ita implicitae aquis herbae sunt; et aquae nec pediti *eluctabiles*, nec navigio, quod, nisi parvum et unius capax, limosa et obsita palus non ferat.” Compare our author’s use of the similar verb at *Georg.* 2. 243: “*aqua eluctabitur* omnis” [the whole of the water will make its way out]. *Δυσπαλαιστος* seems to be used in the same sense by Euripides, *Alcest.* 889 (ed. Fix.): *τυχα, τυχα δυσπαλαιστος ηκει* [fatum, fatum ineluctabile venit]; and *αφυκτος* by the same author, one hundred lines farther on in the same play: *και σ’εν αφυκτοισι χερων ειλε θεα δεσμοις*.

FUIMUS TROES, FUIT ILIUM.—The full force of these expressions will be perceived by those readers only who bear in mind that among the Romans the death of an individual was, not unfrequently, announced to his friends by the word *fuit*; see, in Wernsdorf’s *Poetae Latini Minores*, “*Elegia incerti auctoris de Maecenat. morib.*”:

“mollibus ex oculis aliquis tibi procidet humor,
cum dicar subita voce, *fuisse*, tibi.”

So also Plautus, *Truc.* 1. 2. 93:

“horresco misera, mentio quoties fit partionis;
ita paene tibi *fuit* Phronesium;”

and *Pseud.* 246 (ed. Ritschl):

“BA. Quis est, qui moram mi obcupato molestam optulit?
Ps. Qui tibi sospitalis fuit. BA. Mortuost, qui *fuit*: qui est, is vivost”

(where there is a play upon this meaning of the word). *Ibid.* *Mostell.* 820 (ed. Ritschl) Simo (selling his house) :

. . . "Pol mihi
eo pretio empti fuerant olim. TRAN. Audin '*Fuerant*' dicere?
vix videtur continere lacrimas "

(where there is a similar play upon the word "*fuerant*"). Compare also Cicero's announcement of the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators, "*vixerunt*;" and Schiller, *Mar. Stuart*, act 4, sc. 11 :

. . . "jene hat gelebt,
wenn ich dies blatt aus meinen händen gebe."

Charlotte Corday in her letter to Barbaroux, written on the eve of her execution, and preserved in Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins* (44. 30), refers to this Roman mode of expression : "C'est demain à huit heures que l'on me juge. Probablement à midi j'aurai vécu, pour parler le langage Romain." So also Manzoni, *Il Cinque Maggio* (of Napoleon) :

"*ei fu* : siccome immobile
dato il mortal sospiro
stette la spoglia immemore
orba di tanto spiro,
così percossa, attonita
la terra al nunzio sta."

Accordingly the meaning of our text is not: *We were Trojans*, but *we Trojans no longer exist, Ilium no longer exists, all is past*: exactly as *Aen.* 7. 413 : "*sed fortuna fuit*" [its fortune is past and gone]. From the Latin *fuit*, used in the above sense, come both the Italian *fu* and the French *feu*, *defunct*, as is placed beyond all doubt by the plural *furent*—"Les notaires de quelques provinces disent encore, au pluriel, *furent*, en parlant, de deux personnes conjointes et décedées," Trevoux; and to the same effect, *Furetiere*. Corresponding to this use of the past tenses of the verb *sum*, emphatically, to express *death*, i. e., the cessation of existence, was the use of its present tenses to express *life*, i. e., the continuance of existence (as *Stat. Silv.* 1. 4. 1 :

"*estis*, io Superi, nec inexorabile Clotho
volvitur opus."

Matth. 2. 18 : "Rachel weeping for her children, and would

not be comforted, because they are not (οὐκ εἰσι).” Soph. *Antig.* 567 :

ἀλλ’ ἦδε μὲντοι μὴ λέγ’. οὐ γὰρ ἐστ’ ἐτι)

and of its future tense, to express *future* existence, *i. e.*, existence after death, as Cic. *ad Fam.* 6. 3: “Nec enim, dum *ero*, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa : et si nōn *ero*, sensu omnino carebo.”

ET INGENS GLORIA TEUCRORUM.—Heyne need not have doubted that these words are a translation of Euripides, *Troad.* 581 :

ANDROM. πρὶν ποτ’ ἤμην.

HEC. βεβακ’ ὀλβος· βεβακε Τροία.

ANDROM. τλαμῶν.

The similarity is far too great to be accidental.

TRANSTULIT ARGOS. Compare Lucan, 2. 136 :

“tunc cum paene caput mundi, rerumque potestas
mutavit *translata* locum” &c.

330-335.

PORTIS ALII BIPATENTIBUS ADSUNT

MILLIA QUOT MAGNIS UNQUAM VENERE MYCENIS

OBSEDERE ALII TELIS ANGUSTA VIARUM

OPPOSITI STAT FERRI ACIES MUCRONE CORUSCO

STRICTA PARATA NECI VIX PRIMI PRAELIA TENTANT

PORTARUM VIGILES ET CAECO MARTE RESISTUNT

VAR. LECT.

NUNQUAM [or NUMQUAM] **■** $\frac{2}{3}$. **■■■** Princ.; Ven. 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Bersm.

UNQUAM [or UMQUAM] ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$; cod. Camer. (Bersm.); cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Auson. in perioch. 20. *Iliad.*; Ven. 1470, 1471; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Heyn.; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Thiel; Süpfle; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

PORTIS BIPATENTIBUS.—“Variatum pro simplici: patentes, apertae,” Heyne. “Intelligemus portas duarum valvarum,” Wagner (ed. Heyn.). The gate was two-valved, *bifores*, otherwise there would be no BI-; it was also open, otherwise there would be no PATENTIBUS: and so Wagner (1861). Compare *La Nazione* (newspaper), Giugno 3 e 4, 1867: “Questa ospitalità che apre a due battenti le porte,” and see Rem. on 10. 5.

MILLIA QUOT MAGNIS UNQUAM VENERE MYCENIS.—“Totum verum abesse malim, quot enim ex illis millibus per decem annos caesos esse putare licet!”—Heyne, mistaking a mere exaggeration, very natural and proper in the mouth of the terrified speaker, for the positive matter-of-fact enunciation of an historian. Heyne’s error has been pointed out by Voss, and, a rare thing for that critic, without any bitterness towards a man whose deserts in respect of Virgil were at least not inferior to his own. He contents himself with quoting Heyne’s explanation, and adding: “Melius, augendi gratia, cum Servio.” Servius’s explanation is even better, more full and explicit, than it has been represented by Voss. His words are: “Ita vel augendi gratia, vel perturbatus, dicit tantos esse Graecos quanti olim venerint, quasi nemo perierit decennali bello.” The only defect in this explanation is that two things are separated which should be united. The explanation should have been: “perturbatus (metu) auget.” In similar circumstances now-a-days one would say: all Greece is at the gates. The expression, without however the exaggeration, is Homeric: see *Il.* 2. 248:

οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σέο φημι χερίοτερον βροτὸν ἄλλον
εἶμεναι, οὐσσοὶ ἀμ’ Ἀτρεΐδης’ ὑπὸ Ἰλίου ἦλθον.

VIX PRIMI PRAELIA TENTANT PORTARUM VIGILES. “Vel in

primo introitu collocati, vel periculo primi," Servius (ed. Leon), followed by Thiel, Forbiger, Wagner (ed. 1861 and *Quaest. Virgil.*), and Conington. "Die posten der ersten nachtwache," Ludewig, Gossrau. I agree entirely with Servius and Wagner. Compare Sil. 6. 1 :

"iam, Tartessiaco quos solverat acquore, Titan,
 equos iungebat Eois
 littoribus, *primique* novo Phaethonte relecti
Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis,"

where "primi" and "Seres" occupy, respectively, the same positions in the verse as the PRIMI and PORTARUM VIGILES of our text, and where the meaning is, *nearest to the sun, the first to be touched by the rays of the sun*; as in our text the meaning is, *nearest to the enemy, the first to come in the way of the enemy*. PRIMI PORTARUM VIGILES may, therefore, be looked upon as the translation of the Greek προφυλακες (our pickets)—VIGILES, as φυλακες, expressing the function, and PRIMI, as προ, the forward or foremost position, the position towards the enemy. Compare (a), Aeneas, *Poliorc.* 22: εγρηγορεναι τε ως πλειστους αμεινον εν τοις κινδυνοις, και παντα φυλαξαι εν τη νυκτι, ιν' ως πλειστοι καθ' εκαστην φυλακην προφυλασσωσι. (b), Aeneas, *ib.*: προφυλασσοιεν τ' αν εκ των επι τω τειχει φυλακων προφυλακες ωδε. (c), *Ibid.* 26: . . . φωνουντας τι πορρωθεν, οπως αν εγερθη εαν καθευδη ο προφυλαξ, και παρασκευασηται αποκρινεσθαι το ερωτωμενον. (d), Xenophon, *Anab.* 2 (ed. Hutchins. p. 120): Οι δ' επει ηλθον προς τους προφυλακας, ιζητουν τους αρχοντας, translated: hi cum ad primos excubitores venissent, ubi duces essent quae-rebant. Compare also, (e), *Aen.* 12. 577 :

"discurrunt alii ad portus primosque trucidant,"

where "primos" (not here termed vigiles because it was not night) must be the same προφυλακες, or pickets. And (f), *Aen.* 12. 659, where we have a picture precisely the parallel of that before us :

. . . "soli pro portis Messapus et acer Atinas
 sustentant aciem," &c.

341-357.

CHOROEBUS—RABIES

CHOROEBUS.—Choroebus is the Othryoneus of Homer, *Il. 13. 361* :

ενθα, μεσαιπολιος περ εων, Δαναοισι κελυσας,
 Ιδομενευς Τρωεσσι μεταλμενος εν φοβον ωρσεν.
 πεφνε γαρ Οθρυονηα, Καβησοθεν ενδον εοντα,
 ος ρα νεον πολεμοιο μετα κλεος ειληλουθει·
 ητεε δε Πριαμοιο θυγατρων ειδος αριστην,
 Κασσανδρηι, αναεδνον· υπεσχετο δε μεγα εργον,
 εκ Τροιης αεκοντας απωσμεν υιας Αχαιων.

INSANO CASSANDRAE INCENSUS AMORE.—Commentators are divided between two opinions concerning the word *INSANO*, whether it means that it was insanity of Choroebus to love Cassandra at all, or at least to love her under the circumstances of the war (“*INSANO, quia belli tempore amabat,*” Servius’s *aliter*. “*INSANO, because it hurried him to his ruin,*” Conington. “*Denn ihn brannt’ unsinnige lieb’ um Kassandra,*” Voss), or whether it is to be taken as the ordinary epithet of love—“*aut perpetuum epitheton amoris est,*” Servius’s first interpretation, adopted by Thiel and Forbiger, and with which I entirely agree. *INSANO*, as here used, is not at all *insane*, in our sense of the word, but *insane* in the sense in which everything is insane which is violent or passionate, as Hor. *Od. 1. 16. 15* :

. . . “*insani leonis*
vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.”

Ovid, *Heroid. 7. 53* :

“*quid? si nescieris insana quid aequora possint.*”

It is neither madness nor foolishness in Choroebus to be in love with Cassandra, but he is in love with her to madness, passionately in love with her, or, as we commonly say, desperately in love with her. Compare Plaut. *Cure. 1. 3. 20* :

“*nam bonum est pauxillum amare sane; insane non bonum est*”

[it is not good to love passionately]; and especially Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 371:

“tūm de te narret, tūm persuadentia verba
addat, et *insano* iuret amore mori,”

where “*insano*,” being recommendatory of the love (“*persuadentia verba*”), can by no possibility signify the love’s irrationality, can only signify its intensity.

Understood in this sense, the epithet raises our respect not only for Choroebus but for Cassandra, in the same degree as, understood in the former sense, it lowers it; and most readers will, I think, agree with me that that interpretation which tends to elevate both characters in our estimation accords better with the drift of the whole passage than that which tends to depreciate both.

ET GENER . . . FEREBAT.—Supplementary to VENERAT, as “*peplumque ferebant*,” 1. 484, is to “*ibant*.”

INFELIX.—As “*suppliciter*,” 1. 485, belongs both to “*ibant*” and “*ferebant*,” but principally to “*ibant*,” so here INFELIX belongs both to VENERAT and FEREBAT, but principally to VENERAT. Wagner has done well to remove the Heynian period after FEREBAT.

SUPER HIS.—“*HIS verbis; SUPER, autem, insuper*,” Servius, correctly (compare 1. 33: “*his accensa super*”), and correctly followed by Weickert, Forbiger, and Wilms. Heyne, explaining SUPER HIS “*posthaec, inde*,” and Wagner (1861), explaining HIS, “*ad hos*,” have missed the true sense.

IUVENES . . . RUAMUS.—The elder Heinsius incloses all the words from SI, the younger all from QUAE SIT, as far as STETERAT inclusive, in a parenthesis. Both are wrong, and Wagner is right. There is no parenthesis; the train of thought runs on uninterrupted: SI VOBIS CUPIDO . . . VIDETIS . . . EXCESSERE, with its climax, SUCCURRITIS . . . RUAMUS . . . MORIAMUR.

MORIAMUR ET IN MEDIA ARMA RUAMUS, a *υστερον προτερον* of which we have an exact parallel in Eurip. *Hec.* 266:

κεινη [Helen] γαρ ωλεσεν νιν [Achilles], es Troian τ' αγει

also, *Aen.* 11. 593 :

“post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
inspoliata feram tunulo, patriaeque reponam ;”

Ibid. 3. 639 :

“sed fugite, o miseri, fugite, atque a littore funem
rumpite.”

EXCESSERE OMNES, ADYTIS ARISQUE RELICTIS, DI QUIBUS IMPERIUM HOC STETERAT.—Macrobius says (*Sat.* 5. 22) : “Hoc unde Virgilius dixerit, nullus inquit ; sed constat, illum de Euripide traxisse qui in fabula *Troadibus* [23] inducît Apollinem, cum Troia capienda esset, ista dicentem :

εγω δε, νικωμαι γαρ Αργειας θεου
Ηρας Αθανας θ', αι συνεξειλον Φρυγας,
λειπω το κλειρον Ιλιον βωμους τ' εμους·
ερημια γαρ πολιν οταν λαβη κακη,
νοσει τα των θεων ουδε τιμασθαι θελει.

Let not Christians mock a touching and picturesque superstition which still (how few are aware of it!) exists among themselves, handed down to them by the piety of their pagan forefathers. See Ruga e Parrisit, ed. Rom., 1845, quoted by Camarda, appendice al “Saggio di Grammatologia comparata sulla lingua Albanese,” Prato, 1866, p. 16: “Calezoime pra si ka kjilue t' icunit Zoies e Shkodres, e massannei mennoime me *dobii* te shpirtite si me e sbutte per me passe miscirier. Njate Shecodres ashte nji kjishe tash e rennuome, ne te tsilen ishte 'nne rue nji figure e bukure sheitnushmes Meri. Pos masi forti i fort Shkanderbek dikj, Shkodra raa 'nner duore turkjetvet e kje vume 'nnen *charace*. Ate chere bani *rakji*, e tash kan shkueme tre kjinte e shtate dhete e tete viete kji Zoia e beecueme tui ike prei assai kjishe, shcoi afer Rhomes 'nne nji te vottser catune kji thochete Genazzano: atie kje, edhe ashte 'nneerue prei gjith populite, perse ka bame, e ban deri sote shume mereculi. Te lumete ato di *konakje* Gjergjite e Sklavis, kji pas kan [*sic*] *nafakje* me pertsiele (persiel) figuren e mreculuoshme Zoies e beecueme, prume prei nji shtule ziermite naten, e prei nji shtule ereiete ditën! Por te shemete iu, o te kershtenete emii, kji 'mmeten pa nannen e dashtnushme! . . . E pse o nana dasht-

nushmeia, pse *braktise ietimite* e tuu, pa 'nnime cundra anmik-jevet, pse s' kee *serap* per birte tui, kji kjain, kji gjimoin tash gadi per katter scekule pa. tii? Ah! me dukete, kji zoia becueme m' pergjegje: ah! une ika prei Shkodres per mecatete; e s' iam njite *allau* perse s' kan pushueme *allau* mecatete; t' pushoin mecatete, e une kame per me njite prape! . . .”—thus translated by Camarda: “Narriamo dunque come è accaduta la fuga della Signora (Madonna) di Scodra, e quindi pensiamo con vantaggio dell' anima come placarla per ottenerne misericordia. Vicino Scodra è una chiesa ora diruta, nella quale era onorata un' immagine (figura) bella di Maria santissima. Dopo che il forte trai forti Scandergh morì, Scodra cadde nelle mani dei Turchi, e fu posta sotto tributo. In quel tempo fece davvero (*positivo*), ed ora sono passati trecento settant' otto anni che la Signora benedetta partendo (fuggendo) da quella chiesa, passò vicino a Roma in un piccolo paese, che si domanda Genazzano: ivi fu ed è anche ora onorata da tutto il popolo, perchè ha fatto e fa sino ad oggi molti miracoli. Beate quelle due famiglie di Giorgio e Selavi che hanno avuta la fortuna di seguitare l'immagine miracolosa della Signora benedetta portata da una colonna di fuoco la notte, e da una colonna di nuvola il giorno! Ma disgraziati voi, O Cristiani miei, che siete rimasti senza la mamma amorosa! . . . E perchè, O madre amorosa, perchè hai abbandonato gli orfani tuoi senza ajuto contro i nemici; perchè non hai pietà dei figli tuoi, che piangono, che gemono, ora son vicini quattrocento anni, senza di te? Ah! mi pare che la Signora benedetta mi responda: ‘ah! io mi partii da Scodra pei peccati; e non sono ritornata (riaccostata) ancora (?) perchè non sono cessati ancora i peccati; che cessino i peccati, ed io ritornerò indietro!’”

UNA SALUS VICTIS, &c.—Compare Ammian. 16. 2: “Ut solet abrupta saepe discrimina salutis ultima desperatio propulsare.” Trog. Pomp. 20. 3: “Dum honeste mori quaerunt, feliciter vicerunt; nec alia causa victoriae fuit, quam quod desperaverunt.”

SALUS.—Not safety, but preservation of life (Gr. σωτηρια). We cannot express the meaning by a single word in English.

We come nearest to it in the words *life* and *salvation* : “ the only chance we have of life (of saving our lives, of salvation) is to despair of life (of saving our lives, of salvation).” How pregnant of meaning the expression is, is shown by its repetition in the same line—*SALUS, SALUTEM*. We have an example of this use of *salus* in Anmian’s translation of the reply of Alexander the Great to his mother, when, like another Herod’s wife, she pressed him to put a certain person to death in compliment to her (14. 11) : “ *Aliam, parens optima, posce mercedem ; hominis enim salus beneficio nullo pensatur.*” Compare also Turnus to Drances, *Aen. 11. 399* : “ *nulla salus bello*” [not there is no safety in war, but there is no salvation for us in war ; war will not save our lives and liberties].

ADDITUS (verse 355) refers back to *SUPER*, verse 348.

IMPROBA VENTRIS . . . RABIES.—*IMPROBA* : “ magna,” Heyne. “ *Magna insatiabilis voracitas, et fames crucians,*” Forbiger. “ *Avidus, insatiabilis, et ob id audax et perstans,*” Forcellini—**all** utterly mistaking our author’s meaning, no less than Wagner, who refers us to *Georg. 1. 119*, where he observes on “ *improbis anser*” : “ *Improbis commune nocentium et rapacium bestiarum epitheton, avidam voracitatem indicans, ut Aen. 9. 62 ; 12. 250 ; omnino improbus est quisquis modum non servat proptereaue improbari potest—cornix assidue crocicans, versu 388 ; mons vehementissime incitatus, Aen. 12. 687. Tum idem epitheton in laudem versum laborem imprimis acrem indicat, infra vers. 146 ; de pervicaci studio insidiantis Arruntis, Aen. 11. 767. Intelliges autem feros anseres, non domesticos.*” Nothing can be plainer than that all these so various and even contradictory meanings have been assigned to the word *improbis* without the least regard to the proper signification of the word itself, and merely because the meaning so assigned was consistent or at least not inconsistent with the context ; merely because in each case, the word being understood in the arbitrary sense assigned to it, the passage satisfied the *à priori* expectation of the commentator. “ *Improbis mons*” was “ *mons vehementissime incitatus*” because a mountain which fell at all could not but fall very rapidly ; “ *improbis*” applied to “ *labor*” was a

term of as great praise as, applied to a goose, it was a term of great dispraise, for no other reason than that labour was in itself praiseworthy, while a goose, and especially a wild one, was worthy of all reprobation for its destructiveness to the grass; and in our text, IMPROBA VENTRIS RABIES was *magna* VENTRIS RABIES, because nothing could be more natural than that the wolves should have a most voracious appetite. But *improbus* does not signify either “*magnus*,” or “*avidus*,” or “*insatiabilis*,” neither is *improbus* ever a laudatory term. *Improbus* is always a term of reprobation, always means simply *wicked*. The falling mountain is “*improbus*” (*wicked*), on account of the ruin it brings on everything which comes in its way; the goose is “*improbus*” (*wicked*), on account of the harm it does to the grass and crops; labour is “*improbus*” (*wicked*), because it is painful, because it is labour; and for the same reason, viz., because it is painful, the VENTRIS RABIES of the wolves in our text is IMPROBA (*wicked*). The commentators here, as so often elsewhere, have not been able to discern the poetry; have been completely puzzled and defeated by the ascription of moral delinquency, not merely to brute animals but to objects incapable of all feeling; have forgotten the *λατὴ ἀναιδής* of Homer (*Il.* 4. 521; *Od.* 11. 597), and the “villanous saltpetre” of the English dramatist (*King Henry 4*, first part, 1. 4):

“and that it was great pity, so it was,
 this *villanous saltpetre* should be digged
 out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
 which many a good tall fellow had destroyed
 so cowardly.”

360.

NOX ATRA CAVA CIRCUMVOLAT UMBRA

“Hic accipere possumus perseverasse quidem lunam, sed fumo obscuratum eius lumen, qui ex magno civitatis incendio movebatur,” Donat. “Hinc apparet occidisse iam lunam,” Servius. “NOX CIRCUMVOLAT, quippe alata,” Heyne, comparing 8. 369 :

“nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis,”

personifying night and perceiving no difficulty. “Allerdings erhellt der mond die nacht, aber er wird . . . zeitweise durch wolken verhüllt,” Ladewig. “Die nacht hat auch wenn sie vom hellen mondlicht beleuchtet ist etwas düsteres, ein ihr eigenthümliches helldümel; in diesem erscheinen die dunkeln gehaltenen schatten, und erhöhen gerade durch ihr dümel die unheimlichkeit der nacht, durch diese hohlen schatten zeigt sich gerade nicht in dem mondscheine die schwarze natur der nacht, die schwarze nacht,” Kappes, *Progr. des Lyceums zu Constanz*, Constanz, 1863. “NOX . . . UMBRA aliunde assuta esse, conl. 340, coniecit Ortuinus, cui adsentiri mavult Peerlkampus quam, ex Hor. *Serm. 2. 1. 58*, nox in mors mutare; et legit nox Servius: nobis tibicen sane, sed is Vergilianus videtur, cf. 397, 420, 621,” Ribbeck.

At the bottom of all these glosses lies that great and fundamental error which I have so often had occasion to point out in the course of these remarks, viz., that of taking figurative and poetic for literal and prosaic: an error scarcely less fatal to the exposition and understanding of Virgil than of Holy Writ, although—happy chance for Virgil’s commentators no less than for the world!—not to be arbitrated by the same arbitrament. It is not literal night which CIRCUMVOLAT, *flits about*, Aeneas and his companions; it is the night of the tomb, the darkness of the grave, the shadow of death. Compare 6. 866 :

“sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.”

The words are almost identical, yet no one dreams or ever dreamt that it was real literal night which Aeneas and the Sibyl saw flitting about the head of Marcellus. As surely as it is the gloom of death, the shadow of a premature tomb which flits about the head of Marcellus, so surely is it the shadow of a premature death which flits about Aeneas and his companions—VADIMUS HAUD DUBIAM IN MORTEM, the theme (see Rem. on l. 550), of which our text is the variation. In both places—here, as in the sixth book—it is *figurative* not *real* night which is spoken of, exactly as it is *figurative* not *real* night, the darkness of death, the darkness of the grave, which is spoken of in the Homeric original (*Od.* 20. 351), where the destruction which is about to overtake Penelope's suitors is spoken of under the same allegory under which the destruction impending over Aeneas and his party is spoken of in our text :

α δειλοι, τι κακον τοδε πασχετε ; νυκτι μεν υμεων
ειλυται κεφαλαι τε, προσωπα τε, νερθε τε γουνα·
οιμωγη δε δεδηε, δεδακρυνται δε παρειαι·
αιματι δ' ερραδαται τοιχοι καλαι τε μεσοδμαι·
ειδωλων δε πλεον προθυρον, πλειη δε και αυλη,
ιεμενων Ερεβοσδε υπο ζοφον· ηελιος δε
ουρανου εξαπολωλε κακη δ' επιδεδρομεν αχλυσ.

Compare also (α), Quint. Smyrn. 12. 540 (Cassandra warning the Trojans) :

α δειλοι, νυν εβημεν υπο ζοφον· αμφι γαρ ημιν
εμπλειον πυρος αστυ και αιματος, ηδε και οϊτου
λευγαλεον· παντη δε τεραατα δακρυοεντα
αθανατοι φαινουσι, και εν ποσι κειμεθ' ολεθρου.

(β), Sil. 9. 44 (Aemilius Paullus adjuring Varro not to expose his soldiers, "has animas," to certain destruction by immediately engaging in battle with Hannibal—adjuring them too, not in the night, but in the broad daylight) :

" ' per toties,' inquit, ' concussae moenia Romae,
perque haec, nox Stygia quas iam circumvolat umbra,
insontes animas, cladi parce obvius ire.' "

(γ), and the less figurative, less mistakeable, language of Horace, *Sat.* 2. 1. 58 : " Mors atris circumvolat alis," where we have not

only the circumvolare but the very ater of our text applied to death under his own proper name. (*α*), and of Faliso. *Cyneget.* 347.

“stat fatum supra, totumque avidissimus *Orcus*
pascitur, et nigris orbem *circumsonat* alis,”

where we have death again (“*Orcus*”) preying like a greedy vulture on the world, and swooping round it on his black noisy wings. Also (*e*), Stat. *Theb.* 1. 46 :

“inipia iam merita scrutatus lumina dextra
merserat aeterna damnatum nocte pudorem
Oedipodes, longaue animam sub morte tenebat.
illum indulgentem tenebris imaeque recessu
sedis, inaspectos caelo radiisque penates
servantem, tamen assiduus circumvolat alis
saeva *dies* animi, scelerumque in pectore *Dirae*,”

where consciousness, the figurative day or light of life, flits “*assiduus alis*” about Oedipus, exactly as in our text death, the figurative night of life, flits CAVA UMBRA about Aeneas and his companions. (*ƒ*), Stat. *Silv.* 5. 1. 216 (of Abascantius mourning at his wife’s funeral) :

. . . “sed toto spectatur in agmine coniux
solus; in hunc magnae flectuntur lumina Romae,
ceu iuvenes natos suprema ad busta ferentem :
is dolor in vultu; tantum crinesque genaeque
noctis habent”

[*there is so much of night, i. e., the night (the darkness) of Hades (of death, of the grave), about them*]. (*g*), Lucan, 7. 177 (of the omens preceding the battle of Pharsalia) :

“inque vicem vultus tenebris mirantur apertos,
et pallere diem, galeisque incumbere *noctem*,
defunctosque patres, et cunctas sanguinis umbras*
ante oculos volitare suos”

[*their faces are covered with darkness; the day loses its colour, and night (i. e., the gloom of death) broods on their helmets*].

As lux is life (see Rem. on 6. 721), life considered as light, so

* This reading makes better sense than the *aliter* :

“defunctos ululare patres, et sanguinis umbras.”

nox is death, death considered as darkness, Hades, *i. e.*, αἰδης, *ubi non est videre*, as (*h*), *Aen.* 6. 828 :

“concordes animae nunc, et dum nocte premuntur,
heu, quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt!”

Compare, in addition to the above (*g*), *Hor. Carm.* 1. 4. 16 :
“Iam te premet nox, fabulaeque manes” (in both which examples nox, the night of death, *i. e.*, death, not *circumvolat*, flits about ready to alight on you, but actually alights and oppresses (premit)). (*j*), *Hor. Od.* 1. 28. 15 :

. . . “omnes una manet nox,
et calcanda semel via leti”

(In which example “nox” (death) neither oppresses nor flits round threatening to oppress, but awaits at a distance. We have thus the three degrees: *manet*, at a distance; *circumvolat*, close at hand; *premit*, actually on you: to which may be added a fourth degree, more than *circumvolat* and less than *premit*, *viz.*, *circumdat*, entirely surrounds and encloses; as, *Georg.* 4. 497 (Eurydice speaking) :

. . . “feror ingenti circumdata nocte,
invalidasque tibi tendens, heu! non tua, palmas”).

Compare also (*k*), *Eurip. Ion*, 1465 (Creusa, who has just found her son Ion alive, whom she believed to have perished when he was exposed at his birth) :

ἀνῆβα δ' Ἐρεχθεύς,
ὅ τε γηγενέτας δόμος οὐκεὶ νύκτα δερκεταί,
αἰλίου ἀναβλεπεὶ λαμπασίν

(where we again have in the one sentence both figures: *seeing night* equivalent to *dead*, and *seeing the light* equivalent to *living*; as we have also both figures (*l*), *Senec. Theb.* 247 (Oedipus speaking) :

. . . “protinus quosdam editos
nox occupavit, et novae luci abstulit”).

(*m*), *Aesch. Choeph.* 51 (ed. Ahrens) :

ἀνῆλθοι, βροτοστυγεῖς
δνοφοὶ καλυπτοῦσι δόμους
δεσποτῶν θανατοῖσι

[*sunless, hateful, darkness covers the house with deaths* (i. e., *the darkness of death covers the house*)]. (*n*), Soph. *Oed. Colon.* 1680 (Antigone after the death of Oedipus) :

τι γαρ, ὅτω μὴτ' Ἀρης
μῆτε πόντος ἀντεκύρσεν,
ασκοποὶ δὲ πλακὲς ἐμαρψάν
ἐν ἀφανεί τινι μορῷ φερόμενον ;
ταλαιναῖ· νῶν δ' ὀλεθρία
νυξ ἐπ' ὀμμασιν βεβακε,
πῶς γὰρ ἡ τιν' ἀπῖαν γὰν
πόντιον κλυδῶν' ἀλωμέναι βίου
δυσοίστον ἐξομέν τροφάν ;

[*night* (i. e., *the shadow, the darkness, of death*) *hath come over my eyes* : “*Quid enim ? utpote in quem nec Mars nec pontus irruit ; sed quæ oculos fugiunt, inferorum loca eum ablatum absorpserunt incomperto leti genere*”]. (*o*), Hom. *II.* 16. 567 (of Jupiter bringing, not real night, but the darkness of death, *νυκτ' ὀλοήν*, over those who were combating for the corpse of Sarpedon) :

Zeus δ' ἐπὶ νυκτ' ὀλοήν τανύσε κρατερὴ ὑσμίνη,
ὄφρα φίλῳ περὶ παιδί μαχῆς ὀλοὸς πόνος εἴη.

(*p*), Ovid, *Met.* 1. 721 (apostrophizing Argus, whom Mercury has just killed) :

“*Arge, iaces*
. . . centumque oculos nox occupat una”

[*one darkness of death*]. (*q*), Ovid, *Met.* 5. 70 :

. “*at ille*
iam moriens, oculis sub nocte natantibus atra,
circumspexit Athin”

[*the approach of dark night* (i. e., *of death*)]. (*r*), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 221 (Proserpine to Dis) :

“*nocte tua contentus abi ; quid viva sepultis*
admisces ? nostrum quid proteris advena mundum ?”

[*content with thine own night* (i. e., *the night of Hades*)]. (*s*), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3, p. 220 : “*nox sua prosequitur currum*”

[his own night (the darkness of Hades) accompanies the chariot (of Dis)]. (t), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3, p. 80 :

“sed tunc ipsa, sui iam non ambagibus ullis
nuntia, materno facies ingesta sopori.
namque videbatur tenebroso obtecta recessu
carceris, et saevis Proserpina vineta catenis,
non qualem Siculis olim mandaverat arvis,
nec qualem roseis nuper convallibus Aetnae
suspectere deae. squalebat, pulchrior auro,
caesaries, et *nox* oculorum infecerat ignes,
exhaustusque gelu pallet rubor. ille superbi
flammeus oris honos, et non cessura pruinis
membra colorantur picei caligine regni.”

(u), Sil. 8. 100 :

“heu sacri vatum errores! dum numina *noctis*
eliciunt, spondentque novis medicamina curis,
quod vidi decepta nefas?”

(v), Sil. 13. 707 (the shade of Paullus to Scipio) :

“lux Italum, cuius spectavi Martia facta,
multum uno maiora viro, descendere *nocti*,
atque habitanda semel subigit quis visero regna?”

(w), Sil. 5. 241 :

. . . “nisi quem Deus ima colentum
damnasset Stygiae *nocti*.”

(x), Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 279 (Megara calling on Hercules, who is in Hades, to return) :

“emerge, coniux, atque dispulas manu
abrumpe tenebras; nulla si retro via,
iterque clausum est, orbe diducto redi;
et quidquid atra *nocte* possessum latet,
emitte tecum,”

where “tenebras” is the darkness of Hades, and “atra nocte” the dark night of Hades. (y), Sil. 13. 270 : “dum copia *noctis*” [whilst we have the power to die, whilst we may die if we please]. (z), Sil. 13. 126 :

“haec [cerva], aevi vitaeque tenax, felixque senectam
mille indefessos viridem duxisse per annos,
seclorum numero Troianis condita tecta
acquabat; sed enim longo *nox* venerat aevo.”*

* Upon this passage Ernesti remarks : “Meo sensu voc. *noctis* nude positum nunc, praesertim de cerva, aliquid duri habet, quamvis mortis notioni significandae

Compare also, (*a*), our own Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, act 5, sc. 8 (Brutus after the battle of Philippi) :

“night hangs upon mine eyes ; my bones would rest,
that have but laboured to attain this hour.”

To all these instances we may, perhaps, add, **finally** (*b*), Sil. 2. 574, where the true reading is very probably not “*morte obita*,” but, with the Oxford and Cologne MSS., “*nocte obita*.”

As *nox* is, figuratively, *death* (the darkness of death), so it is also sometimes figuratively *sleep* (the darkness of sleep), *ex. gr.* 4. 529 :

. . . “neque unquam
solvitur in somnos, oculisque aut pectore noctem
accipit,”

where the second clause is a mere variation of the first, and “*noctem*” (the darkness of sleep) is used instead of “*somnos*” (sleep itself), in order that the identical word may not be repeated.

With the use of *nox* for *mors* compare the use of *lux* (and *φαιος* in Greek) for *salus* (Germ. *heil*, Eng. *salvation*), as *Aen.* 3. 281 :

“o *lux* Dardaniac, spes o fidissima Teucrum,”

and Hom. *Il.* 17. 615 :

και τω μεν φαιος ηλθεν, αμυνε δε νηλεες ημαρ,

where *φαιος* is so entirely *salus*, and the original meaning so entirely out of view, that *φαιος* is opposed to *ημαρ*, exactly as in our text *nox* is so entirely *death* and the original meaning so entirely out of view, that our author is not prevented from using the expression *ILLIUS NOCTIS* in the very next line by any apprehension that the reader might understand the *NOCTIS* of that line to be the *NOX* of the preceding, and to have *ILLIUS* added to it

passim adhibuerunt summi poetae. Ita et infra vs. 270 ; 8. 141 (‘*Di longae noctis*’); Ovid, *Heroid.* 10. 112 : ‘*aeterna nox*.’ ” These observations Ernesti would hardly have made if he had been aware of the word having been equally “*nude positum*” in the same sense no less than twice by Virgil, and of the constant use made both by his own author and Virgil, and others, of *lux* without any explanatory adjunct, in the sense of life.

for the express purpose of fixing it to be so, and of preventing the reader from mistaking it for any other (see Rem. on 2. 586). Compare Eurip. *Electr.* 866 (ed. Fix) (Electra exulting in Orestes' murder of Aegisthus) :

ω φεγγος, ω τεθριππον ηλιου σελας,
ω γαια και νυξ, ην εδερκομην παρος,
νυν ομμα τουμον αμπτυχαι τ' ελευθεροι,
επει πατρος πεπτωκεν Αιγισθος φονευσ

(where the *φεγγος* and *τεθριππον ηλιου σελας* are not the real light of day and splendour of the four-in-hand sun, but spiritual light, the light of the soul, *i. e.*, joy and rejoicing; and *γαια* and *νυξ*, not earth and night, but, as we would say, the mortal gloom or darkness of the soul, *i. e.*, sorrow and mourning). Compare also Eurip. *Med.* 827 (ed. Fix) :

. αει δια λαμπροτατου
βαινοντες αβρωσ αιθερος. . .

Quint. Calab. 11. 507 (of the combat between Memnon and Achilles, in which Memnon is killed) :

και νυ κε δη μακαρεσσιν αμειλιχος εμπεσε δηρις,
ει μη υπ' εννεσησι Διος μεγαλοβρεμεταυ
δοιαι αρ' αμφοτεροισι θωωσ εκατερθε παρεσταν
Κηρες' ερεμναιη μεν εβη ποτι Μεμνονος ητορ,
φαιδρη δ' αμφ' Αχιλεια δαιφρονα·

See Rem. on "morte resignat," 4. 244.

CIRCUMVOLAT, *περιπετεται, περιποταται*, flits about like a rapacious bird—a hawk, or kite, or eagle—ready to pounce upon its prey. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 716 :

"ut volueris visis rapidissima miluus extis,
dum timet, et densi circumstant sacra ministri,
flectitur in gyrum, nec longius audet abire,
spemque suam motis avidus circumvolat alis."

Oed. Tyr. 481 (Chor., of guilty Oedipus) :

. τα δ' αει
ζωντα περιποταται

[the Delphic oracles *fly about* him always no matter where he goes].

Independently of all argument drawn from the parallels afforded both by Virgil himself and other writers, this word alone is sufficient to show that the night spoken of can by no possibility be natural night, the night time, inasmuch as natural night, the night time, whether literal or personified, never flits about (*CIRCUMVOLAT*), ready to alight, but not alighting, but on the contrary is always either present or absent, or if neither, is coming, or going, never flits about without alighting. Therefore *nox silet, incubat, praecipitat, ruit, est, aufert, subit, operit, tenet, torquet, contingit, invertit, abit, adest, agitur, incipit, cecidit, transit*, but so far as I know never *circumvolat*. It follows that the *nox* of our text is neither literal night, the night time, nor the literal night personified, the goddess *Nox*, but figurative night, the night or darkness of death or the grave. If it is the real literal night which *CIRCUMVOLAT* about Aeneas and his party, they must be in the day, and only occasionally shadowed by the night, which is absurd. If it is the goddess Night which *CIRCUMVOLAT* about Aeneas and his party, why does she only flit about and not alight? why does she only *circumvolare* about those whom night, no matter whether physical or personified, has already involved—

“vertitur interea caelum, et ruit oceano nox,
involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
Myrmidonumque dolos.”

How is this picture to be reconciled with the alleged picture in our text, whether of real literal night or the goddess Night only flitting about, not already alighted on, Aeneas and his comrades?

NOX ATRA CAVA CIRCUMVOLAT UMBRA once rightly understood, a new light breaks in on the whole context, and the etiology of the description stands clear before us. Death, death, death, everywhere, before, behind, around, is the picture the poet has in his mind, and which he presents to his reader in every variety of form and colour. Death has been suggested to Aeneas in his dream by the vision of the mangled Hector. Death is his first thought, as, roused from his sleep, he rushes out of his house, “*pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.*” Death

is the first word of the first person he meets—"Fuimus Troes:" *we are all lost, all dead and gone.* Death is his own first word to the little band which gathers round him (MORIAMUR ET IN MEDIA ARMA RUAMUS). It is to death he goes with them (VADIMUS HAUD DUBIAM IN MORTEM); it is death, the darkness of death, which flits about them as they go (NOX ATRÆ CAVA CIRCUMVOLAT UMBRA). "Who," he exclaims, "shall tell the deaths of that fatal night?"—

QUIS CLADEM ILLIUS NOCTIS, QUIS FUNERA FANDO
EXPLICET ?

It is death in its concretest form which is on every side of them, in the streets, in the houses, in the very temples of the gods—

PLURIMA PERQUE VIAS STERNUNTUR INERTIA PASSIM
CORPORA, PERQUE DOMOS ET RELIGIOSA DEORUM
LIMINA.

His very enemies are dying beside him (VICTORESQUE CADUNT DANAI), and everything is one picture of mourning, fright, and death—

. . . CRUELIS UBIQUE
LECTUS, UBIQUE PAVOR, ET PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO.

To the objection that Aeneas does not die—on the contrary, escapes and lives to tell the story—the answer is supplied by Aeneas himself. The whole of the little band except three, viz., Iphitus, Pelias, and Aeneas himself, perishes. Choroebus falls, Ripheus falls, Hypanis falls, Dymas falls, Pantheus falls, and if Aeneas himself does not fall, it is because the fates do not allow it, not because he was not every moment in danger of falling :

"Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,
testor in occasu vestro nec tela nec ullas
vitavisse vices Danaum, et, si fata fuissent
ut caderem, meruisse manu."

Similar to the indication of death, whether present or near at hand, by darkness, but of less frequent occurrence among writers and infinitely more striking, is its indication by mouldiness, as *Ballata di Garentina* (Camarda, appendice, p. 98) (Garen-

tina addressing the ghost of Constantine, which she takes for Constantine himself) :

Κοσταντίνε, ἡμε βεῖλα,
 ἡμε σεγγε τε κεκίε ου σοχο [ms. σογε],
 κραχετε [ms. κραγ] του [ms. τ' ενδε ? τε] χῆρι τε
 jave τε' μουγουλουαμι τε [μουχουλουαμι τε].

Γαρεντίνε, μοτρα ἡμε,
 καμνοι σκουπεταβερ
 κραχετε [ms. κραγετε] με μουγουλοι [μουχουλοι] ;

thus translated by Camarda :

“ Costantino, frater mio,
 un segno funesto io veggo,
 le spalle tue spaziose
 sono ammuffate.

“ Garentina, sorella mia,
 il fumo dei moschetti
 le spalle mi covrì di muffa [mi feco ammuffire].”

CAVA.—Heyne is right (“ Quatenus ipsi ea circumdantur ”), and Conington well quotes l. 520, “ nube cava . . . amicti.” The English expressions *under cover of the night*, *under cover of the darkness*, are analogous. Compare also Sil. 13. 254 :

“ et, ni caeca sinu terras nox conderet atro,”

where the same notion, viz., of embracing, containing, or enveloping, is expressed by “ sinu,” as is expressed by CAVA in our text.

It is, however, questionable whether CAVA should not be regarded as equivalent to *inane*, Germ. *leer*, Engl. *empty*.

361-369.

QUIS CLADEM ILLIUS NOCTIS QUIS FUNERA FANDO
 EXPLICIT AUT POSSIT LACRYMIS AEQUARE LABORES*
 URBS ANTIQUA RUIT MULTOS DOMINATA PER ANNOS
 PLURIMA PERQUE VIAS STERNUNTUR† INERTIA PASSIM
 CORPORA PERQUE DOMOS ET RELIGIOSA DEORUM
 LIMINA NEC SOLI POENAS DANT SANGUINE TEUCRI
 QUONDAM ETIAM VICTIS REDIT IN PRAECORDIA VIRTUS
 VICTORESQUE CADUNT DANAI CRUDELIS UBIQUE
 LUCTUS UBIQUE PAVOR ET PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO

ILLIUS NOCTIS.—Not referring at all to the *nox* of the immediately preceding verse (which, as we have just seen, is not the real literal night, or night time, the figurative night of death), but to the night which he has been for some time describing, and which has not been specially mentioned since verse 250 :

“vertitur interea caelum et ruit oceano *nox*,
 involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
 Myrmidonumque dolos.”

Therefore the *ILLIUS*, *that night, that fatal night, the last of Troy*. The only excuse which occurs to me for this so deceptive use of the same word in one verse in a figurative, and in the very next in a literal, sense, is that the passages to which the two verses belong may have been written at different times, and afterwards put together without sufficient circumspection. The excuse would be more valid if it did not unfortunately happen that we find a similar confusion of expression occurring so often elsewhere, and even where no such excuse is possible, viz., within the limits of a single sentence: *ex. gr.*, 12. 684, “*montis*” is literal, and means a mountain, and in the same sentence,

* LABORES, *Med.* ; om. in the other first-class MSS. ; so also Ed. Princ. ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. ; Philippe ; Pottier ; Haupt ; Ribbeck.

† STERNUNTUR, *Pal.* and *Med.* ; om. in the other first-class MSS. ; so also Ed. Princ., and the editions of P. Manutius, D. Heinsius, N. Heinsius (1670), Philippe, Pottier, Haupt, and Ribbeck.

verse 687, "mons" is figurative, and means a great stone which has fallen from the top of the mountain ("montis")—a confusion of literal and figurative inexcusable even in an Æton ode. See Rem. on "sequor," 4. 384, and compare the similarly inconsiderate application by Lucan (4. 452) of "moles," in one verse to a ship, and in the next verse but two, to a rock :

. . . "nec prima, neque illa,
quae sequitur, tardata ratis; sed tertia *moles*
haesit, et ad cautes adducto fune secuta est.
impendent cava saxa mari; ruituraque semper
stat (mirum!) *moles*; et silvis aequor inumbrat."

INERTIA. — "Imbellia, ut senum, infantum, feminarum," Heyne, Voss, Wagner, Thiel. I think not, but *which had offered no resistance, which had died inertly*, as was to be judged by their being found lying there, *ex. gr.*, killed without either arms in their hands, or arms on their persons, without any signs of struggle or battle, and without any dead bodies of the enemy being mixed up among their own. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 7. 542 (of the war-horse dying by disease, in his stall) :

. . . "veterumque oblitus honorum,
ad praesepe gemit, leto moriturus *inerti*."

Ibid., 12. 361 (of the pine trunk which Demoleon had thrown at Theseus without hitting him) :

"non tamen arbor *iners* cecidit: nam Crantoris alti
abscindit iugulo pectusque humerumque sinistrum."

That it is not terrified or wounded, and still alive and breathing bodies which lie prostrate (STERNUNTUR), but dead bodies, is shown by the immediately succeeding NEC SOLI POENAS DANT SANGUINE TEUCRI, . . . VICTORES CADUNT DANAI, informing us that Greeks have in some instances fallen also, viz., in those instances in which the Trojans have mustered up sufficient courage to resist and attack the aggressors in their turn :

QUONDAM ETIAM VICTIS REDIT IN PRAECORDIA VIRTUS.

And that the bodies so lying dead and prostrate are not merely the bodies of old men, women, and children ("imbellia corpora,"

Heyne, Voss, Wagner, Thiel), but the bodies of unresisting persons (INERTIA CORPORA), is shown by

QUONDAM ETIAM VICTIS REDIT IN PRAECORDIA VIRTUS,

informing us that in some instances resistance has actually been made, and the aggressors too have fallen. Thus PLURIMA CORPORA has its tally in QUONDAM VICTORES DANAI; STERNUNTUR, its tally in CADUNT; and INERTIA, its tally in VICTIS REDIT IN PRAECORDIA VIRTUS.

The word so wholly misunderstood by modern commentators has been more or less nearly guessed at by some of the ancient. Thus, while Servius hesitates between “non repugnantia,” “INERTIA dum occiduntur,” and “per somnum INERTIA,” Cynthius Cenetensis accepts the first of the three guesses, and adds: “ut inquit Dictys Cretensis, vice pecudum interficiebantur Troiani.”

DOMOS.—In my “Adversaria Virgiliana” I connected DOMOS and RELIGIOSA DEORUM LIMINA intimately together, so as to make the sense *domos religiosas deorum*. I have been induced to change my opinion and to consider DOMOS as affording a separate view from RELIGIOSA DEORUM LIMINA, first, because the picture gains thereby in richness, not only the streets and temples being filled with dead bodies, but the palaces also; and, secondly, because in the precisely similar picture presented by Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 50: “Fana atque *domos* exspoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore, atque luctu, omnia compleri,” as well as in the not very dissimilar picture presented by Tacitus, *Hist.* 3. 33: “Quas [faces], ubi praedam egresserant, in vacuas *domos* et inania templa, per lasciviam iaculabantur,” there is no room for doubt that “domos” is not *temples of the gods*, but the *dwellings of the richer citizens, the palaces*, as there is also no doubt in the following passages: Ovid, *Met.* 2. 76 (Phoebus to Phaethon):

“forsitan et lucos illic urbesque *domosque*
concupias animo, delubraque ditia donis
esse.”

Lucan, 7. 716: “pandunt templa, *domos*.” Stat. *Theb.* 10. 881:

. . . “et truncas rupes in templa *domosque*
praecipitat, frangitque suis iam moenibus urbem.”

Aristides, *Rhodiaca*, *Θανατοι κατ' οικιας, εν κρησις, εν θυραις, εν πυλαις*. And our author himself, 11. 882 :

. . . "inter tuta domorum
confixi expirant animas."

DOMOS, the houses *par excellence*, i. e., the great houses, the palaces, Fr. *hôtels*, the common houses being "tectæ." Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 18: "nec defuere qui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes, quod domos, villas [sciz. Britannici], id temporis, quasi praedam divisissent." *Ibid.* 13. 4: "Discretam domum et rempublicam" [*the royal palace and the republic should be kept distinct*]. Stock, ad Tacit. *Annal.* 15. 41: "Totâ in urbe, iuxta Victorem, fuere insulae 26602, domus 780."

From this use of domus to signify a great house or palace, a house standing by itself, flows naturally its use for a temple, a temple being *par excellence* the house, not only on account of its great size and splendour, but on account of its being consecrated to a superior being; and accordingly, we find even at the present day the principal church in a city called *il duomo*. The same use of *οικος* is common in Greek. Compare Procop. *de Aedif.* 1. 10: *μεχρι εις τον Αρεος καλουμενον οικον*. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 279 (ed. Schutz):

θησειν τροπαια, πολεμιων δ' εσθηματα
λαφυρα δαιων δουριπληχθ' αγνοις δομοις.

RELIGIOSA: "religiosa sunt quae non vulgo ac temere, sed cum castitate ceremoniaeque adeunda et reverenda et reformidanda sunt magis quam invulganda," Aul. Gellius, 4. 9. 9.

VICTORESQUE CADUNT DANAI. Compare *Il.* 17. 361 :

. . . τοι δ' αγχιστινοι επιπτον
νεκροι ομου Τρων και υπερμενεων επικουρων,
και Δαναων. ουδ' οι γαρ αναιμωτοι γ' εμαχοντο.

PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO.—"Aut definitio timoris est, aut varietas mortis ostenditur, i. e., gladio, igni, ruina. Aut frequentissima, aut praesentissima," Servius. "PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO, h. e., ubique caedes facta cernitur; passim caesorum cadavera proiecta. Magis hoc accommodatum antecedentibus, quam varias caedis formas et genera intelligere," Heyne.

“IMAGO; forma, genus,” Wagner (1861), quoting Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 28: “Integri cum sauciis, semineces cum exspirantibus voluntur varia pereuntium forma, et *omni imagine mortium*.” “IMAGO MORTIS est, credo, quod Valerius Flaccus, 6. 419, dixit—*forma necis*,” Peerlkamp.

PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO is not “ubique caedes facta cernitur,” because we have had “ubique caedes facta cernitur” already, viz., verse 364:

PLURIMA PERQUE VIAS STERNUNTUR INERTIA PASSIM
CORPORA, PERQUE DOMOS ET RELIGIOSA DEORUM
LIMINA,

and although such repetition were very usual and allowable in the form of variation to a theme, it had been intolerable here, as the winding up and peroration of a long passage already containing the identical thought. Neither is PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO “*variae formae et genera caedis*,” because although, as shown by Wagner’s quotation from Tacitus, the words might, under different circumstances, viz., where such meaning was, as in Wagner’s quotation, pointed out by the context, or even where such meaning was consistent with the context, be so interpreted, they cannot be so interpreted here, where such meaning is not only not pointed out by the context, but is inconsistent with the context, since to say that the slaughter was of different kinds affords a peroration so weak and unimpressive as to be scarcely less unsuitable than that afforded by the interpretation proposed by Heyne. What, then, is PLURIMA MORTIS IMAGO? I reply: a very great picture of death, a very great likeness or appearance of death—death appeared everywhere around and about, everything which was to be seen spoke of death, suggested the idea of death; the very sense in which the word *imago* is used (*a*), by Servius, at 12. 606: “*Moris fuit apud veteres, ut ante rogos regum humanus sanguis effunderetur, vel captivorum vel gladiatorum; quorum si copia forte non fuisset, laniantes genas suum effundebant cruorem, ut rogis illa imago restitueretur*” [viz., the appearance, show, of human blood]. (*b*), by Virgil himself, 8. 557:

. “maior Martis iam apparet *imago*”

[the picture of war, the appearance of war, is greater than it was before; there is a greater appearance of war than previously; war appears more imminent, more immediate than ever]. (c), by Val. Flacc. 2. 640 (Cyzicus addressing Jason and his band of Aemathian chiefs):

. . . "o terris nunc primum cognita nostris
Aemathiae manus, et fama mihi maior *imago*"

["O image, picture, greater than your fame," i.e., "O greater than the image, picture, which fame had presented of you." The objects which Aeneas and his party saw and heard (viz., the dead, dying, wounded, the lamentation and terror) were the very picture or image of death; the objects which Cyzicus saw, viz., Jason and his companions, were greater than the image or picture which fame had presented of them]. (d), by Ovid, *Met.* 12. 233 'of the battle of the Centaurs and Iapithae):

"raptaturque comis per vim nova nupta prehensis.
Eurytus Hippodamen, alii, quam quisque probarant,
aut poterant, rapiunt, captaeque erat urbis *imago*.
femineo clamore sonat domus"

[there was the image or picture of a captive city, the scene that presented itself was the picture of a captive city, viz., because the women were treated with violence, as on the taking of a city, everyone carrying off by force her who pleased him best]. (e), by Claudian, in *Rufin.* 2. 236: "en iterum belli civilis *imago*!" [the picture of civil war]. (f), by Ovid, *Met.* 1. 238 (of the wolf into which Lycaon was metamorphosed):

"canities eadem est, eadem violentia vultu,
idem oculi lucent, eadem feritatis *imago*"

[the same picture of savageness was presented by the wolf as had previously been presented by Lycaon, the wolf's picture of savageness consisting of the particulars previously enumerated, viz., the grisliness, the fierce countenance, and the glaring eyes, exactly as in our text the picture of death consisted in the dead bodies which lay everywhere scattered about, the CRUEL LUCTUS and the PAVOR]. (g), by Cicero, *pro Sext.* 19: "Alter, o Dii boni! quam teter incedebat! quam truculentus, quam

terribilis aspectu ! Unum aliquem te ex barbatis illis, exemplum imperii veteris, *imaginem* antiquitatis, columen reipublicae, diceres intueri" [picture of old times]. (*h*), by Ovid, *Met.* 11. 550 : "duplicataque noctis *imago* est" [the image of night (viz., that already produced in the mind by the usual signs of night) is doubled by the unusual darkness produced by the thick clouds]. (*g*), by Silius, 14. 616 (ed. Rup.) :

. . . "communis ubique
ira deum, atque eadem lethi versatur *imago*"

[as plainly as possible, Silius's usual appropriation of the Virgilian text]. **And** (*k*), by Tacitus, *Annal.*, 2. 53 : "Igitur paucos dies insumpsit [Germanicus] reficiendae classi : simul sinus Aetiaca victoria inclitos, et sacratas ab Augusto manubias, castraque Antonii, cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit ; namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaue illie *imago* tristium laetorumque" [a great picture both of sad and joyful events].

In all these passages, as in our text, certain objects, which resemble another object so much that the sight of them suggests that other object to the mind, are stated to be the "*imago*," image, or picture, of that other object, the comparison or likeness between being entirely of objects ;—**in** our text, *of* the sights and sounds which struck the senses of Aeneas and his party, *to* death ; **in** the passage of Servius, *of* worship offered to the gods by worshippers with bleeding faces, *to* worship offered to the gods with bleeding victims ; **in** *Aen.* 8. 557, *of* the actual appearance of the Arcadian cavalry marching forth, *to* their reputation ; **in** Valerius Flaccus, *of* the real Jason and his band, *to* the representation given of Jason and his band by report ; **in** Ovid, *Met.* 12. 223, *of* the violence and tumult at the feast of the Centaurs and Lapithae, *to* the violence and tumult which take place when a city is taken by storm ; **in** Cicero, *of* a man of the modern times, *to* the man of ancient times ; **in** Ovid, *Met.* 11. 550, *of* the darkness produced by clouds in the night-time, *to* a doubling of night. In all these instances the resemblance expressed by *imago* is of one thing to another thing, exactly as

in the case of a statue or picture, the resemblance expressed by *imago* is of the statue or picture to the original. Parallel expressions in English are:—That child is the very picture of health. That face is the very picture of happiness. That day is the very picture of winter. That corn-field is the very picture of plenty. That poor beggar is the very picture of want. That condemned culprit is the very picture of despair.

There is an entirely different use of *imago*, 9. 294 :

“ atque animum strinxit patriae pietatis *imago*,”

and 10. 824 :

“ et mentem patriae subiit pietatis *imago*.”

In both these places “*imago*” expresses the resemblance not of two objects to each other, but of one single object to our perception of it. There is, indeed, the same resemblance as in our text, in 8. 557, in the passage of Servius, and in the passage of Valerius Flaccus ; but that resemblance is not of two different objects existing outside the mind and compared together, but of one object to the impression which that object makes on the mind. “*Imago*” in these last-adduced passages is the picture, image, εἰδωλον, idea, in the mind—in the one case in the mind of Iulus, in the other case in the mind of Aeneas. In both cases it is the “*imago*,” εἰδωλον, or idea of paternal affection (“*patriae pietatis*”) ; and this “*imago*,” εἰδωλον, or idea of paternal affection is excited, produced, or called up, in the mind by objects presented to the senses, between which objects and “*patria pietas*” there is no resemblance whatever, those objects suggesting or calling up the “*imago*,” εἰδωλον, or idea, only by association. Therefore the lines close the accounts to which they belong, respectively ; and in the one case Iulus, in the other case Aeneas, is left reflecting on this new thought, viz., that of “*patria pietas*” (the affection of a father for a child), suggested to him, called up in his mind (“*animum strinxit*,” “*animum subiit*”), by the objects which have just been presented to his senses, of which objects the new thought is not the image, but only suggested by association, exactly as, 2. 560, “*subiit cari genitoris imago*,” the picture which presents itself

to the mind of Aeneas is not the image or resemblance of anything presented to his senses, but an image which the objects presented to his senses suggest to his mind, call up in his mind by the way of association.

PLURIMA, very great, very much, very strong, as *Georg.* 3. 52; "cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix;" Ovid, *Met.* 14. 53:

. . . "medio cum plurimus orbe
sol erat."

See Remm. on "maior Martis iam apparet imago," 8. 557, and on "pietatis imago," 9. 294; 10. 824.

370-383.

PRIMUS—ARMIS

VAR. LECT.

- [*punct.*] PRIMUS SE, DANAUM MAGNA COMITANTE CATERVA ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Heyne; Wagner (ed. Heyn.)
- [*punct.*] PRIMUS SE DANAUM, MAGNA COMITANTE CATERVA ■■■ Voss; Wagner (*Praest.*); Nauck.
- [*punct.*] PRIMUS SE DANAUM MAGNA COMITANTE CATERVA ■■■ P. Manut.; Ribbeck.

VAR. LECT.

- [*punct.*] IRRUIMUS, DENSIS ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Heyne; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*).
- [*punct.*] IRRUIMUS DENSIS ■■■ Voss; Ribbeck.

PRIMUS SE DANAUM, MAGNA COMITANTE CATERVA, &c.—The structure is undoubtedly PRIMUS DANAUM, not CATERVA DANAUM—first, on account of the so much better cadence of the line, when

divided at DANAUM than when divided at SE ; and secondly, on account of the exact parallelism of verse 40 :

“ primus ibi ante omnes, magna comitante caterva,”

where the division of the line is just before “ magna comitante caterva,” and cannot possibly be anywhere else. If it be alleged that verse 501 of the first book,

“ incessit, magna iuvenum stipante caterva,”

is divided exactly where our text is divided by the Heinsii and Heyne, and has a genitive (“ iuvenum”) exactly corresponding to the DANAUM of our text and depending on the very same “ caterva,” I put in the double demurrer ; **first**, that the division after “ incessit”—although at first sight a division after the same number of syllables as the division after PRIMUS SE—is yet a division of an essentially different kind, partakes not at all of the awkwardness of that division, on the contrary is full of grace and eloquence, being in fact a division not after the commencement of a sentence, not after the three syllables *in-ces-sit*, but after the ending of a sentence, after the long protasis “ regina ad templum forma pulcherrima Dido incessit ;” while the division after PRIMUS SE is a division not merely at the very beginning after the first three syllables of a paragraph, but immediately succeeding a monosyllable consisting only of two letters, a situation than which it is hardly possible to imagine one more ungraceful, unless in altogether peculiar circumstances, for a division. **And secondly**, that whereas verse 501 of the first book after the division at “ incessit ” runs on “ magna iuvenum,” not “ iuvenum magna”—the emphasis being thrown (see Rem. on 2. 246), not on the troop’s consisting of young men, but on the greatness of the troop—our text after the division at SE would run on, not “ magna Danaum,” the emphasis being thrown, as it should be thrown, on the greatness of the troop, but DANAUM MAGNA, the emphasis being thrown exactly where it should not be thrown, on the circumstance that the persons accompanying Androgeos were Danaï.

IRRUIMUS, DENSIS ET CIRCUMFUNDIMUR ARMIS.—The structure is not, DENSIS ARMIS IRRUIMUS ET CIRCUMFUNDIMUR, but

IRRUIMUS, ET DENSIS ARMIS CIRCUMFUNDIMUR, and the comma therefore required ; first, because it is Virgil's habit so to divide his lines after the first or second word ; and secondly, on account of the division immediately following this word in the same position in the verse, 9. 554 :

“ haud aliter iuvenis medios moriturus in hostes
irruit, et qua tela videt densissima, tendit.”

The structure is similar, and the comma for the same reason required after the same word, 10. 579 :

“ irruit, adversaque ingens apparuit hasta”

[not “ adversa hasta irruit apparuitque,” but “ irruit, adversaque hasta apparuit”] ; and 6. 294 :

“ irruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras”

[not “ ferro irruat et diverberet,” but “ irruat, et ferro diverberet”].

390-393.

DOLUS AN VIRTUS QUIS IN HOSTE REQUIRAT
ARMA DABUNT IPSI SIC FATUS DEINDE COMANTEM
ANDROGEI GALEAM CLIPEIQUE INSIGNE DECORUM
INDUITUR

DOLUS AN VIRTUS.—Compare Werner, *die Söhne des Thales*, th. 2, akt 1, sc. 6 :

“ das ist das beste, was zum ziele führt ;
und was gelungen ist auch rechtlich.”

Casti, *Anim. Parl. 11. 4 :*

“ vincasi per *virtude*, ovver per *frode*,
è sempre il vincitor degno di lode.”

The doctrine is cast up to the Romans by Sapor, Ammian. 17.

5: "Illud apud nos nunquam acceptum fuit, quod adseritis vos exultantes, *nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli*, prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus." Innocent Sapor! how little he knew about *virtus* or *dolus*! that never man lived who had not one *virtus*, as one *dolus*, for his friends, and another *virtus*, as another *dolus*, for his enemies; one *virtus*, as one *dolus*, under one set of circumstances, and another *virtus*, as another *dolus*, under another set of circumstances; and that if it were not so, there could be neither war nor politics, neither friend nor foe, neither acquaintance nor stranger, no relationship either of country, or of society, or of family, not even of lover and sweetheart, of man and wife, of parent and child, in the whole world. Hirtius, *de Bell. Afric.*, ascribes to the Gauls the simplicity of Sapor: "Contra Gallos, homines apertos, minimeque insidiosos, qui per *virtutem*, non per *dolum*, dimicare consueverunt." How different Gauls from the Gauls of to-day, or any people with whom the Gauls of to-day have to do!

ARMA DABUNT IPSI.—If, as hitherto supposed, IPSI mean *the persons whom Choroebus and his party are despoiling of their arms* ("die todt'en werden waffen geben," Schiller), the sentence ARMA DABUNT IPSI is a mere tautology, the same meaning being contained in the preceding MUTEMUS CLIPEOS, &c.; for, *let us exchange arms with these persons and these persons shall supply us with arms* are plainly but different ways of saying the same thing. I therefore refer IPSI to the Danai, the enemy generally; and understand Choroebus's meaning to run thus: "Let us change shields, &c., with these dead fellows here, and by so doing compel the Danai, the invaders themselves (IPSI), to furnish us with arms." The passage being so interpreted, there is, first, no tautology; and secondly, IPSI has its proper emphatic force.

It was not until after the above interpretation had been published in my "Twelve Years' Voyage" I observed that "ipso-
rum" in the not very unlike passage, 11. 195:

. . . "pars munera nota,
ipsorum clipeos et non felicia tela,"

means the dead, the actual persons to whom the arms belonged.

The parallelism, however, is not so perfect as to induce me to surrender an interpretation which fills ARMA DABUNT IPSI with point and spirit, for one which leaves that clause a mere dull tautology.*

The expression ARMA DABUNT IPSI is the stronger, arma dare being the usual and recognised phrase for supplying with arms, arming, as Ovid, *Ep. 13. 140* (Laodamia to Protesilaus):

“imponet galeam, barbaraque arma dabit.
arma dabit; dumque arma dabit, simul oscula sumet.”

Also Virg. *Ecl. 6. 19*:

. . . “iniiciunt ipais ex vincula sertis.”

The sentiment contained in ARMA DABUNT IPSI is familiar to us in the English proverbial expression, *furnish a rod to whip himself*.

CLYPEI INSIGNE, the ensign or device on the shield. Compare Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb. 383* (ed. Blomfield) σημ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος. Also Aen. 7. 657:

. . . “clipeoque insigne patrum
centum angues cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram.”

Aen. 7. 789.

‘at levem clipeum sublati cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam setis obsita, iam bos,
argumentum ingens, et custos virginis Argus,
caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna.”

* As stated above, I argued in my “Twelve Years’ Voyage” that IPSI could not mean the dead bodies which they were stripping, but the Danai generally, and that the gist of the passage was not *these dead fellows here*, but *the Danai, our enemies, shall supply us with arms*, and I quoted in illustration the familiar English proverb, “Furnish a rod to whip himself.” This interpretation is sufficiently plausible, and has been accepted by Mr. Conington. I fear, however, it is more plausible than precisely and mathematically correct. At the time I wrote that comment I had neither remarked of how very frequent occurrence in Virgil is an almost tautologous repetition of the same thought (see Rem. on 1. 550), nor observed that in the very parallel passage, 11. 195, quoted above, “ipsorum” is the actual dead bodies, the actual owners of the arms. I am, therefore, bound to give Schiller the credit of having understood the passage correctly, and am only sorry the, as I still think, better thought appears not to have been the thought of Virgil.

Aen. 8. 625 : "clipei non enarrabile textum." Prudent. *contr.*
Symm. 1. 487 :

"Christus purpureum, gemmanti textus in auro,
 signabat labarum; clipeorum insignia Christus
 scripserat."

CLYPEI INSIGNE DECORUM; as if Virgil had said insigni
 ornatum clipeum, or clipeum insignitum.

396.

HAUD NUMINE NOSTRO

VAR. LECT.

NUMINE ■ *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■ 3/4. ■■■ Venice, 1471, 1472, 1475; Milan,
 1475, 1492; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe;
 Heyne; Pott.; Haupt; Ribb.

NOMINE ■■ 3/4.

O *Vat.*, *Rom.*, *Ver.*, *St. Gall.*

"Aut diis contrariis, aut quia in scutis Graecorum Neptunus, in
 Troianorum fuerat Minerva depicta," Servius. "Averso nobis,
 non propitio," Heyne, Forbiger, Wagner. "Unbegleitet von
 gottheit," Voss—all equally erroneous and wide of the mark.
 Numen is used here in its primary sense, viz., that of will and
 pleasure, not in its secondary sense of deity or divinity (will and
 pleasure *par excellence*; see Rem. on "quo numine laeso," l. 12;
 and "numen Iunonis," l. 52); and NUMINE NOSTRO is not "our
 own or tutelary deity," but "our own proper will and pleasure:"
 "we go mixed with the Danai, and therefore HAUD NUMINE
 NOSTRO, not according to our own will and pleasure, but accord-
 ing to the will and pleasure of the Danai; in other words, follow
 the lead and guidance of the Danai, not the lead and guidance
 of our own will;" exactly as (α), verse 336:

“ talibus Othryadae dictis et *numine* divum
in flammās et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinnyes
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor”

(where “*numine divum*” is not the deity or divinity of the gods (which had been mere tautology, and equivalent to gods, gods, or deity, deity), but the will and pleasure of the gods; and where Aeneas follows the guidance not of his own free choice, his own free will and pleasure, but of the gods, exactly as in our text he follows the guidance not of his own free choice, his own free will and pleasure, but the guidance of the Danai). (*b*), 6. 266 :

. . . “ sit *numine* vestro
pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas”

(where “*numine vestro*”—not with your godhead, but with your will and pleasure—corresponds precisely in every respect, even in its very position in the verse, with the *NUMINE NOSTRO* of our text). (*c*), *Eclog.* 4. 47 :

“ concordēs stabili fatorum *numine* Parcae”

[not with the steadfast god-head or deity of the fates, but with the steadfast irresponsible will and pleasure of the fates]. (*d*), 1. 137 : “*meo sine numine*” [not without my god-head, but without my will and pleasure]. (*e*), 2. 777 :

. . . “ non haec sine *numine* divum
eveniunt”

[not without the god-head of the gods, but without the will and pleasure of the gods]. (*f*), 10. 31 :

“ si sine pace tua atque invito *numine* Troes
Italiam petiere”

[not thy deity being unwilling, but thy free will and pleasure being unwilling; that quality of thy mind which assents or dissents being unwilling; in other words, against thy will]. (*g*), 4. 269 :

. . . “ caelum et terras qui *numine* torquet”

[not turns with his god-head, but turns with his will and pleasure—his free, irresponsible, absolute will and pleasure]. (*h*),

2. 703: “vestroque in *numine* Troia est” (where “vestro numine” corresponds exactly to NUMINE NOSTRO of our text, and the sense is: Troy is in your pleasure, *i. e.*, is at your disposal, is in your hands to do with it as it seems to you proper). (†), Manil. 4. 56:

“quis tantum mutare potest sine *numine* fati?”

[*not* without the deity or divinity of fate, *but* without the will and pleasure of fate]. (‡), and especially Ovid, *Met.* 10. 689 (Venus relating the story of Hippomenes and Atalanta):

“illic concubitus intempestiva cupido
occupat Hippomenen, a *numine* concita nostro”

(where we have the identical expression of our text, and where the meaning can only be *our will and pleasure*). (‡), 7. 583:

. . . “cuncti contra omina bellum,
contra fata deum, perverso *numine* poscunt”

(where the commentators, making the same mistake as in our text, understand “numine” to mean the deity, the godhead, but where it is all the while the will and pleasure of the “cuncti,” and where the sense is not with Wagner (1861): “quasi perversentes, susque deque habentes, imperium deorum,” but *perverso arbitrio*, with a perverse will and pleasure of their own). (‡), 9. 661:

. . . “avidum pugnae dictis et *numine* Phoebi
Ascanium prohibent”

[*not* with the deity of Phoebus, *but* with the will and pleasure of Phoebus—represent to Ascanius, that it is Phoebus’s will and pleasure that he should not fight]. (¶), 9. 247:

“dii patrii quorum semper sub *numine* Troia est”

[under whose will and pleasure Troy always is, *i. e.*, to whose will and pleasure Troy always submits, by whose will and pleasure Troy is always guided]. (¶), 2. 123: “quae sint ea *numina* divum flagitat” [*not* what divinities of gods are those? *but* what will and pleasure of the gods is that? what is the meaning of that declaration of the gods’ will and pleasure?]. (¶), 3. 362:

. . . “namque omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit
religio, et cuncti suaserunt *numine* divi
Italiam petere”

[*not* the gods persuaded with their divinity, *but* the gods persuaded with their will and pleasure, *i. e.*, by the expression of their will and pleasure—the latter clause being a variation of the first, and the meaning of the two clauses together being: the gods declared by their omens and oracles it was their will and pleasure I should undertake this journey, and promised it should be prosperous]. (*p*), 3. 359 :

. . . “qui *numina* Phoebi
qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis”

[who understands, *not* the divinity of Phoebus, *but* the will and pleasure of Phoebus]. (*q*), 8. 78 :

“adsis o tandem, et propius tua *numina* firmes”

[confirm, *not* thy godhead, *but* thy will and pleasure, *i. e.*, this expression of thy will and pleasure]. (*r*), 11. 901 : “saeva Iovis sic *numina* poscunt” [*not* the stern divinity of Jove, *but* the stern will and pleasure of Jove]. (*s*), Lucr. 5. 307 :

“denique, non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab aevo ?
non altas turres ruere, et putrescere saxa ?
non delubra deum simulacraque fessa fatisci ?
nec sanctum *numen* fati protollere fineis
posse, neque advorsus naturae foedera niti”

(where the material “delubra” and “simulacra” of the gods (“deum”) are distinguished from the immaterial “numen” of the gods; and where the meaning is not that the deity of the gods could not shove forward the limits fixed by fate, but that the willing faculty of the gods could not, however much it might desire). (*t*), Lucr. 2. 611 :

“hanc [Terram] variae gentes, antiquo more sacrorum,
Idaeam vocitant Matrem ; Phrygiasque catervas
dant comites, quia primum ex illis finibus edunt
per terrarum orbeis fruges coepisse creari.
Gallos attribuunt ; quia *numen* quei violarint
matris et ingrati genitoribus inventei sint
significare volunt indignos esse putandos,
vivam progeniem quei in oras luminis edant”

[*not* the divinity of their mother, *but* the will and pleasure of their mother, that will and pleasure entitled to so much respect]. (u), Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* 1. 2: "Haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda deorum *numini* ita sunt, si animadvertuntur [taken notice of, noticed] ab his, et si est aliquid a diis immortalibus hominum generi tributum" [*not* to the deity of the gods, *but* to the self-originating will and pleasure of the gods]. (v), Cic. *Orat. de Harusp. Responsis*, 9: "quis est tam vecors, qui . . . quum deos esse intellexerit, non intelligat, eorum *numine* hoc tantum imperium esse natum, et auctum, et retentum?" [*not* by their deity, *but* by their self-originating absolute will and pleasure]. (w), Manil. 1. 483:

"ac mihi tam praesens ratio non ulla videtur,
qua pateat mundum divino *numine* verti
atque ipsum esse deum, nec forte coisse magistra"

[*not* the world moves with a divine deity, and is god, *but* moves with a divine will and pleasure, and is god]. (x), Manil. 1. 531:

"non casus opus est, magni sed *numinis* ordo"

[*surely not*, is not the work of chance, *but* the arrangement of a great divinity (for the doctrine of the creation of the world by a divinity was not the doctrine of Manilius who was an Epicurean), *but* is not a work of chance, *but* an order or system instinct with a great will and pleasure: precisely the Epicurean doctrine, and the doctrine of Manilius—see preceding quotation].

And (y), Hygin. *Fab.* 187: "Quem [Hippothoum] iterum equa nutriebat pastores iterum inventum infantem sustulerunt, sentientes eum deorum *numine* educari, atque nutrierunt" [by the high will, sanction, pleasure, ordinance, *placitum*, of the gods].

It is no more an recommendation of this interpretation of our text that it is not liable to the objection which has been very reasonably urged to every other interpretation of the passage yet offered, viz., that it forestalls and thereby weakens

HEU, NIHIL INVITIS FAS QUEMQUAM FIDERE DIVIS!

which comes better on the reader suddenly and by surprise. Besides all which, the going of the Trojans not under the direction of their own will, or to a determinate point, but at random as it

were, and wherever the Greeks happened to go, harmonizes as well with CAECAM CONGRESSI PER NOCTEM in the next line (*meeting by chance in the darkness of the night*) as it contrasts well with verse 437 :

“ protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati.”

See Rem. on 1. 12 (a).

398-419.

MULTOS—FUNDO

MULTOS DANAUM DEMITTIMUS ORCO.—*Down* being an essential inseparable part of the notion expressed by *demittere*, the likeness between our author's DEMITTIMUS ORCO and Homer's Αἰδὲ προΐαλεν with which it has been compared by Heyne (followed by Wagner on 8. 566) is sufficiently distant. On this occasion, at least, our author has chosen better than to imitate, the notion of *down* expressed by his *DE* being much more graphic than that of *forward* or *before* expressed by Homer's *προ*. Had Virgil aimed to imitate he could very easily have said *praemittimus*, though he could not have said *promittimus*, being prevented by the special Latin signification of that word.

CONDUNTUR.—*Condere* is (strictly) not merely *to hide*, but, the force of *dare* being preserved in its compound (see Rem. on *Aen.* 1. 56), *to put or plunge into a place so as to hide*. Hence it is sometimes even joined with a preposition governing the accusative, as *Georg.* 1. 438 :

“ sol quoque et exoricens, et cum se *condet* in undas.”

Senec. *Ep.* 7 : “Ista, mi Lucili, *condenda* in animum sunt, ut contemnas voluptatem ex plurium assensione venientem.”

HEU.—Wagner commences a new paragraph with this word, Heyne with *ECCE* in the next line, both I think erroneously, this line being intimately connected both with the preceding

and succeeding. The train is: "but all this success was soon to end, the gods being against us; for see where Cassandra," &c.

INVITIS DIVIS = the Homeric *θεων αεκητι*.

LUMINA, NAM TENERAS ARCEBANT VINCULA PALMAS.—Heyne says: "Ovidiano lusui propior est; Ovidius tamen castior nunc ipso Virgilio, *Met.* 13. 410:

. . . 'tractata comis antistita Phoebi
non profecturas tendebat ad aethera palmas.'"

How different the judgments of men! To me, Virgil is here not only quite as chaste as Ovid, but twice as graphic: Ovid omitting that all-important part in a picture, the countenance; Virgil painting both the supplicating eyes, strained towards heaven, and the hands prevented by bonds from joining in the supplication. There is or should be more or less "lusus" in all poetry. If it be true that Ovid's has too much of it, it is no less true that Virgil's has hardly enough. Virgil is, perhaps, as much too severe as Ovid is too playful. Who shall hit the just mean? Of all charges levity is the last that should be brought against Virgil. In the present instance, if he be light, he has the levity of Euripides to countenance him, *Androm.* 573:

αλλ' αντιαζω σ', ω γερον, των σων παρος
πιτνουσα γονατων, χειρι δ' ουκ εξεστι μοι
της σης λαβεσθαι φιλατης γενειαδος,

as well as that of St. Jerome in his marvellous "Mulier septies percussa" (*Epist.* 1, *ad Innocent.* § 3): "Oculis, quos tantum tortor alligare non poterat, suspexit ad caelum"—an expression of the thought, by-the-by, as incorrect as Virgil's is correct, for nothing was easier for the executioner than to bind the culprit's eyes, viz., with a bandage. Nor if Ovid abstained from the "lusus" in the case of Cassandra, did he always abstain from it. He would not have been Ovid if he had—the happy, gay, playful, captivating Ovid of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Amores*. It was quite too tempting, and he yielded to the temptation—let Heyne frown and shake his head as he will, I only clap my hands the harder, and cry "bravo!" the louder—yielded to the temptation once, twice, three times, for aught I

know to the contrary; once, at all events, in the case of Io (*Met.* 1. 731):

“ quos potuit solos tollens ad sidera vultus ;”

and a second time in that of Andromeda (*Ibid.* 4. 681):

. . . “ manibusque modestos
celasset vultus, si non religata fuisset.
lumina, quod potuit, lacrimis implevit obortis”

—examples which have not failed to draw their imitators after them. See Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, 8. 6 (of Esmeralda): “ ‘Phoebus’ ! s’écria-t-elle, ‘mon Phoebus!’ Et elle voulut tendre vers lui ses bras tremblants d’amour et de ravissement, mais *ils étaient attachés.*”

ARCEBANT VINCULA.—The translators understand these words to be equivalent to “vincula ligabant,” and to mean no more than that *chains bound her hands*:

“ her eyen, for fast her tender wrists were bound.” Surrey.

“ rude fetters bound her tender hands.” Beresford.

“ che indegni lacci alla regal donzella
ambe avvincon le mani.” Alfieri.

On the contrary, the idea of binding does not extend beyond the word VINCULA; and ARCEBANT has its own proper force of *hindering, keeping away*: bonds (VINCULA) *hindered, kept off* (ARCEBANT) her hands, viz., so that she could not extend them towards heaven.

DENSIS INCURRIMUS ARMIS.—“Κατασκευη: merito superati sunt a pluribus,” Servius. “*Vel ipsi densis ordinibus, denso agmine, vel irruimus in hostium densum agmen,*” Heyne. “DENSIS quia ipsi densi conferti, vs. 347, incurrunt,” Wagner (*Praest.*). “Sie drängen sich in die den Coroebus bereits dicht umgebenden waffen,” Kappes. How are we to decide the case, Servius and Kappes on one side, Voss and Wagner on the other, Heyne divided between, and grammar for both? By the context, and very easily. The words are in the ablative, the *dense arms* those of Aeneas and his party, first, because the party has been already twice described as dense—verse 346:

“ quos ubi *confertus* audere in praelia vidi;”

verse 383 :

“irruimus, *densis et circumfundimur armis*”—

the latter being manifestly our text in a very slightly changed form, and permitting, no doubt, of its “*densis armis*” being the ablative case and the arms of Aeneas and his party. Secondly, on account of the not very dissimilar “*irruimus ferro*” of 3. 322, where there can be no doubt of “*ferro*” being in the ablative. And, finally, on account of the *CONSEQUIMUR CUNCTI* of the beginning of the verse, words which set before us a numerous united body (see Rem. on “*contorsit*,” 2. 52), and prepare us for *DENSIS ARMIS*, the arms of Aeneas’s party who could not be *CUNCTI* and *con-sequentes* unless they were dense.

TUM DANAI GEMITU ATQUE EREPTAE VIRGINIS IRA.—Heyne’s interpretation, “*IRA propter ereptam virginem*,” is proved to be correct, **not only** by the appropriate sense which it affords, and our author’s use elsewhere of a similar structure, *ex. gr.*, “*mortis fraternae ira*,” *Aen.* 9. 736; “*ira irritata deorum*,” *Aen.* 4. 178; *GRAIARUM ERRORE IUBARUM*, verse 412, above; “*veterum errore locorum*,” 3. 181; “*ereptae amore coniugis*,” 3. 330; also “*lacrymae rerum*,” 1. 466; and “*lacrymas Creusae*,” 2. 784; **but** by Livy’s (5. 33) exactly parallel: “*Arunteni Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone*,” and (1. 5) “*ob iram praedae amissae*,” and (8. 24) “*ultra humanarum irarum fidem*.” Compare, also, Ovid, *Met.* 9. 101 (of the passion of Nessus for Dejanira): “*eiusdem virginis ardor*.” Silius, 5. 344:

“*advolat interea fraterni vulneris ira
turbatus Libyae ductor.*”

Also the title by which Langland’s poem is generally known, viz., *Piers Plowman’s Vision*, or *Vision of Piers Plowman*, equivalent not to “*Vision seen by Piers Plowman*,” but “*Vision concerning Piers Plowman, Vision in which Piers Plowman appeared.*”

GEMITU.—“*Dolore*,” Heyne. No, but *a loud roar, or groan*. Compare *Aen.* 2. 53; 3. 555; and especially 7. 15, where *gemitus* and *ira* are again united (“*gemitus iraeque*”: that angry roaring, that loud groaning or roaring which is the consequence of anger).

ADVERSI . . . FUNDO (vv. 416-419). Compare Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 1080, ed. Blomfield (Prometheus speaking):

. . . αἶθρ' ὃ
 ἐρεθίζεσθω βροντῇ σφακελῶ τ'
 ἀγρίων ἀνεμῶν· χθονα δ' ἐκ πυθμενων
 αὐταῖς ρίζαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι,
 κύμα δὲ ποντοῦ τραχεὶ ροθίῳ
 ξυγχώσειεν, τῶν τ' οὐρανίων
 ἀστρῶν διόδους.

Dante, *Inferno*, 5. 29:

“che muggia, come fa mar per tempesta,
 se da contrari venti e combattuto.”

Also Sir Walter Scott, in his fine lyric the “Pibroch of Donald Dhu:”

“come as the winds come
 when forests are rended,
 come as the waves come
 when navies are stranded.”

LAETUS EOIS EURUS EQUIS.—Wagner (1861) says: “*equos tribuunt ventis etiam Hor. Od. 4. 4. 44*

[‘*ceu flamma per taedas, vel Eurus
 per Siculas equitavit undas*’],

et Val. Flacc. 1. 608

[‘*dixerat [Boreas]; at cuncti fremere intus et aequora venti
 poscere: tum valido contortam turbine portam
 impulit Hippotades: fundunt se carcere laeti
 Thraces equi, Zephyrusque, et nocti concolor alas
 nimborum cum prole Notus, crinemque procellis
 hispidus, et multa flavus caput Eurus arena:
 induxere hiemem; raucoque ad littora tractu
 unanimi freta curva ferunt, nec sola tridentis
 regna movent; vasto pariter ruit igneus aether
 cum tonitru, piceoque premit nox omnia caelo*’].’

This is to take our author, as usual, too literally, and not merely our author, but Horace, and Valerius Flaccus. Neither our author nor Horace means that Eurus actually rides over the sea, gallops over the sea on horseback; both Virgil’s EOIS LAETUS EQUIS,

and Horace's "equitavit," and Valerius Flaccus's "fundunt se carcere laeti Thraces equi," are but various translations of the Greek *ιππευειν* applied by Greek poets to the winds, and meaning not *ride*, but *gallop like a horse, go galloping*. Compare Eurip. *Phoen.* 210 :

. . . περιρρυτων
 υπερ ακαρπιστων πεδιων
 Σικελιας Ζεφυρου πνοαις
 ιππευσαντος εν ουρανῳ
 καλλιστον κελαδημα,

where the scholiast: Ζεφυρου σφοδρως πνευσαντος.

SAEVITQUE TRIDENTI SPUMEUS ATQUE IMO NEREUS CIET ÆQUORA FUNDO.—The structure is not SPUMEUS NEREUS SÆVIT TRIDENTI, but NEREUS SÆVIT TRIDENTI SPUMEUS; and the meaning is, *produces a great deal of froth in the operation of stirring up the sea from the bottom with his trident*. Compare *Æn.* 11. 624 :

“qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
 nunc ruit ad terras, scopulosque superiacit undam
spumeus, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam ;”

where, as in our text, “*spumeus*” is placed in the emphatic position, and separated, by a pause, from the sequel. See Rem. on 2. 247.

SAEVIT TRIDENTI.—The trident was used for stirring up the sea, and was laid aside when the waves were to be calmed, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 330 :

. . . “positoque tricusptide telo
mulcet aquas rector pelagi.”

422-425.

ILLI ETIAM SI QUOS OBSCURA NOCTE PER UMBRAM
FUDIMUS INSIDIIS TOTAQUE AGITAVIMUS URBE
APPARENT PRIMI CLIPEOS MENTITAEQUE TELA
AGNOSCUNT ATQUE ORA SONO DISCORDIA SIGNANT

VAR. LECT.

PRIAMI CL. ■ *Pal.* (the A very indistinct and hardly traceable, still however traceable, not as marked by Ribbeck wholly untraceable, and only to be guessed). The actual reading of the MS. is RIAMI, the P and all the preceding part of the line having been torn or eaten away. ■■■ Ribb.

[*punct.*] APPARENT &c., without punct. ■■■ Ven. 1475.

[*punct.*] APPARENT PRIMI . CL. ■ "In codd. aliquot antiquis, eodem membro legas APPARENT PRIMI disiunctim; inde, CLIPEOS MENTITAEQUE TELA ADNOSCUNT," Pierius. ■■■ Ven. 1471.

[*punct.*] APPARENT . PRIMI CL. ■ *Med.* ■■■ Donat.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Philippe; Haupt; Wagner (*Praest.*).

[*punct.*] APPARENT; PRIAMI CL. ■■■ Ribb.

Donatus is right. PRIMI belongs to AGNOSCUNT not to APPARENT (1), because APPARENT must not lose its emphasis (see Rem. on 2. 247); and (2), because (as shown by ETIAM, verse 420), not the ILLI QUOS, &c., but the DANAI (verse 413), were the first to show themselves.

APPARENT, *show themselves, let themselves be seen, no longer hide.* Compare Ammian. 29. 5: "excubiasque agens cura pervigili, barbarorum aliquos ausos, cum *adparere* non possent, post occasum lunae castra sua tentare, fudit, vel irruentes audentius cepit." Apparere is exactly the Greek φαίνεσθαι, to appear, show one's self, present one's self, as Hom. *Il.* 10. 235 (Agamemnon exhorting Tydides to choose the best comrade, not the noblest):

τον μὲν δὲ ἑταρον γ' αἰρήσεαι, ὃν κ' ἐβελήσθα,
φαίνομένων τον ἀρίστον, ἐπεὶ μέμασσι γε πολλοί

[the best man of those who present themselves].

CLIPÉOS MENTITAEQUE TELAE AGNOSCUNT.—Not recognise our shields and weapons to be false, but recognise our (false) shields and weapons to be the shields and weapons of their friends. Agnoscere is always to recognise, to acknowledge as an old acquaintance. The discovery that the shields and weapons are false, *i.e.*, carried by Trojans, is made only on observing that the voices of those who bear the weapons are not Greek.

CLIPÉOS MENTITAEQUE TELAE = mentitos clipeos et mentita tela. MENTITA = false, *i.e.*, which professed to be carried by Greeks, but were in reality carried by Trojans, as *Epit. Iliados*, 830 (of Patroclus clad in the armour of Achilles) :

. . . “ donec Troianus Apollo
mentitos vultus simulati pandit Achillis,
denudatque virum.”

ORA SONO DISCORDIA.—Our mouths in sound, *i.e.*, the sound of our mouths, our voices or accent, disagreeing with our assumed weapons. Heyne's gloss, “discrepantiam sermonis,” is erroneous, and Wunderlich's whole disquisition, “Troianorum linguam a lingua Graecorum diversam,” &c., to no purpose. The Greeks do not hear the language spoken by the disguised Trojans, only their sonus oris, the sound of their mouth, and that sound of their mouth (sonus oris, voice) does not agree with their appearance—“klingt fremd.” Os is the mouth (*i.e.*, the speech, sermo, lingua, as, 12. 837, “omnes uno ore Latinos”); sonus, the sound of that mouth, the voice, as Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 57 :

“ carmina mortali non referenda sono.”

Compare, also, Sen. *Oed.* 1012 (Oedipus hearing his mother's voice) :

. . . “ quis frui et tenebris vetat?
quis reddit oculos? matris, heu, matris sonus.”

Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1130 : “est, est Hercules sonus” [it is the voice of Hercules]. Ovid, *Met.* 12. 203 (of Caenis undergoing metamorphosis) :

. . . “ graviore novissima dixit
verba sono; poteratque viri vox illa videri;
sicut erat.”

Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 7. 51 :

“ in paucis remanent Graiae vestigia linguae;
haec quoque iam Getico barbara facta sono”

[the Greek language rendered barbarous by the Getic accent, voice, or sound of the speakers]. And especially Ennius (ed. Hessel), p. 40 :

“ ollei respondet suavis sonus Egeriae”

[the sweet sound of Egeria, *i. e.*, the sweet sound of Egeria's voice, Egeria's sweet voice].

Exactly as in our text ORA is the mouth and SONO the sound of the mouth, “os sonaturum,” Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 43, is the mouth about to sound:

“ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.”

431-437.

ILIACI CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM
TESTOR IN OCCASU VESTRO NEC TELA NEC ULLAS
VITAVISSE VICES DANAUM ET SI FATA FUISSENT
UT CADEREM MERUISSE MANU DIVELLIMUR INDE
IPHITUS ET PELIAS MECUM QUORUM IPHITUS AEVO
IAM GRAVIOR PELIAS ET VULNERE TARDUS ULIxi
PROtinUS AD SEDES PRIAMI CLAMORE VOCATI

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] VICES DANAUM ■ *Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861).

[*punct.*] VICES; DANAUM ■■■ Dietsch (*Theolog*, p. 22); Heyne (in nota); Peerlkamp; Ladewig; Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT.

[punct.]

DIVELLIMUR INDE

IPHITUS, ET PELIAS MECUM : QUORUM IPHITUS AEVO
IAM GRAVIOR, PELIAS ET VULNERE TARDUS ULYSSI.

■■■ P. Manut.

[punct.]

DIVELLIMUR INDE,

IPHITUS ET PELIAS MECUM (QUORUM . . .
. ULYSSI)
PROTINUS VOCATI.

■■■ Heumann ; Burmann ; Voss.

[punct.]

DIVELLIMUR INDE

IPHITUS ET PELIAS MECUM (QUORUM IPHITUS AEVO
. ULINI),
PROTINUS VOCATI.

■■■ Ribbeck.

[punct.]

DIVELLIMUR INDE

IPHITUS, ET PELIAS MECUM ; QUORUM IPHITUS AEVO
IAM GRAVIOR, PELIAS ET VULNERE TARDUS ULYSSEI ;
PROTINUS VOCATI.

■■■ D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (omitting however the comma after IPHITUS).

[punct.]

DIVELLIMUR INDE :

IPHITUS ET PELIAS MECUM ; QUORUM IPHITUS AEVO
IAM GRAVIOR, PELIAS ET VULNERE TARDUS ULINI ;
PROTINUS VOCATI.

■■■ Heyne ; Wagner (ed. Heyn., and ed. 1861).

“ILIACI CINERES ex loquendi usu ad Ilium in cineres versum ducunt: tum: ‘et vos, o mei, quibus incendium urbis pro rogo fuit’ . . . est tamen usui magis consentaneum *flamman extremam meorum* de rogo et funere, seu morte, accipere . . . Testatur igitur funus patriae et funera suorum,” Heyne. But which of our author’s readers will readily agree that of CINERES and FLAMMA occurring in one and the same verse, not only in immediate propinquity to each other, but actually connected together by the copulative ET (CINERES ET FLAMMA), the CINERES has nothing at all to do with the FLAMMA, the FLAMMA nothing

at all to do with the CINERES? Who is there does not see—should not, at a single glance, see—that CINERES and FLAMMA belong to the same fire? So La Cerda saw, and interpreted “*extinctam patriam testatur, conversamque in cineres; tum etiam exitialem illam flammam, qua Troia arsit,*” taking no notice of MEORUM, of which Ladewig, Weidner, Kappes, and Conington, taking insufficient notice, understand CINERES to be the ashes of Ilium, FLAMMA the flame which not only produced those ashes, but served at the same time as the pyre-flame (FLAMMA EXTREMA) of Aeneas’s friends and companions in arms (MEORUM) [“*Da ignis supremus und tori supremi vom scheiterhaufen, suprema officia, supremi tituli, supremi honores von der bestattung gebraucht wurde, EXTREMA FLAMMA an unserer stelle gewiss für suprema flamma steht; so hat Ladewig wohl recht, wenn er erklärt: ‘Es deuten diese worte auf den brand Troia’s hin, insofern er den leichen die stelle des scheiterhaufens vertreten musste,’*” Weidner. “In der engen verbindung mit ILIACI CINERES wird die EXTREMA FLAMMA auf den brand der stadt zu beziehen sein, welcher gleichsam ‘pro rogo’ war,” Kappes. “FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM is parallel to ILIACI CINERES, as the flames of Troy were the funeral flames of Aeneas’s countrymen and friends,” Conington]—an analysis **which**, although so much more conformable than either Heyne’s or La Cerda’s to the usual structure of our author’s verses, although presenting Troy to us under the so familiar aspect of grave of its own children (compare Catull. 68. 93:

“Troia (nefas!), commune *sepulchrum* Asiae Europaeque;
Troia, virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis.”

Senec. *Troad.* 55 :

“*caret sepulchro Priamus et flamma indiget
ardente Troia.*”

Senec. *Agam.* 741 (Cassandra apostrophizing the ghosts of her slaughtered relatives):

“*quid me vocatis sospitem solam e meis,
umbrae meorum? te sequor, tota pater
Troia sepulta.*”

Sen. *Troad.* 28 (Hecuba speaking) :

“ testor deorum numen aversum mihi,
patriæque cineres teque rectorem Phrygum
quem Troia toto *conditum* regno tegit,
tuosque manes.”

Manil. 4. 64 :

“ inque rogo Croesum, Priamumque in littore truncum,
cui nec Troia *rogus*”),

is still not the true analysis, lays quite too little stress on MEORUM, the index to the whole passage, the key of the lock. It is not the FLAMMA EXTREMA only which belongs to Aeneas's “ mei ”; the CINERES also are theirs, not indeed in the grammar but in the sense, the MEORUM of the second clause being the ILIACI of the first, the ILIACI of the first the MEORUM of the second, and ILIACI CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM being the exact equivalent of *meorum cineres et flamma extrema Iliacorum* or *cineres et flamma extrema meorum Iliacorum*; all mere expansions—the original one, for the sake of filling up the verse (see below)—of the rudimental thought: dead companions in arms. It is as if Aeneas had said: “ O ye Ilian companions in arms who are now but dust and ashes, I swear by you and by the flame of your funeral pyres, that when ye fell (IN OCCASU VESTRO) I shunned not,” &c. There is thus but one flame spoken of, the flame of the funeral pyre; but one ashes spoken of, the ashes of Aeneas's fallen companions in arms; and instead of the connexion by the copula ET of the two incongruous conceptions *ashes of Ilium, pyre-flame of friends*, we have the blending by means of that copula of the two cognate conceptions, *ashes of Ilian citizens, pyre-flame of friends*, into the single conception, *pyre of Ilian friends*.

This analysis and interpretation is borne out (1), by our author's habit of dividing a compound thesis into two or more simple theses (see Rem. on “ quem si fata virum servant,” l. 550, and on “ progeniem sed enim,” l. 23–26). (2), by the immediately preceding context. Aeneas has just been narrating the deaths of his comrades one after the other. Choroebus, Ripheus, Hypanis, Dymas, Pantheus, have all fallen; with what

adjuration could he so well satisfy his hearers that his own survival was not due to a cowardly flight as by that of the only witnesses of his fallen companions in arms? Was not such adjuration both much nearer and much more solemn than any adjuration of the burnt city? Was it not precisely to their fallen companions in arms both the Maeon of Statius and Silius's son of Regulus—each a sole survivor when all his companions in arms had fallen—appealed for testimony that they had courted death no less than those who fell, and that if they survived they survived only because the fates had decreed their survival? [Stat. *Theb.* 3. 62 :

. . . “ vix credo et nuntius, omnes
procubuere, omnes : noctis vaga lumina testor,
et *socium Manes*, et te mala protinus ales
qua redeo, non hanc lacrymis meruisse, nec astu
crudellem veniam, atque inhonoraë munera lucis.
sed mihi iussa deum, placitoque ignara moveri
Atropos, atque olim non hæc data ianua leti,
eripuerè necem.”

Sil. 6. 113 :

. . . “ testor mea numina, *Manes*,
dignam me poenae tum nobilitate paternae
strage hostis quaesisse necem, ni tristia letum,
ut quondam patri, nobis quoque fata negassent,”

with which compare Quinct. *Decl.* 12. 2 : “ ignoscite tamen, violati *manes meorum*”]. And what reason can be assigned why Virgil, intending Aeneas to apostrophize in the first clause of the passage not his deceased friends and companions in arms but the burnt city, should use the—to say the least of it in so close connexion with FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM—very ambiguous term CINERES, and not the equally obvious, even more parallel to FLAMMA, wholly unambiguous, *ignes*? The above view is also supported (3), by the so frequent application of the terms cinis and cineres (*dust* and *ashes*) not merely to dead persons whose bodies have been actually reduced whether by fire or slow decay to dust and ashes, but to persons recently dead and who are only figuratively dust and ashes, as 6. 212 :

“ nec minus interca Misenum in littore Teucri
flebant, et *cineri* ingrato suprema ferebant.”

Sil. 13. 469 (ed. Rup.):

. . . "variatque iacentum
exequias tumuli et cinerum sententia discors"

[of the tumulus and the dead]. (4), by the no less frequent use of *Iliacus* to express belonging or in any way appertaining to Ilium, than to express forming an integrant part of or resulting from Ilium, as Sil. 15. 281:

. . . "tibi barbara soli
sanctius *Iliaca* servata est Phoebeade virgo"

[*Ilian priestess of Apollo*]. Stat. *Silv.* 4. 2. 10:

. . . "mediis videor discumbere in astris
cum Iove, et *Iliaca* porrectum sumere dextra
immortale merum"

[*Ilian right hand*]. (5), by the so much easier, simpler, and more natural reference in *VESTRO* to the single category of witnesses, Aeneas's fallen companions in arms, than to the dissimilar categories, the burnt city, and Aeneas's fallen companions in arms. **And** (6), by the application of *occasus* to person no less than to thing, as Cicero, *Acad. post.* 1. 8 (ed. Orelli): "post L. Aelii nostri occasum."

To this analysis and interpretation, if anyone object with Voss: "Wer denn gab den gefallenen ein ordentliches leichenbegängniss?" I beg to refer to 6. 505, where Aeneas informs the shade of Deiphobus that after that fatal night he had searched in vain for the body of Deiphobus in order to bestow on it the usual funeral honours, and being unable to find it had erected a cenotaph to the memory of the deceased, and where the shade of Deiphobus replies:

. . . "nil o tibi, amice, relictum;
omnia Deiphobo solvisti, et funeris umbris."

And, indeed, Aeneas and the other surviving Trojans having, after the burning of the city, remained long enough in the neighbourhood to build and man and equip a fleet (3. 5:

. . . "classemque sub ipsa
Antandro, et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae;
. . .
contrahimusque viros")

what difficulty was there in the way of their performing that duty which in the ancient systems of morals and religion held a place second only to that of returning thanks to the gods for personal safety and preservation, viz., the duty of decently disposing of the remains of less fortunate friends and relatives? (see 11. 1 :

“ Aeneas, quanquam et sociis dare tempus *humandis*
præcipitant curæ, turbataque funere mens est,
vota deum primo victor solvebat Eo”).

What can be more certain than that after respects paid to the gods—respects which, on an occasion on which the gods had done so very little for and so very much against them (2. 610-618), need not, one would think, have been either very cumbrous or very formal—their next and most pressing care was to perform that duty? what more probable than that that duty was, as far as the circumstances of the case allowed, piously and scrupulously performed? what more natural than that the very person on whom that duty had principally devolved, the very person who was so celebrated for his pious performance of such duties, “ pious ” Aeneas, should in a *résumé*—years after and in a foreign country, and before an audience of strangers—ôf all that had occurred, let it plainly appear, that neither had that so indispensable, so imperative, duty been neglected? And finally, how was it possible to make less parade of the due discharge of the incumbent obligation than is made of it in the apostrophe to the friends who had perished, and whose bodies he had burned on the funeral pyre, to testify for him that if he was still alive it was not that he had not exposed himself to danger as they had, but solely because it was the will of fate to preserve him?

For the illustration of the text see also at verse 587 of this book the immediate connexion of “ cineres ” and “ meorum ” in the identical sense (viz., that of *dead friends*) afforded by the same two words so widely separated and without any immediate connexion in our text.

VESTRO. (verse 432), *your* ; referring back, past FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM, to ILIACI CINERES : “ O ye fallen companions in arms, who are now but Ilian dust and ashes, I call you to

witness that when ye fell I would have fallen too, had the fates permitted," &c., FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM being but a dilatation of, a dwelling on, the thought ILIACI CINERES: "Ye friends of mine (MEORUM) who have been reduced to ashes (ILIACI CINERES) on your funeral pyres (FLAMMA EXTREMA)," exactly as in Anna's address to Aeneas, Sil. 8. 81 :

" nate dea, solus regni lucisque fuisti
germanae tu causa meae; mors testis, et ille—
heu, cur non idem mihi tunc !—rogus,"

" ille rogus " is but a dilatation of, a dwelling on, the thought " mors " (equivalent to mortua Dido, and corresponding precisely to the ILIACI CINERES or *dead companions in arms* of our text), and along with that theme-thought is invoked to testify (" testis," the TESTOR of our text) that Aeneas was the sole cause of Dido's death.

Awkward and perverse as is this construction, more awkward and more perverse is the construction adopted by Heyne: "ashes of Ilium ['asche der Ilierstadt,' Voss], pyre-flame of my friends" (whether regarded as together forming the notion, *ashes of Ilium and my friends*, or regarded as two separate and independent notions, *ashes of Ilium, flame of the funeral pyre of my friends*), for what fall (VESTRO OCCASU) had ever, or could by possibility ever have had, either the ashes of Ilium or the flame of Aeneas's friends' funeral pyre? More awkward and more perverse also is La Cerda's "extinctam patriam testatur, conversamque in cineres, tum etiam exitialem illam flammam qua Troia arsit," for what fall had ever, or could by possibility ever have had, the conflagration which reduced Troy to ashes? Only in MEORUM (see above) and the double sense of CINERES, a word equally capable of signifying burnt ashes and the dead, is a clue to be found to our author's meaning in this most awkward, perplexed, and obscure passage—*O ye Ilian dead and reduced to ashes on the pyre!*

ILIACI.—According to the above analysis the sense had been not only fully but clearly and unequivocally expressed in the words CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM (*pyre-flame and ashes of my friends* = friends reduced to ashes on the pyre).

What occasion, then, for ILIACI? Were not the CINERES of Aeneas's friends necessarily ILIACI CINERES? Certainly: and just because they were, and because CINERES was meagre and bald without a descriptive adjective to balance EXTREMA, the descriptive adjective of FLAMMA; and because the measure of the verse was incomplete without, and complete with, the addition; and because the sentiment expressed in CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM, however pathetic, was pathetic only, not at all patriotic; and because ILIACI as first word of the verse was both graphic and fine-sounding, ILIACI was prefixed to CINERES with the unperceived, or, if perceived, disregarded effect of separating that word from its explanatory MEORUM, and so leaving the reader with the information, indeed, that the CINERES spoken of were Ilian cineres, but without any information what kind of Ilian cineres they were, whether ashes of Ilium ("asche der Ilierstadt," Voss), or ashes of Ilian men. Compare (3. 366) the similar ornamental *ad captum vulgi* use made of the same word, happily, however, without a similar ill effect:

"Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem,"

where "Iliacamque" is as supererogatory following "Pergamaque," as ILIACI in our text is supererogatory preceding CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM; and contrast Statius, *Theb.* 5. 454 (Hypsipyle speaking):

. . . "cinerem furiasque meorum
testor, ut externas non sponte aut crimine taedas
attigerim,"

where "cinerem," not having been, like the CINERES of our text, separated from its explanatory "meorum" in order to be joined to an adjective and so form a clause of its own, is in no danger either of being misunderstood itself or of leading to a misunderstanding of "furias."

To make my meaning clearer I shall repeat in other words the view I have just taken of the etiology of this verse. Had Aeneas, like Maeon, and the son of Regulus, used the usual apostrophe and addressed his deceased friends' Manes, there had been no difficulty. But this is not what Virgil has chosen his hero should do. He has chosen rather that Aeneas should in-

voke his deceased friends' CINERES and FLAMMA EXTREMA. Now, it was not Aeneas's deceased friends alone who had cineres and a flamma extrema; Ilium had them also, and it therefore became incumbent on Virgil well to distinguish which cineres and which flamma extrema he meant. This care was not taken; for, although MEORUM places it beyond doubt that the FLAMMA EXTREMA is the flamma not of the city but of the funeral pyres, yet MEORUM only comes to the rescue after the harm has been done, and the incautious reader has already understood ILIACI CINERES to be the ashes of Ilium, a meaning which until he comes to the word MEORUM he has as indisputable a right (and La Cerda and Heyne exercise the right even in defiance of MEORUM) to assign to the words, as that other meaning in which Virgil without, however, sufficiently indicating his intention, intended them to be taken. To be more explicit still: CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM had been subject to no ambiguity, had been clear as daylight, but had been, at the same time, too simple and inartificial a form of expression for our author, ambitious as he was to write Latin in a style in which Latin was never before written by anyone. The verse, besides, was incomplete, and required to be filled up and rounded. A clause, therefore, is, according to the author's usual fashion, made out of CINERES by the addition of ILIACI, and so the verse not merely completed, but rendered thoroughly Virgilian and rhetorical, each separate half balancing its pendant or opposite part, and even the words of which each separate half consists balancing those of the pendant or opposite part—ILIACI CINERES balancing both in sense and rhythm FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM; and FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM, in like manner, ILIACI CINERES; while even the separate word ILIACI balances MEORUM, and the separate word CINERES balances FLAMMA EXTREMA. The addition of the word ILIACI conciliating for the build of the verse these certainly not despicable advantages, and the word being in itself by no means trite or vulgar, but rather of the *élite*, and sounding sweetly besides, and so helping to take something from the ill effect of the three "literae latrantes" which follow ILIACI,—we need not be sur-

prised to find an author, so little solicitous about perspicuity and so very solicitous about harmony and effect as our author on all occasions shows himself to be, assigning not merely a place in his verse, but the most honourable place of all, to a word which not only adds nothing to the sense—for who does not know without being told that the CINERES of Aeneas's MEORUM are Ilian?—but introduces so much ambiguity into the verse as to lead even La Cerda and Heyne astray, nay, so far astray that each of those commentators assigns to the verse a meaning as widely different from the meaning assigned to it by the other as it is from the right one. See Rem. on “sequar,” 4. 384; and on “illius noctis,” 361, *supra*.

NEC TELA NEC ULLAS VITAVISSE VICES DANAUM: “I did not shun to do, was not shy of doing, anything I could against the Danaï through fear of anything the Danaï might do to me in return.” In other words: “I used my weapons, all my art, skill, and strength against the Danaï, without regard to the consequences to myself; I did my worst against the Danaï, not fearing their worst.” That this is the precise and at the same time the full and complete meaning of the passage is shown by Silius's only too undisguised, too palpable imitation (6. 113):

. . . “testor, mea numina, Manes,
dignam me poenae tum nobilitate paternae
strage hostis quaesisse necem, ni tristia letum,
ut quondam patri, nobis quoque fata negassent,”

where “testor Manes me strage hostis quaesisse necem” is precisely the sentiment expressed in our text, viz., “TESTOR VOS ILIACI CINERES ME NON VITAVISSE SED MANU MERUISSE MORTEM.” The parallelism of the two passages is perfect in every particular. Aeneas invokes the friends who had fallen beside him, to witness that he had not consulted his own safety, but on the contrary had dared and provoked the enemy to the utmost, and was only saved by its being the will of fate that he should not then die. Silius's hero invokes the Manes to witness that he had by slaughter of the enemy provoked an honourable death, and would certainly have perished had the fates not denied him that favour. It is impossible for parallel to be more perfect, or

meaning more certain in both places. TESTOR corresponds to "testor;" ILIACI CINERES ET FLAMMA EXTREMA MEORUM, to "mea numina, Manes;" NON VITAVISSE, to "quaesisse;" TELA and ULLAS VICES DANAUM, to "necem;" MERUISSE MANU, to "strage hostis;" SI FATA FUISSENT, to "ni fata negassent;" and CADEREM, to "letum."

The sentiment to which Aeneas gives utterance is exactly that which was to be expected from him under the circumstances. How was he to account for his own escape, for his being there alive, well and unhurt to tell the whole story to Dido at a great entertainment, over the bottle, as we say in English? The stratagem of putting on the armour of the Greeks slain by him and his little party had failed, and they were overwhelmed by infuriated numbers. Choroebus, Ripheus, Hypanis, Dymas, and Pantheus had just fallen at his side; how did he escape himself? Dido's eyes asked, and the eyes of the assembled company, did he run for it? He could not but explain, and what other explanation, unless he had brought his mother to his help, and she had to be reserved for a still more urgent, more extreme peril to come by-and-by? What other explanation was possible than that the fates would not permit it? On the one hand, there must be no hiding, no shrinking from danger on his part; there must, on the contrary, be daring, daring even to the death, to desperation: on the other hand, there must be no boasting, no "twenty men in buckram killed with his own hand." How was it possible to hit the *juste milieu* more precisely than with this solemn invocation of his deceased friends to bear witness that if he was still alive it was by no fault of his; that if he survived that fatal hour, it was not because he had shrunk from doing his duty, but because the fates had willed that he should not then die, had preserved him from the consequences of his reckless desperation, from the reprisals (VICES) of an enemy whom he had provoked to the last and utmost? Compare the case of Caesar—so far as meriting death (albeit in a different manner) the same as Aeneas's, but directly opposite to Aeneas's in so far as Caesar was awarded by the fates the death he merited—Lucan, 7. 594:

. . . "humanum culmen, quo cuncta premuntur,
egressus, meruit fatis tam nobile letum."

VICES.—*Vicis, vicem, vice* (to speak first of the word in the singular) is *part* (in the sense of *rôle*), *move, turn* (in the sense of the French *tour*). Compare (*a*), Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 370 :

"ut puto, non poteris ipsa referre *vicem*"

[“you will not be able of yourself to return him his move, to play the same part towards him which he has played to you”—the notion of reciprocity, retribution, or *talio* being wholly absent from “*vicem*” and contained solely in “*referre*”]. (*b*), Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 10. 49 :

"hic es, et ignoras ; et ades celeberrimus absens ;
inque Getas media visus ab Urbe venis.
redde *vicem* ; et quoniam regio felicior ista est,
illuc me memori pectore semper habe"

[“return me my move, play the part towards me which I have played towards you”—the notion of reciprocity being contained not at all in “*vicem*” but wholly and solely in “*redde*”]. (*c*), Auson. *Gratiarum actio*, in initio : “Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguste ; si possem, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna desiderat remunerandi *vicem*, nec nostra suggerit restituendi facultatem” (where again “*vicem*” is simply *turn, move, rôle, or part*, the notion of reciprocity or repayment being confined to “*referrem*,” “*remunerandi*,” and “*restituendi*”). (*d*), Catull. *Épith. Pel. et Thetid.* 68 (of Ariadne) :

"sed neque tum mitræ, neque tum fluitantis amictus
illa *vicem* curans, toto ex te pectore, Theseu,
toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente"

[not caring what “*turn*” might befall her cap and loose-flowing robe, *i.e.*, not caring what might happen to, what might become of, her cap and loose-flowing robe]. (*e*), Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 665 :

"nec nimium vobis formosa ancilla ministret :
saepe *vicem* dominae praestitit illa mihi"

[performed to me the *part* or *rôle* of the mistress]. (*f*), Cic.

ad Fam. 4. 5: "At illius [Tulliae] *vicem*, credo, doles" [the turn which awaits her, the turn she has to undergo]. (*g*), *Ibid. 11. 18*: "Valde et meam et vestram *vicem* timeam necesse est" [the turn both you and I have to undergo]—**the last three** being examples in which, notwithstanding the presence of "*vicem*" as in the preceding examples, there is yet, on account of the total absence from them of the "*referre*" and "*reddere*" of those examples, no notion not even the least of reciprocity, retribution, or *talio*.

As with the singular so with the plural term. As long as *reddere*, *referre*, or equivalent, is absent from the sentence, the notion of reciprocity, retribution, or *talio*, is no less absent, no matter how much *vices* may be present. Compare (*h*), Ovid, *Met. 1. 625*:

"centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat:
inde suis *vicibus* capiebant bina quietem,
cetera servabant, atque in statione manebant"

["rested in their turns, each pair in its turn"—no notion of reciprocity, retribution, or *talio*, there being no *reddere*, *referre*, or equivalent]. (*i*), Ovid, *Met. 15. 237*:

"hæc quoque non perstant quæ nos elementa vocamus:
quasque *vices* peragant (animos adhibete) docebo"

["what parts they perform"—no notion of reciprocity, retribution, or equivalent]. (*j*), *Culex*, 208:

. . . "quis meritis, ad quæ delatus acerbas
cogor adire *vices*"

["to accost bitter parts, to address myself to bitter performances, actions, roles, moves"—still no reciprocity, no retribution, no *talio*]. (*k*), Quint. Curt. 5. 24: "nec immerito mitiores *vices* eius [Fortunæ] expecto" [milder turns of Fortune than her previous]. (*l*), Stat. *Silv. 5. 2. 152*:

"felix, qui viridi fidens coeptaque iuventa
durabis quascunque *vices*"

[will endure any turns whatever], **while** the notion of reciprocity, the reciprocal or retributive "turn" makes its appear-

ance the moment *referre*, *reddere*, or equivalent, enters into the composition of the sentence, as (*m*), Ovid, *Met.* 14. 35 :

. . . “*spernentem sperne ; sequenti
redde vices*”

[serve your pursuer with similar turn, *i. e.*, pursue her who pursues you]. (*n*), Prop. 4. 4. 57 (ed. Hertzlb.) :

“*si minus, at raptae ne sint impune Sabinae :
me rape, et alterna lege repende vices*”

[repay turns according to the *lex talionis*]. (*o*), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1. p. 198 (the fates addressing Dis) :

. . . “*qui finem cunctis et semina praebes,
nascendique vices alterna morte rependis*”

[“repayest or balancest the turn of birth by the turn of death, balancest birth by death”—the notion of returning or paying being contained not in the “*vices*,” but in the “*alterna*” and “*rependis*”]. (*p*), Petron. cap. 89 (of the sons of Laocoon) :

. . . “*neuter auxilio sibi,
uterque fratri, transtulit pietas vices.
uterque fratri transtulit pius vices.*”

(*q*), Sil. 9. p. 137 :

“*iamque inter varias Fortuna utrinque virorum
alternata vices, incerto cluserat iras
eventu*”

[“alternating among the various turns”—the alternation being expressed by “*alternata*” and “*varias*,” and the turns only by “*vices*”].

The **first** conclusion deducible from this long array of examples is, as has been already pointed out, that *vices*, whether in the singular or plural, involves no notion of reciprocity, retribution, or *talis*—[**not** that the word, whether in the singular or plural, has not always necessarily a reference to a previous or future *vix* or *vices*, exactly as our corresponding word *turn* has always, and of necessity, a reference to a previous or future state, bout, or turn (or some state or bout or turn must have preceded, as some state or bout or turn

must also follow), **but** that this reference is general and inherent in the word itself, and by no means points to any special and particular *vix* or state or bout or turn which has preceded or is to follow, as, for instance, (1), 6. 535:

“ hac *vice* sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
iam medium aethereo cursu traiecerat axem”

[*not* with this interchange of talk, or alternate speaking, or dialogue of Aeneas and Deiphobus, *but* with this bout of talk, this turn of talk, viz., both of Aeneas and Deiphobus—the “*vice*” not meaning any reciprocity, or alternation, from Aeneas to Deiphobus, and from Deiphobus in return to Aeneas, but meaning that the talk of the two persons was a turn or bout as contrasted with the preceding turn or bout of silence]. (2), *Georg.* 3. 188:

. . . “ inque *vicem* det mollibus ora capistris”

[give his mouth to the muzzle for a turn]. **And** (3), *Aen.* 12. 501:

. . . “ quos aequore toto
inque *vicem* nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros”

[*not* whom Turnus and Aeneas alternately drive, *but* whom Turnus drives for a turn and Aeneas drives for a turn—the alternation being contained not in the “*in vicem*,” but in the “*nunc*,” as appears at once on striking out “*nunc Troius heros*,” when it will be found that “*in vicem nunc Turnus agit*” can by no possibility signify: “*now Turnus alternately drives*,” can only signify: “*now Turnus drives for a turn*”]. The **second**, that *vices*, whether singular or plural, is a *medium vocabulum* of grammarians, and takes its colour of good, bad, or indifferent from the surrounding text—is good, Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 10. 49; Auson. *Grat. Act.* in initio; Curt. 5. 24; bad, Cic. *ad Fam.* 4. 5, and 11. 18; *Culex*, 208; Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2; indifferent, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 625; 15. 237. Compare also the expression *vice-versa*, and the modern *vice-roy*, *vice-gent*, *vice-chancellor*, *vice-president*, *vice-admiral*, &c. **And** the **third**, that *vices* is according to the context either active or passive, expresses *either* the *tour*, turn, part or move which one

person or thing performs towards another (as Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 1. 370; *Id.*, *ex Ponto*, 2. 10. 49; Auson. *Grat. Act.* in init.; Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 665, *Met.* 1. 625, 15. 23, and 14. 35; Prop. 4. 4. 57), or the *tour*, turn, part or move which person or thing suffers, of which person or thing is the object (as Catull. *Epith. Pel. et Thetis.* 60; Cic. *ad Fam.* 4. 5, and 11. 18; * *Cicero*, 208; Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2).

Applying to our text these conclusions as established principles, we perceive at once that *VICES* is **neither** with Servius, Heyne, and Mitscherlich, “*pugnas, quia per vicissitudinem pugnabatur*” (Serv. ed. Lion), “*fortunae, casus, et quidem h. l. pugnae, quae ut vidimus modo secunda, modo adversa fuerat*” (Heyne), “*pugnam*” (Mitscherlich, ad Hor. *Carm.* 4. 14. 13, where he says: “*copiam ipsis feci caedem a me factam ulciscendi; pugnam haud defugiendo, obtuli me ipsorum ultioni*”) [for how can that be *vices* which has, not merely and according to Servius himself “*vicissitudines*,” but according to Claud. 6 *Cons. Honor.* 282 :

. . . “*hoc aspera fati*
sors tulerit, Martisque vices”

[the turns of Mars, *i. e.* of battle]; Sil. 3. 12 (ed. Rup.) :

“*hinc omen coeptis, et casus scire futuros*
ante diem, bellique vices novisse petebat,”

even *vices*? How can that be *vices* which *has* *vices*? a thing, one of its own characters?] **nor** with Burmann, ad Prop. 1. 13. 10, “*poenas*,” so to explain *VICES* being neither more nor less than to assign to it a notion (*viz.*, that of retribution) which we have just seen is foreign to the word; **nor** with Thiel and Conington, “*cominus pugnare*,” as opposed to *TELA* (“*eminus pugnare*”) [“*Vielleicht bezeichnet TELA das eminus, VICES das cominus pugnare*,” Thiel. “I can scarcely doubt that Thiel is right in distinguishing *VICES* from *TELA*, as hand-to-hand encounters, *cominus*, from missiles,” Conington], for *cominus pugnare* is only a species of *pugna*, and we have just seen that *vices* is not, cannot be, *pugna*.

What then is *vices* here in our text, if it is neither “*pugnae*,”

nor "poenae," nor "cominus pugnare?" Why, what it is everywhere, *turns*; and there being two kinds of vices (active and passive, as there are two kinds of turns, active and passive), the VICES which Aeneas assures his hearers he did not shun are active VICES; and—the sole subject treated of, the sole picture before us being that of Aeneas on the one side and the enemy on the other—the active VICES, the active turns, which Aeneas did not shun are those of the enemy, the manoeuvres, no matter of what kind (ULLAS), directed against him by the enemy, the Danaï; the turns the enemy, the Danaï, might serve him, VICES DANAUM, ULLAS VICES DANAUM; exactly as, verse 572, "poenas Danaum . . . praemetuens," where not only is the structure the same as in our text ("praemetuens poenas Danaum" the same as VITAVISSE VICES DANAUM, "Danaum" being in both the same causal genitive as it is called), but "praemetuens" is as near as may be identical in sense with VITAVISSE, "Danaum" absolutely identical with DANAUM, and "poenas," except that it implies retribution, the exact representative of VICES, nay, so exact a representative of VICES as to be the very term by which that word is commonly interpreted; and where, still further and as if to complete the parallelism, the object of the verb, the object of the fearing, is double, divided into "poenas Danaum" and its explanation, "coniugis iras," as in our text the object of the verb, the object of the shunning, is double, divided into TELA and its explanatory VICES DANAUM.

But what need of this or other more or less imperfect parallel to illustrate a text when we have a little further on Aeneas's own exposition? Let us hear Aeneas himself, verse 726:

"et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
 tela, neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Graii,
 nunc omnes terrent aurac, sonus excitat omnis,
 suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem,"

"and me whom a short while ago no weapons of any kind flung against me, no bands, no detachments of the opposite host, moved at all, now every breath of air terrifies, every sound excites;" as if he had said: "me who so lately shunned neither weapons nor any turns the Danaï might serve me, me who but

for the fates had died the death my daring merited, every breath of air now terrifies, every sound excites"—the second passage being as plainly as possible a recast of the first, a recast in which the subjects "non ulla iniecta tela" and "neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Graii" represent the objects NEC TELA NEC ULLAS VICES DANAUM of the first, and in which the object "me" is the identical subject me *subauditum* of the first, and the verb "movebant" the reciprocal or correlative of the VITAVISSE of the first.

Right, I am told, all right; with the single exception that "adverso glomerati ex agmine Graii" represents VICES understood in its particular sense of *excubiae*, who are relieved per vices or keep guard vicibus, much more exactly than it represents VICES in its general sense of *turns, changes, or parts*, an objection to which my reply is (1), that VICES in the sense of the men themselves is quite too technical and special, fitter for prose than poetry. (2), That VICES in the sense of the men themselves limits too much the daring of Aeneas, confines it to men who are rather on the defensive than on the offensive, falls far short of the "adverso glomerati ex agmine Graii," *the bands of Graii*, of the correlative passage. (3), That the expression where used by our author elsewhere is always used in its general, never in its technical and special sense, not even where the subject-matter in hand is *excubiae*, as 9. 174 :

"omnis per muros legio, sortita periculum,
excubat, exercetque vices quod cuique tuendum est;"

9. 221 :

. . . "vigiles simul excitat; illi
succedunt servantque vices;"

9. 164 :

"discurrunt, variantque vices, fusique per herbam
indulgent vino, et vertunt crateras ahenos;"

in not one of which examples is there any ambiguity, nor can "vices" be understood to mean the guards themselves. (4), That Alcimus Avitus in a passage very apparently imitated from our text, a passage in which we have not only vices but vices contra-distinguished as in our text from tela, uses the word not in its technical and special, but unequivocally in its general sense,

Trans. Mar. Rubr. (Poem. 5. 542):

“plebs trepidat conclusa loco, finemque sequenti
expectat pavefacta die, non *tela* nec ullas
bellorum molita *vices*, sed voce levata
vatibus insistens.”

And lastly (5), that however usual at the gates are *excubiae* or bands of men keeping guard *vicibus*, or *per vices*, and therefore sometimes curtly denominated *vices*, such *vices* are not to be thought of here in the middle of the city—see verse 359: “*mediaeque tenemus urbis iter.*”

VICES DANAUM, as “*poenas Danaum*,” 2. 572 (see above); “*reliquias Danaum*,” 1. 34. A writer less ambitious of strength and novelty of expression would no doubt have used, with Alcinus Avitus just quoted, the ordinary expression, *vices belli*.

The construction is VICES DANAUM, not DANAUM MANU, because this latter construction leaves VICES altogether without specification, without so much as the slightest intimation what kind of VICES is meant, an omission which not even the advocates themselves of that most perverse construction have attempted by any explanation to supply: Peerlkamp—although discussing at some length the respective merits of CADEREM MANU and MERUISSE MANU, and treating at full of VICES DANAUM—saying no word at all of his widowed and lonely VICES; Ladewig, Weidner, and Ribbeck treating her with no less disrespect (“*Es ist zu construiren: ET, SI FATA FUISSENT, UT DANAUM MANU CADEREM, MERUISSE me, ut eorum manu caderem,*” Weidner. “*MANU est mit CADEREM zu verbinden; die construction ist: ET MERUISSE, UT MANU DANAUM CADEREM, SI FATA FUISSENT (nämlich, ut caderem),*” Ladewig, 1867. “*DANAUM ad MANU pertinere vidit Peerlkampus,*” Ribbeck). DANAUM belonging as we have just seen to VICES, not to MANU, UT CADEREM of course belongs to SI FATA FUISSENT, not to MERUISSE, and the punctuation is: VITAVISSE VICES DANAUM ET—SI FATA FUISSENT UT CADEREM—MERUISSE MANU (*viz. ut caderem*).

VITAVISSE VICES, *avoided turns*, in the sense of *tours*, *evil turns*, as *Aen. 3. 367*: “*pericula vito*” [*avoid dangers*].

MERUISSE MANU is expletory of NEC TELA NEC UL. VIT. VIC. DAN., *not only did not avoid, but even braved death.*

MERUISSE (*subaud. id ipsum*), viz., UT CADEREM, in other words, MERUISSE necem, caedem: compare Luc. 2. 108 (of children butchered):

“ crimine quo parvi *caedem* potuere *mereri* ?”

MANU, *with my hand*, i. e. *with my sword*; MERUISSE MANU, *earned my death with my sword*, i. e. *by fighting*; exactly as, 2. 645: “manu mortem inveniam,” *find death with my hand*, i. e. *with my sword* = *by fighting*; 6. 434: “letum peperere manu,” *procured death for themselves with their own hand*, i. e. *with their swords*; Sil. 2. 705: “optabit [Hannibal] cecidisse manu,” *to have fallen by the sword*, *to have died fighting*. In like manner, Sil. 7. 323 (ed. Rup.):

“ inter equos, interque viros, interque iacebat
capta manu spolia et rorantia caede Maraxes,”

spoils taken by fighting, by the sword. Sil. 1. 160 (ed. Rup.):

“ primus inire manu, postremus ponere Martem,”

the first to enter the battle with his sword, i. e. *fighting*.

TARDUS, *lame, limping*. Compare Propert. 2. 1. 59:

“ tarda Philoctetæ sanavit crura Machaon.”

Catull. 36. 3:

“ nam sanctæ Veneri Cupidinique
vovit
electissima pessimi poetæ
scripta tardipedi deo daturam
infelicibus ustulanda lignis.”

VOCATI belongs to DIVELLIMUR, the direct thread of the narrative being interrupted at INDE, in order to explain (in the two intercalary lines IPHITUS . . . ULIXI: see Rem. on 5. 704; 6. 743, 880) who the people are to whom the word DIVELLIMUR applies.

442-458.

POSTESQUE—CULMINIS

VAR. LECT.

TECTA (vs. 445) ■■■ Servius ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed Heyn. and *Praest.*) ; Lad.

TOTA ■■■ Voss ; Ribbeck.

POSTESQUE SUB IPSOS NITUNTUR GRADIBUS.—“Cum SCALAE memoratae sint, ‘gradus’ vix alii esse possunt quam scalarum,” Heyne, Conington, Kappes, erroneously, as I think. *First*, because particular mention of the steps or rounds of the ladders was unnecessary, the ladders themselves being flights of steps ; particular mention of the steps leading up to the door was necessary in order to prevent the entrance from being conceived to be on the level of the ground. *Secondly*, because it is not at the door the scaling ladders would be applied, but on the contrary an attempt would be made by some to break in the door (as we find was actually done, verses 469 *et seqq.*), while others were scaling the walls. *And thirdly*, because a double contest is plainly described, *one* at the door, in the words OBSESSUMQUE ACTA TESTUDINE LIMEN ; POSTESQUE SUB IPSOS NITUNTUR GRADIBUS ; ALII STRICTIS MUCRONIBUS IMAS OBSEDERE FORES, HAS SERVANT AGMINE DENSO ; *the other*, that of the party scaling the walls, in the words HAERENT PARIETIBUS SCALAE ; CLIPEOSQUE AD TELA SINISTRIS PROTECTI OBIICIUNT, PRENSANT FASTIGIA DEXTRIS. By the alternate mention of the fight at the door and of the attack of the scaling party, and then again of the fight at the door and the attack of the scaling party, the attention of Aeneas’s audience and Virgil’s readers is kept divided between the two combats which are going on at the same time and in the same field of view, not fixed on one to the exclusion of the other. The effect is most happy, except so far as marred by the inaptitude of the reader. But where is the fine writer, where ever was the fine writer, who has not suffered from the

fault of his reader? Where ever was the superior mind which could either elevate the minds of bystanders to its own level, or debase itself to theirs?

NITUNTUR GRADIBUS: literally, *ascend, go upward by the steps*; less literally, *mount the steps*. NITUNTUR does not express any struggle with those defending the palace, or any other exertion than that of mounting the steps. Compare Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 71: "Hic ambigitur, ignem tectis oppugnatores iniecerint, an obsessi, quae crebrior fama est, quo *nitentes* ac progressos depellerent," where "*nitentes*" is *those who were ascending, going upwards, mounting*.

GRADIBUS, the flight of steps leading up to the door, as l. 452: "*aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina.*"

TURRES AC TECTA DOMORUM, &c. "TECTA; CULMINA. TECTA participium est; aut eandem rem bis dixit," Servius. "Docte pro ipso tecto iisque rebus quibus superior domus pars tegitur, *h. e. tegulis*," Heyne. I look upon TURRES AC TECTA as the proper object of CONVELLUNT, and DOMORUM CULMINA as the explanation of TURRES AC TECTA, as if he had said, "the TURRES and TECTA which are the tops of the palace, the TURRES and TECTA which together constitute the CULMINA of the palace." See verse 466, where one of these turres is again found in company with tecta:

*"turrim in praecepti stantem summisque sub astra
eductam tectis."*

AURATASQUE TRABES, &c., DEVOLVUNT. Compare Tacit. *Hist.* 3. 71: "*ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu, vice muri, obiecisset.*"

HAS SERVANT AGMINE DENSO.—Not *guard* (which were custodiunt), but *remain beside, keep post beside, keep station beside*: exactly as 2. 711: "*longe servet vestigia coniux*" [not at all *guard* in the sense of *protect*, but *keep in*]; 2. 567:

. . . "*quum limina Vestae
servantem, et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
Tyndarida*"

[not at all *guarding*, but *keeping close to, not stirring from*].

The Greek φυλασσω is used in the same manner, as Hom. *Od.* 10. 434 :

οι κεν οι μεγα δωμα φυλασσοιμεν και αναγκη

[not, with Clarke and Damm, *custodiamus*, but (Anglicè) *keep (the house)*, i. e. *remain in (the house)*]; *Od.* 5. 208 :

ενθαδε αυθι μενων συν εμοι τυδε δωμα φυλασσοις

[not, with Clarke and Damm, *custodires*, but *keep (the house)*, *remain inside (the house)*].

LIMEN ERAT . . . A TERGO.—The structure is: A TERGO ERAT LIMEN, CAECAEQUE FORES, ET PERVIUS USUS TECTORUM INTER SE PRIAMI, POSTESQUE RELICTI; and the meaning: at the rere [of the building] was an entrance through an abandoned secret door of communication between the besieged building and the other buildings of which Priam's palace consisted. Compare *Sil.* 11. 316 :

“postquam posse datum meditata aperire, novosque
pandere conatus, et liber parte relictâ
tectorum a tergo patuit locus”

[“after a place opened to him in a deserted part of the building behind (*i. e.* in a deserted part of the rere of the building), where he might freely explain his purpose”. The true structure seems never even so much as once to have crossed the mind either of Heyne, or Wunderlich, or Thiel, or Peerlkamp, or Conington, all of whom join A TERGO with RELICTI, and the second of whom is so little satisfied with the best he can make out of the words as to wish them at—“vellem abessent.”

A TERGO, at the rere. Compare *Plin. Ep.* 2. 17. 5 : “A tergo cavaedium, porticum, aream.” *Ibid.* 15 : “cingitur diaetis duabus a tergo.” *Ibid.* 31 : “A pedibus mare, a tergo villae, a capite silvae.”

POSTES RELICTI, an abandoned door, *i. e.*, out of use. Compare *Claud. Rapt. Pros.* 3. 146 :

. . . “domus excubiis incustodita remotis,
et resupinati neglecto cardine postea.”

Tacit. Annal. 13. 19 : “statim relictum Agrippinae limen; nemo solari, nemo adire.” *Aen.* 3. 123 : “sedes relictas.” *Georg.* 4. 127 : “cui pauca relictî iugera ruris erant” (where Ser-

vius: “deserti atque contempti”). And—exactly parallel to our text, both in sense, syllables, and position in the verse—5. 612: “classemque relictam;” 4. 82: “stratisque relictis;” 2. 28: “littusque relictum.”

PERVIUS USUS, a passage not merely into, but through, the building, as Liv. 10. 1: “in eam speluncam penetratum cum signis est; et ex eo loco obscuro multa vulnera accepta, maximeque lapidum ictu; donec, altero specus eius ore (nam *pervius* erat) invento, utraeque fauces congestis lignis accensae.”

EVADO AD SUMMI FASTIGIA CULMINIS.—Evado (e-vado), *go the whole way through, pass over the entire space (whether upward, downward, or on the level), so as to pass out on the far side: and that whether physically, as in the passage before us, and* 12. 907:

“nec spatium *evasis* totum, neque pertulit ictum;”

4. 685: “sic fata gradus *evaserat* altos” [had mounted the topmost step]; and 2. 531:

“ut tandem ante oculos *evasis* et ora parentum”

(where “*evasis*” is *came the whole way*—viz., the whole way just described “per tela, per hostes, porticibus longis fugit, vacua atria lustrat”—into the very presence of his parents—see Rem. *ad locum*), **or** metaphorically, as in Terent. *Adelph.* 3. 4. 63:

. . . “verum nimia illaec licentia
profecto *evadet* in aliquod magnum malum;”

and *Andr.* 1. 1. 100: “quam timeo quorsum *evadas*,” in both which passages the reference is to the ultimate event, the upshot. The corresponding Greek word is *εκβαίνω*, as Eurip. *Med.* 55:

εγω γαρ εις τουτ' εκβεβηκ' αληθονος
ωσθ' ιμερος μ' υπηλθε γη τε κούραν
λεξαι, μολουσαν δευρο, δεσποινης τυχας.

Burmam, in his commentary on this passage, and Forcellini, in his dictionary, interpreting *evado* by *ascendo*, transfer to this verb a meaning wholly foreign to it, and contained only (incidentally) in the context.

460-465.

TURRIM IN PRAECIPITI STANTEM SUMMISQUE SUB ASTRA
 EDUCTAM TECTIS UNDE OMNIS TROIA VIDERI
 ET DANAUM SOLITAE NAVES ET ACHILAE CASTRA
 AGGRESSI FERRO CIRCUM QUA SUMMA LABANTES
 IUNCTURAS TABULATA DABANT CONVELLIMUS ALTIS
 SEDIBUS IMPULIMUSQUE

IN PRAECIPITI STANTEM.—Previously to an oral communication I made to Forbiger in Leipzig, in 1851, and the publication in 1853 of my “Twelve Years’ Voyage,” these words were understood by commentators to mean *in a high situation* (“In alto, unde quis potest praeceptum dari,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “In editiore loco positam,” Heyne. “In alto,” Wagner. “In alto positam,” Forbiger). I objected first, that IN PRAECIPITI—according to the use made of the word *praeceptum* by Latin writers (viz., to signify not *high*, but *steep*, *perpendicular*, from whence a headlong fall might easily occur)—was not *in a high position*, but *on the edge of a precipice*; and secondly, that it was as unlikely that Virgil would inform his readers that a tower SUMMIS SUB ASTRA EDUCTAM TECTIS was on a high situation, as it was likely he would inform them that it was (where it must have been or it could not have fallen on the heads of the besiegers) on the edge of the roof, perpendicularly over the front wall. Since the period referred to, I have had no occasion to change my opinion, on the contrary, am confirmed in it, **first**, by the conversion to it of the two surviving of the above-mentioned critics, viz., Forbiger, who with his usual honourable candour observes in his edition of 1852: “IN PRAECIPITI STANTEM prius interpretatus sum *in alto positam*, coll. Iuv. 1. 149, ‘omne in praecipiti vitium stetit,’ *i. e.*, summum gradum assecutum est; nunc cum Henrico explico *in extremo margine tecti stantem*, ut facile impelli posset in hostium capita,” &c.; and Wagner, who—reticent, as usual, not only of the cause of his change of opinion, but of

the source whence his new light is derived—contents himself with the laconic gloss: “in crepidine tecti, unde praecipitari poterat in subeuntes;” **and secondly**, by the confirmation which my opinion receives *no less from* the very passage of Juvenal rightly understood, on which, wrongly understood, Forbiger had founded his previous wrong opinion—the “omne in praecipiti vitium stetit” of Juvenal meaning not “summum gradum assecutum est” [*had arrived at the top step and could go no higher*] but “ad crepidinem ventum est” [*had arrived at the edge of a precipice, and could go no farther*]*—than from* the plain meaning of the same expression where it is figuratively used by Celsus, 2. 6 (“in praecipiti iam esse [aegrum] denuntiat [alvus] quae liquida eademque vel nigra vel pallida vel pinguis est,” in which passage “in praecipiti” is, and can only be, *on a precipice*), and of “ex praecipiti” where it is figuratively used by Horace, *Sat.* 2. 3. 292 :

. . . “ casus medicusve levarit
aegrum *ex praecipiti*,”

in which passage “ex praecipiti” is and can only be *from the precipice*.

Conington’s translation “with sheer descent, a turret ^{high}” is not English, conveys no notion at all to the English, scarcely any even to the Latin, scholar.

QUA SUMMA LABANTES IUNCTURAS TABULATA DABANT: *where the turret was connected with, and easily separable from, the terrace on the top of the palace.* Heyne and Wagner understand SUMMA TABULATA to mean the highest storey of the turret; but, admitting that the turret had a number of storeys, the Trojans could not have attacked round about with iron the highest storey of a turret EDUCTAM SUB ASTRA, without ascending the turret; and having ascended, it seems impossible to comprehend how they could precipitate it on the Greeks, without precipitating themselves along with it; or indeed, how, being in or on it, they could precipitate it at all. The words CONVELLIMUS and IMPULIMUS are, of themselves, sufficient to show that the Trojans stood on the roof of the palace, while they *tore up* the turret ALTIS SEDIBUS (*from its high seat, viz., on the roof of the palace*),

and *pushed* it forward, so as to cause it to fall on the besiegers. SUMMA TABULATA, therefore, is the flat or terrace (*solarium*—see “Palais de Scaurus,” 15) forming the roof of the palace, on which the turret stood. This flat or terrace being a floor (*tafelwerk*, Germ.) is called TABULATA, and being on the top of the house is called SUMMA.

IUNCTURAS, the connection or jointings of the tower to the flat terrace on which it stood.

The relative positions and relationship of the *turris* and the *tabulata* are clearly set forth by Servius, ad *Æn.* 8. 693, where speaking of ship-towers he says: “Agrippa primus hoc genus turrium invenit, ut de tabulatis subito erigerentur.” Add to this that the “*turris*” on the roof of Priam’s palace stood perpendicularly (IN PRÆCIPITI) over the front wall of the palace, and the whole picture is placed before the mind as distinctly as it is possible for words to place it. A tower on the roof, serving as a look-out, watch-tower, or *specula* was a characteristic of the ancient *schloss*, or palace; and *villas*, especially when they were on the sea-shore, were furnished with them for the sake of the prospect—see Ovid, *Mét.* 1. 288 (of Deucalion’s deluge):

“si qua domus mansit, potuitque resistere tanto
indeiecta malo, culmen tamen altior huius
unda tegit, pressaeque labant sub gurgite *turres*.”

Plin. *Ep.* 2. 17 (of his villa near Ostia): “Hinc *turris* erigitur, sub qua diaetae duae; totidem in ipsa; praeterea coenatio, quae latissimum mare, longissimum littus, amoenissimas villas prospicit.” Such towers are to be seen even at present on the top of royal palaces, *ex. gr.*, of the *schloss* in Dresden and of the *Palazzo Vecchio* in Florence, the tower in the latter instance being very striking and remarkable, inasmuch as it is not only exceedingly high—commanding a prospect over the whole city and neighbouring country, and forming a conspicuous object in the view of Florence taken from whatever quarter—but is built like the tower of Priam’s palace perpendicularly over the front wall of the edifice. More remarkable for such towers than perhaps any other European city is the city of Cadiz: see *Allgemeine Familien-Zeitung*, Stuttgart, 1869, p. 296: “Die schnur-

geraden strassen [viz., of Cadiz] sind mit marmor gepflastert, und um die verschiedenen prächtigen plätze, welche zu promenaden angelegt sind, erheben sich viele palastähnliche gebäude als zeugen des wohlstandes und reichthums der bewohner. Diese häuser haben alle flache dächer und jedes derselben ein eigenthümliches *thürmchen zur umschau*, *mirador* genannt; von wo aus man eine entzückende aussicht auf land und see hat." Ford, *Handbook for Spain* (of Cadiz): "Ascend the *Torre della Vigia*; below lies the smokeless whitened city, with its *miradores* and *azoteas*, its look-out towers and flat roofs, from whence the merchants formerly signalized the arrival of their galleons." It is most probably in such a tower on the roof of Agamemnon's palace the watchman is placed, who so strikingly opens Aeschylus's drama, the *Agamemnon*:

θεους μεν αιτω τωνδ' απαλλαγην πονων,
φρουρας ετειας μηχος, ην κοιμωμενος
στεγης Ατρειδων αγαθεν, κυνος δικην,
αστρων κατοιδα νυκτερων ομηγυριν.

Compare also Hom. *Od.* 4. 524:

τον δ' αρ' απο σκοπιης ειδε σκοπος, ον ρα καθεισεν
Λιγισθος δολομητις αγων.

IMPULIMUS, not merely *pushed*, but *pushed so that it fell over*, forward. See Rem. on 8. 233.

469-475.

VESTIBULUM ANTE IPSUM PRIMOQUE IN LIMINE PYRRHUS
 EXULTAT TELIS ET LUCE CORUSCUS AENA
 QUALIS UBI IN LUCEM COLUBER MALA GRAMINA PASTUS
 FRIGIDA SUB TERRA TUMIDUM QUEM BRUMA TEGEBAT
 NUNC POSITIS NOVUS EXUVIIS NITIDUSQUE IUVENTA
 LUBRICA CONVOLVIT SUBLATO PECTORE TERGA
 ARDUUS AD SOLEM ET LINGUIS MICAT ORE TRISULCIS

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] TEGEBAT, NUNC ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ;
 Brunck ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*) ; Lad. ; Ribb.

[*punct.*] TEGEBAT ; NUNC ■■■ Heyne ; Wakef.

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] TERGA ARDUUS ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ;
 Heyne ; Brunck ; Wagn. (ed. 1861) ; Lad.

[*punct.*] TERGA, ARDUUS ■■■ Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.) ; Voss ; Rib-
 beck (ARDUOS).

VESTIBULUM.—The vestibule was under the roof, but outside the door of the house, as appears from the history which Statius gives of Tydeus and Polynices both taking shelter from the storm in the vestibule of the palace of Adrastus and yet outside the door and not discovered there until the doors of the palace were opened (*Theb.* 1. 386, 435, ed. Müller) :

. . . “actutum regia cernit [Polynices]
 vestibula ; hic artus imbri ventoque rigentes
 proicit ignotaeque acclinis postibus aulae
 invitat tenues ad dura cubilia somnos.”

.
 “isque [Adrastus] ubi progrediens numerosa luce per alta
 atria dimotis adverso limine claustris
 terribilem dictu faciem, lacera ora putresque
 sanguineo videt imbrogas,” &c.

QUALIS UBI IN LUCEM COLUBER, &c.—I doubt if the almost dazzling beauty of this simile considered as a separate and independent picture is more to be admired than its perfect suitability and correspondence in every particular to the object which it illustrates. The serpent has lain underground inert and comatose, all winter: Pyrrhus, hitherto in abeyance, has not until this moment appeared before Troy. The serpent, newly born in the spring, fresh and vigorous and agile, lifts his head and breast erect towards the sun, coils his folds, and plays at *mora* (i. e. *micatura*) with his three-forked tongue: Pyrrhus, no less in his spring, fresh and vigorous and agile, exults and sparkles and flashes in the brazen light of his brandished weapons.

That the comparison is of Pyrrhus hitherto concealed and now at long and last appearing is evident not only from the emphatic position of the word NUNC (see Rem. on verse 246), but from Sil. Ital. 12. 6, where the precisely same comparison is applied to Hannibal, all the winter shut up in Capua and taking the field again in summer:

. . . "ceu condita bruma,
dum Rhipaea rigent Aquilonis flamina, tandem
evolvit serpens arcano membra cubili,
et splendente die novus emicat, atque coruscum
fert caput, et saniem sublati faucibus efflat."

The structure of the whole passage is of the very simplest. The sentence begun at QUALIS being broken off abruptly at TEGEBAT, and a new sentence begun with NUNC; and IN LUCEM depending neither on the preceding EXULTAT, nor the subsequent CONVULVIT, but on the verb which was to have followed, if the author had carried on to the end the sentence which he has left unfinished at TEGEBAT—a dash should be placed after TEGEBAT in order to indicate that such is the structure. See Rem. on *Aen.* 1. 220.

The punctuation adopted by Brunck and Wagner converts the passage from one of the simplest into one of the most awkward and perplexed imaginable ("Post TERGA distingui debuit commate. Iungenda enim sunt IN LUCEM CONVULVIT TERGA," Brunck. "Post TEGEBAT commate tantum interpunxi;

distinxi, Brunckium et cod. Medic. secutus, etiam post TERGA ; IN LUCEM autem, eodem Brunckio auctore, iungo cum verbo CONVOLVIT," Wagner (V. L. ad edit. Heyn.)). Heyne, though punctuating better, makes by his interpretation a similar hodge-podge of the passage ("IN LUCEM trahendum aut ad EXULTAT aut ad CONVOLVIT; utrumque parum commode").

TUMIDUM.—"TUMIDUM appellat serpentem, non quia graminibus tumet, nam hyeme non edunt, et V. illud momentum describit quo ex terra, POSITIS EXTUITS, quasi ad novam vitam redit . . . vides talem serpentem non posse dici *cibo tumidum*. Fame potius laborant, ac propterea magis timendi sunt. TUMIDUM ergo appellat, quia ipsa terra sub qua serpens latet est tumida, ex quo tumore simul serpentis magnitudo intelligitur. Ad terram retulit Horat. *Epod.* 16: 'nec intumescit alta viperis humus,' Peerlkamp. This is all, as I think, erroneous. Tumidus is the *epitheton constans* of serpents. See Ovid, *Met.* 1. 460 (Apollo speaking):

"stravimus innumeris *tumidum* Pythona sagittis."

Ibid. 10. 313: "tumidisque afflavit echidnis," with which compare *Georg.* 3. 421:

"tollentemque minas et caerulea colla *tumentem*
deice."

Aen. 2. 381:

"attollentem iras et caerulea colla *tumentem*."

It is, therefore, not necessary in order to account for the TUMIDUM of our text, to have recourse to MALA GRAMINA PASTUS; nor indeed is the serpent tumidus (or tumens) with grass at all, but with poison, as Ovid says, *Met.* 3. 33 (of the Cadmean serpent): "corpus tumet omne veneno." That TUMIDUM is the ordinary epithet of serpents, and equivalent to tumidum veneno affords so simple and natural a solution of the passage that I think I shall hardly be required to discuss, much less to confute, the very strange *dictum* of Peerlkamp, "TUMIDUM ergo appellat, quia ipsa terra sub qua serpens latet est tumida, ex quo tumore simul serpentis magnitudo intelligitur," still less

to show by argument that Horace when he used the word "intumescit" in his sixteenth Epode neither had our author in his mind, nor meant to indicate either the magnitude or the tumescence of his vipers, but solely to express the intumescence of the ground with the brood it was about to produce, an intumescence similar to the intumescence of the womb in pregnancy.

LINGUIS MICAT ORE TRISULCIS.—I have not examined any MSS. respecting this passage. Even should the authority of them all be against it, I do not know whether we should not accept the conjecture of Voss, viz., ORA.

479-495.

IPSE—COMPLENT

All commentators and translators divide this narrative into two distinct parts, making a new paragraph begin at AT DOMUS INTERIOR, and considering the words

LIMINA PERRUMPIT, POSTESQUE A CARDINE VELLIT
AERATOS

as descriptive, not of the actual and successful bursting in of the doors, but merely of an attempt to burst them in, which attempt does not succeed until, verse 492,

LABAT ARIETE CREBRO
IANUA, ET EMOTI PROCUMBUNT CARDINE POSTES.

Heyne's words are: "A CARDINE VELLIT: movet, labefactat, e cardine ut amoveat annititur. Nunc enim adhuc de conatu agitur."

Now, this is not according to the usual method of Virgil, who never begins with a hint or shadow of what is about to happen, and then brings gradually forward the event, but on the contrary always places the event full before the eyes first,

then *επεξεργάζεται*, and explains by what means it has been brought about, and then, as it were in a peroration, recapitulates with a re-statement of the event, fuller and grander than at first. And such is the method he has adopted on the present occasion. Having given the brilliant picture of Pyrrhus and his comrades, which is contained in the verses *VESTIBULUM . . . IACTANT*, he informs us that Pyrrhus himself (*IPSE*) at the head of his comrades seizes an axe, bursts through (*PER-RUMPIT*) the doors, and forces the valves from the pivots. The event, *i. e.*, the complete and successful forcing of the door, is thus in as few words as possible laid before the eyes of the reader. But this could not be done in a moment—required successive steps, which the poet now sets about to describe particularly. First, with the axe Pyrrhus cuts a panel out of the door :

IAMQUE EXCISA TRABE FIRMA CAVAVIT
ROTORA, ET INGENTEM LATO DEDIT ORE FENESTRAM.

This is the first step, and is attended by consequences which are described before any mention is made of the second step; the consequences are :

- | | |
|------|---|
| (1). | APPARET DOMUS INTUS, ET ATRIA LONGA PATESCUNT; APPARENT PRIAMI ET VETERUM PENETRALIA REGUM; ARMATOSQUE VIDENT STANTES IN LIMINE PRIMO. |
| (2). | AT DOMUS INTERIOR GEMITU MISEROQUE TUMULTU MISCETUR, PENITUSQUE CAVAE PLANGORIBUS AEDES FEMINEIS ULULANT; FERIT AUREA SIDERA CLAMOR. TUM PAVIDAE TECTIS MATRES INGENTIBUS ERRANT, AMPLEXAEQUE TENENT POSTES, ATQUE OSCULA FIGUNT. |

The first step and its consequences described, the next step follows :

INSTAT VI PATRIA PYRRHUS; NEC CLAUSTRA—

viz., the *CLAUSTRA* in which he had already made the opening or window with the axe—

NEQUE IPSI
CUSTODES SUPFERRE VALENT: LABAT ARIETE CREBRO
IANUA, ET EMOTI PROCUMBUNT CARDINE POSTES

(*i. e.*, the battering ram is brought, and the doors levelled with the ground); and thus the reader is put in full possession of all

the particulars necessary to be gone through (and which were actually gone through) in the performance of the act described at verse 480, as already performed. This done (and the peroration or winding up made, in the words EMOTI PROCUMBUNT CARDINE POSTES, which it will be observed are only a stronger enunciation of the previously enounced fact, verse 480), our author proceeds with the description of the consequences of this fact :

FIT VIA VI: RUMPUNT ADITUS, PRIMOSQUE TRUCIDANT
IMMISSI DANAI, ET LATE LOCA MILITE COMPLENT

[*the whole body of Danai burst in, butcher all they meet, and fill the house with soldiers*].

Nothing can be more complete and vivid than this picture, nothing more in conformity with Virgil's usual method of painting; on the contrary, nothing more confused and ill-imagined, nothing less like Virgil's usual style of painting, than the picture divided into two by the break placed by commentators and translators at PRIMO, and the commencement of a new paragraph at AT DOMUS INTERIOR.

The editors have introduced inextricable confusion into this wonderfully clear and distinct painting by dividing it, as just remarked, in the very middle, viz., at AT DOMUS INTERIOR, into two independent parts, led into this fatal error, it would seem, by the word AT, understood by them to indicate the commencement of a new action, while, in fact, it does no more than contrast DOMUS INTERIOR . . . FIGUNT, with the immediately preceding APPARET . . . LIMINE PRIMO, both descriptions being interposed as one intercalation between LATO DEDIT ORE FENESTRAM and INSTAT VI PATRIA. See Remm. on 5. 704, 659; 6. 743, 880.

PYRRHUS. Compare the exactly corresponding "At domus interior," 1. 641, where *at* again serves, not to indicate the commencement of a new action, but to contrast or connect the description "domus interior . . . gentis" with "nec minus interea . . . dei"—two counterpart or matching pictures, inserted side by side between Aeneas's introduction into the palace, verses 635 and 636, and the embassy of Achates, verse 647.

Until the sign of a new paragraph is removed from AT, the whole passage from IPSE INTER PRIMOS to COMPLENT will remain, what it has always been up to the present day, a mass of confusion.

IAMQUE, following the two verbs in the present, and belonging to the two verbs in the perfect tense, is equivalent to, *and see how much he has done already.*

ARMATOS (verse 485), "those already mentioned, verses 449, 450," Conington. No, no. Those were *outside* the door where the combat was then going on: these are a reserve *inside*.

POSTES . . . CARDINE. The postes of the Romans were (as clearly appears from Luer. 3. 370 :

"praeterea si pro foribus sunt lumina nostra,
iam magis exemptis oculis debere videtur
cernere res animus, sublati postibus ipsis."

Ovid, *Met.* 8. 638 :

"submissoque humiles intrarunt vertice postes."

Stat. *Silv.* 1. 4. 44 :

"sic Ianus, clausoque libens se poste recepit"

[the door being closed, *i. e.*, having closed the door, retired)] the door itself, which, being always double, *i. e.*, having two valves meeting in the middle, was expressed by a noun plural. These valves were not fastened either to a door-case or to the wall of the house or building, but stood in the opening quite detached, and moved on pivots (*cardines*), one of which was inserted into the threshold, the other into the lintel. The word *postes* has passed into the Italian in the form of *imposte*: "*imposta, legname che serve a chiudere l'uscio*," Voc. Della Crusca.

LIMINA PERRUMPT.—While the singular *limen* is the *sill* properly so called, the plural *limina* in the general use made of the word is the *entrance*, whether considered, as in 1. 452, the mere opening, or as that opening filled up with the stop or impediment, the *fores*. It is necessarily in this latter sense the word is used in our text, it not being possible *perrumpere* any but a closed or stopped up passage. The same word is used in the same sense, verse 508, "*convulsa limina*," not the thresh-

hold, not the open entrance, but the closed entrance, the postes, the fores. Compare Coripp. *de Laud. Iustin.* 1. 68 :

“ et iam crebra manus veloci concita pulsu
limina quassabat ductis munita catenis.”

AERATOS.—Let the reader beware how he applies to *aeratus* either here or generally elsewhere the observation of Köne (*Sprache der Römischer Epiker*, p. 192) : “ aus erz sind die ‘ aeratae catenae ’ (Propert. 2. 16. 11), aus eisen die ‘ ferratos postes ’ Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 61 ; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 622), aber weder *aeneae* noch *ferreos* passte in den vers.” That the doors of Priam’s palace are described by our author not as consisting of bronze (*aereae*) but as plated or otherwise strengthened with bronze (*aeratae*, in the proper sense of the word), is sufficiently plain from the terms *trabs* and *ROBORA* (terms peculiarly applicable to wood) applied to the same doors, in the very next clause, as well as from the facility with which Pyrrhus hews the said doors to pieces with an axe ; also from the “ *auratas trabes* ” of the same palace only thirty lines previously, which can only be, *rafters of wood, gilt or ornamented with gold*. Compare 9. 463 : “ *aeratasque acies in praelia cogit* ” [not troops consisting of *aes*, but troops accoutred in *aes*] ; 10. 886 :

. . . “ ter secum Troius heros
immanem *aerato* circumfert tegmine silvam”

[not on his bronze shield, but on his shield plated or otherwise strengthened with bronze].

EXCISA TRABE.—“ Arbore, ut 9. 87, propinqua scilicet regiae, eaque pro ariete utitur ; cf. vs. 492,” Wagner (*Præst.*). No, no ; TRABE is not a neighbouring tree cut down by Pyrrhus in order to be used as a battering ram, but it is the wood (Germ. *holz*) of the door itself, which wood is hewed into a hole. Compare 6. 42 :

“ excisum Euboicæ latus ingens rupis in antrum,”

the side of the Euboean rock, not taken out in order to be used, but excavated, hollowed out ; and so in our text, the wood of the door excavated, hollowed out into a hole by cutting, the ab-

lative explaining the manner of the CAVAVIT, not the instrument with which the CAVAVIT was effected.

AT DOMUS INTERIOR.—AT contrasts the DOMUS INTERIOR (observe the comparative degree: *farther in*), and what is there happening, not with what is going on at or outside the door, *i. e.*, not with the bursting in of Pyrrhus and his comrades, but with the just-mentioned DOMUS INTUS (observe the positive degree: *just inside*), ATRIA LONGA, PENETRALIA REGUM, and ARMATOS STANTES IN LIMINE PRIMO. If a contrast between what was going on outside and the bursting open of the door had been intended, the word *interea* would have been added to AT DOMUS INTERIOR.

ATRIA LONGA . . . DOMUS INTERIOR . . . CAVAE AEDES.—The two main parts or divisions of which a Roman house consisted (for the plan is taken from a Roman, not a Grecian or Asiatic, house) are here indicated with great distinctness; the front part consisting mainly of the atrium, in the words ATRIA LONGA; the inner or back part, the cavaedium, in the words CAVAE AEDES. See Becker's *Gallus*, vol. 2. The double expression, INTERIOR DOMUS, CAVAE AEDES, reduced to plain prose, becomes the inner or back rooms, that is to say, those surrounding the cavaedium or inner court.

AEDES ULULANT.—Compare Soph. *Trachin.* 205 :

CHOR. ἀνολολυξάτω δῶμος ἐφεστίοις ἀλαλαγαῖς
ὁ μελλονυμφος.

Coripp. Johann. 6. 196 :

. . . “*ululatus* augent
ardua tecta sonos.”

Isaiah, 14. 31: “Howl, O gate; cry, O city.”

FERIT AUREA SIDERA CLAMOR.—SIDERA, not literally, *the stars*, but figuratively, *the sky*—the self-same phrase, “*ferit aurea clamor sidera*,” being used, 11. 832, on occasion of the death of Camilla, which occurred in the day time. From *sidera* used in this sense comes *sidereus*, so often used to signify *of such beauty as belongs only to the sky, heaven, or celestial objects*.

AUREA, no more to be taken literally than FERIT or SIDERA,

is neither of the colour of gold, nor of course of the material substance of gold, but beautifully bright and shining like gold; as handsome as gold. The application of the term in this sense to the stars, sky, and even to the moon, is of the commonest. Compare Hor. *Epod.* 17. 40 :

. . . "tu proba
perambulabis astra sidus aureum."

Aen. 3. 518:

"armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona."

Ovid, *Met.* 13. 587 :

"omnibus inferior, quas sustinet aureas aether,
.
diva tamen venio."

Georg. 1. 431: "vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe." Werner, *die Söhne des Thales*, th. 1, act 4, sc. 2:

. . . "wenn morgen sich die sterne
vergolden, Philipp, bin ich fern von dir."

H. Heine, *Neue Gedichte* :

"sterne mit den goldnen füsschen
wandeln droben bang und sacht,
dass sie nicht die erde wecken,
die da schläft im schoos der nacht."

Rückert, *die Weisheit des Brahmanen*, 17. 44:

"wozu sind all die stern' am himmel nur gemacht?
mit goldnem flitter wol zu schmücken unsre nacht."

ARIETE (verse 492).—"Nolim accipere proprie, quippe quod inventum Troianis temporibus serius est," Heyne. To be sure, and the picture presented by the interpretation of Wagner, who will have the "aries" to be a neighbouring tree cut down for the purpose (TRABE EXCISA, verse 481) is mere caricature. ARIETE CREBRO, frequently repeated push, like that of a battering ram. Compare Sil. 11. 889 :

. . . "immissis pars caeca et concita frenis
arietat in portas et duros obice postes"

[batters at the gates]. The first qualification for a commenta-

tor of Virgil is not a knowledge of Buttman's *Lexilogus*, but a knowledge of the difference between prose and poetry, between literal and figurative, between body and soul. It is easier for flesh and blood to inherit the kingdom of God, than for a matter-of-fact expositor to enter into the meaning of Virgil.

FIT VIA VI.—Spoken not of Pyrrhus, but of the whole body of Danaï, who now RUMPUNT ADITUS, &c.

· 496-517.

NON SIC—SEDEBANT

NON SIC . . . ARMENTA TRAHIT.—Compare 1 *Chron.* 14. 11: "Then David said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand, like the breaking forth of waters." Schiller, *Braut von Messina* :

“ jene gewaltigen wetterbüche,
aus des hagels unendlichen schlossen,
aus den wolkenbrüchen zusammengeflossen,
kommen finster gerauscht und geschossen
reissen die brücken und reissen die dämme
donnernd mit fort im wogengeschwemme,
nichts ist, das die gewaltigen hemme.”

VIDI HECUBAM CENTUMQUE NURUS.—“Quinquaginta erant filiorum uxores s. nurus, ad quas accedunt totidem filiae,” Wagner (*Praest.*). No pupil in the Kreutzschule could have calculated more exactly, or been more sure that if our author had had the good fortune to have one hundred and one tongues and one hundred and one voices, he would have been able to effect what he could not effect (*Georg.* 2. 42) with no more than one hundred tongues and one hundred voices. Servius, less arithmetical but more poetical than our modern commentators, amongst several guesses, hits by chance on the true meaning:

“finitus est numerus pro infinito.” The hundred-handed Briareus, the hundred-gated city of Thebes, and the hundred-citied island of Crete are, as well as the still more famous hecatomb, examples of the same use of *εκατον* and *centum*. Almost any number from three upwards, especially ten, twenty, fifty, five hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a million, may be, and is frequently, used in the same manner.

PROCUBUERE (verse 505).—Observe the effect of the emphatic position of this word at the beginning of the verse, and separated from the sequel by a complete and sudden pause. Compare “incidit,” verse 467; and see Rem. on 2. 246.

CONVULSAQUE VIDIT LIMINA TECTORUM.—CONVULSA, *broken violently open, burst open, torn down, torn off the hinges*. Compare Plaut. *Amph.* 4, suppos. (Gronov.):

“quis tam vasto impete has fores toto *convulsit* cardine?”

Plin. *Epist.* 7. 19: “ac mihi domus ipsa nutare, *convulsaque* sedibus suis ruitura supra videtur.”

ARMA DIU, &c., . . . CINGITUR (verses 509-511). Compare Metast. *Regolo*, sc. ult. (Regolo, of himself):

. . . “Roma rammente
che il suo padre è mortal; che al fin vacilla
anch' ei sotto l'acciar.”

AXE (verse 512). See Rem. on 6. 791.

LAURUS.—It is not accidentally or indifferently that our author places the laurel (“*laurus nobilis*”) not only here in the court of Priam's palace, but (7. 59) in the court of Latinus's palace also, for we read (Plin. *II. N.* 15. 30, Sillig's ed.): “*Laurus triumphis proprie dicatur; vel gratissima domibus ianitrix Caesarum pontificumque; sola et domos exornat et ante limina excubat.*” Compare Dion Cass. 53. 16: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ τε [ἐλαβε] Αὐγουστὸς τὰς δαφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ προτιθεσθαι*. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 74:

“stabat præterea luco dilectior omni
laurus, virgineos quondam quæ fronde pudica
umbrabat thalamos.”

PENATES.—“*Aram Penatium*,” Heyne, following Servius.

No, but *the house, the dwelling*; because in a passage which may be assumed to be an adumbration of that before us, Martial (9. 61, ed. Schneid.) describes Caesar's *platanus* at Corduba as embracing not merely the "Penates," but "*totos Penates*," which can mean nothing else than the *whole house*:

" in Tartessiacis domus est notissima terris,
qua dives placidum Corduba Baetis amat,
vellera nativo pallent ubi flava metallo,
et linit Hesperium bractea viva pecus;
aëdibus in mediis *totos* amplexa *Penates*
stat *platanus* densis Caesariana comis,
hospitis invicti posuit quam dextera felix,
coeptit et ex illa crescere virga manu."

Compare Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 2, where the equestrian statue of Domitian is described as "*Latium complexa forum*;" also, Stat. *Silv.* 1. 3. 59, and 2. 3. 1; and especially Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 74:

" stabat praeterea lucco dilectior omni
laurus, virgineos quondam quae fronde pudica
umbrabat thalamos."

The passage being thus understood (1), a tenderness of sentiment is obtained not unlike that of Statius's *Silv.* 3. 5. 58:

. . . " non sic Philomela *Penates*
circuit amplexens,"

a tenderness wholly foreign to the picture of the laurel embracing the images with its shadow; (2), Virgil's account is made to tally better with the generally received tradition, that Priam was slain at the altar of Jupiter Herceus (Ovid, *Ibis*, 285:

. . . " ut illi,
cui nihil *Hercei* profuit *ara Iovis*");

and (3), the poet is no longer liable to the reproach that only three lines later he describes the daughters of Priam as embracing with their arms (AMPLEXAE) the self-same object which he here describes the laurel as embracing with its shadow (UMBRA COMPLEXA).

HIC HECUBA . . . SEDEBANT (vv. 515-517). Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* (part 1, act 5, sc. 1, *Tamburlaine* to the

virgins who come forward with laurel boughs and prayers for mercy) :

“ what, are the turtles frayed out of their nests?
 alas! poor fools, must you be first shall feel
 the sworn destruction of Damascus?”

Aesch. *Suppl.* 223 (Danaus desiring his daughters to take refuge at the altar) :

. . . εν αγνω δ' εσμος ως πελειαδων
 ιζεσθε, κικων των ομοπτερων φοβω,
 εχθρων ομαιμων και μαινοντων γενοσ.

DIVUM AMPLEXAE SIMULACRA SEDEBANT. Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 3. 61: “Liberum patrem, bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum, quae aram insederant, ignovisse”; Thuc. 3. 28; Dem. *de Corona*, 31; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 2.

519-523.

QUAE MENS TAM DIRA MISERRIME CONIUX
 IMPULIT HIS CINGI TELIS AUT QUO RUIS INQUIT
 NON TALI AUXILIO NEC DEFENSORIBUS ISTIS
 TEMPUS EGET NON SI IPSE MEUS NUNC AFFORET HECTOR
 HUC TANDEM CONCEDE HAEC ARA TUEBITUR OMNES

DEFENSORIBUS ISTIS.—“Durch den plur., obwohl von *einer* person zu verstehen, wird der begriff fein verallgemeinert, um einer härte, die man sagt, hiedurch das verletzende zu nehmen. ISTIS als pronom. der 2 person, *talibus qualis tu es*,” Thiel, Gossrau, Forbiger (2nd ed., 1837), and (in a personal disputation I had with him on the subject in the year 1847: see Preface to “Twelve Years’ Voyage”) Wagner. Nothing can be farther from the meaning. The “defensores” of which Hecuba speaks, and which she says are not the defensores required by the necessity of the occasion, are not Priam—Priam being but one person could hardly be “defensores”—but the weapons wielded

by Priam, the weapons which it alarms Hecuba to see Priam wield; and the picture with which we are presented in the person of Priam is not that of an old man too weak to defend with arms a cause which might have been successfully so defended by a younger and stronger man, but that of a weak old man who takes up arms in a cause in which arms, even although wielded by the youngest and strongest hands, are wholly incapable of affording help or defence—

NON TALI AUXILIO NEC DEFENSORIBUS ISTIS

TEMPUS EGRET, NON SI IPSE MEUS NUNC AFFORET HECTOR—

and there is no resource left but the altar :

HUC TANDEM CONCEDE ; HAEC ARA TUEBITUR OMNES.

The identical sentiment is repeated in the very next book, verse 260 :

. . . “ nec iam amplius armis,
sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem.”

Compare Aesch. *Suppl.* 203 (ed. Schütz) :

αμεινον εστι παντος εινεκ', ω κοραι,
παγον προσιζειν τωνδ' αγωνιων θεων.
κρεισσαν δε πυργου βωμος αρρηκτον σακος.

Heliodor. 8 : *Ευχαις, αυκ αιτιαις, εξιλεουται το κρειπτον.* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 200 (ed. Müller) :

“ non haec apta mihi nitidis ornatibus,” inquit,
“ tempora, nec miserae placeant insignia formae
te sine ; sat dubium coetu solante timorem
fallere, et incultos aris adverrere crines.”

Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 37 :

“ non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.
nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuvenco
praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentes.”

Ibid. 12. 156 :

“ non lacrymis hoc tempus,” ait Saturnia Iuno ;
“ accelera, et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti.”

Shakespeare, *Coriol.* 1. 2 :

. . . “ for the dearth,
the gods not the patricians make it ; and
your knees to them, not arms, must help.”

Milton, *Comus*, 611 :

“ but here thy sword can do thee little stead ;
for other arms and other weapons must
be those that quell the might of hellish charms.”

And for the precisely opposite picture, compare Ovid, *Met.* 6. 610
(of Procne) :

. . . “ fletumque sororis
corripuens, ‘ non est lacrymis hic,’ inquit, ‘ agendum,
sed ferro ; sed si quid habes, quod vincere ferrum
possit.’ ”

Also, not very dissimilar, Claud. *in 2 Cons. Stilich.* 268 :

. . . “ non spicula poscit
isto labor ; maneat clausis nunc sicca pharetris.”

Also Lucan, 7. 87 (Pompey, of himself) :

. . . “ si milite Magno,
non duce, tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor.”

Herodian, 1. 8 : ου πανηγυριζειν σοι καιρος, εφη, Κορμμοδε νυν,
ουδε θεαις και εορταις σχολαζειν· επικειται γαρ σου τοις αυχαισι
το του Περεννιου ξιφος.

DEFENSORIBUS. The following are examples of the application of defensor to objects devoid of personality. In two of them, the objects to which the term is applied are actually, as in our text, arms. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4. 17 : “ Sublicae ad inferiorem partem fluminis obliquae adigebantur ; quae, pro pariete subiectae, et cum omni opere coniunctae, vim fluminis exciperent : et alia [*quae* aliae?] item supra pontem mediocri spatio : ut, si arborum trunci, sive naves, deliiciendi operis causa, essent a barbaris missae, *his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur.*” Claudian, *in Rufin.* 1. 79 :

. . . “ haec [viz. Megaera] terruit Herculis ora,
et defensores terrarum polluit arcus.”

Ischanus, *de bello Troiano*, 6. 156 :

. . . “ sed tot taedas, tot tela, secundus
sustinet Aeacides, et defensore laborat
iam fessus clypeo.”

Serenus Samonicus (ap. Burm. *Poet. Lat. Minor.*), 192 :

“ summa boni est alacres homini contingere visus,
quos quasi custodes *defensoresque* pericli
prospiciens summa natura locavit in arce.”

By the same figure by which (1) Hecuba calls the arms wielded by Priam; (2), Caesar, the sublicae of a bridge; (3), Claudian, the bow of Hercules; (4), Iscanus, a shield; and (5), Serenus, the eyes, *defensores, defenders*; Ajax calls the sword which he has set upright in the ground, in order to throw himself upon it, *σφαγεύς, executioner* (Soph. *Aj.* 815):

ο μὲν σφαγεύς ἐστήκεν, ἡ τομώτατος
γενοίτ' αὖ,

and we call the piece of furniture which defends the floors of our rooms against the fires of our grates *fender*, i. e. *defender, defensor*.

ISTIS.—“*Talibus qualis tu es,*” Thiel. The reference is as I have just shown not to Priam but to Priam’s arms, and ISTIS is not contemptuous but simply demonstrative: *those arms*, exactly as Cic. *de Rep.* 1. 37: “‘sed si vis, Laeli, dabo tibi testes nec nimis antiquos nec ullo modo barbaros.’ L. ‘*Istos,*’ inquit, ‘*volo*’” [*those are precisely what I want*].

QUÆ MENS, &c. . . . AUT QUO RUIS? By a division of the compound question *quo ruis* his *telis* into its two components, *quo ruis* and *quorsum hæc tela*, our author has secured on the one hand that free sailing room for his verse, that unconfined space for dactyl and spondee, for which we have already observed him to be always so solicitous; and on the other hand, sufficient place for ornament, without either loading, embarrassing, or complicating the structure. Had he been more studious of brevity and less of ease and grace and ornament, of the fine flow of his verse and the richness of the thought which it expressed, he had contented himself with the single compound question: *quo ruis diris* his *cinctus telis*? or *quo ruis* his *cinctus telis*? or even with the bare bald *quo ruis* his *telis*? and Virgil had been an heroic Persius. Less studious of brevity and more of ornamental richness and easy flowing verse, he had perhaps divided the compound question into three—*whither art thou rushing? why these arms? what dreadful thought has taken possession of thy mind?*—had ornamented not merely one of the three divisions, but the whole three, and Virgil had been an epic Ovid. Divid-

ing, and not too much dividing, the question—into two, not three—our author has obtained sufficient, not too much, space both for ease of numbers and ornament of thought, and is neither Persius nor Ovid, but Virgil—

. . . “anima, qualem neque candidiorem
terra tulit; neque cui me sit devinctior alter.”

The very next following verse is constructed in a similar manner: NON TALI AUXILIO [*tempus eget*] being one, and NEC DEFENSORIBUS ISTIS TEMPUS EGET the other, of two limbs into which, for the sake no less of ornament and variety than of ease of composition, the pregnant thought, *no use in arms now*, is divided.

AUXILIO. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 12. 88 (Cycnus to Achilles, explaining that he was invulnerable, not by means of his arms, but by means of his skin):

. . . “non hæc, quam cernis, equinis
fulva iubis cassis, neque onus cava parma sinistrae
auxilio mihi sunt; decor est quæsitus ab istis.
Mars quoque ob hoc capere arma solet. Removebitur omne
tegminis officium; tamen indestrictus abibo,”

words which—if you alter “cernis” into cerno, and “mihi sunt” into tibi erunt, in order to suit the person⁴ of the speaker—become almost the very words of Virgil. Compare also Lucan, 4. 615:

“ille [Antæus], parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
auxilium membris calidas infundit arenas”

[the help of the hot sand]. *Ibid.* 268:

. . . “miles, non utile clausis
auxilium, mactavit equos;”

and Quint. Curt. 3. 11 (ed. Bipont.): “*Arma* iacentes quæ paullo ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserant; adeo pavor etiam *auxilia* formidabat.” *Aen.* 12. 378: “*auxilium* ducto mucrone” [the help of his drawn sword]. Also *Aen.* 8. 376:

“non ullum *auxilium* miseris, non arma rogavi
artis opisque tuæ,”

where “auxilium” is the help afforded by the “arma” of the same line, exactly as in our text AUXILIO is the help afforded by the “defensores” (= arma) of the same line.

I crave the pardon of our parliamentary orators for an explanation which shows in what utter ignorance of its true meaning this passage is quoted vituperatively; also the pardon of my readers in general for having here repeated at full length the proofs of an interpretation which—first put forward by me five-and-twenty years ago in my translation of the first two books of the *Aeneid*, and twice since then, viz., in my “*Twelve Years’ Voyage*” and in my “*Adversaria Virgiliana*”—has been received by Forbiger in his third edition, by Wagner in his edition of 1861, and generally by Virgilian editors both at home and abroad as the undoubted meaning. If in the beginning of this comment I have quoted the opinions of Virgilian editors antecedent to my publications on the subject, it is only in order that my reader may be enabled to fill up for himself the *lacuna* left by some editors, and notably by Wagner in his edition of 1861, respecting the source from which their new information has been derived—a precaution which, I am bound to say, it would have been wholly unnecessary for me to take either in this or any other instance if the publishers of editions of Virgil subsequent to my entrance into the lists had generally behaved towards me as honestly and honourably as Forbiger in Germany and Conington in England.

HAEC ARA, viz., Iovis Hercei; see Ovid, *Ibis*, 285:

“ nec tibi subsidio sit praesens numen; ut illi,
cui nihil Hercei profuit ara Iovis.”

Id. *Met.* 13. 409:

“ exiguumque senis Priami Iovis ara cruorem
combiberat.”

Ennius, *Andromache* (ed. Hessel.):

“ haec omnia vidi inflammari,
Priamo vei vitam evitari,
Iovis aram sanguine turpari.”

526-532.

ECCE AUTEM ELAPSUS PYRRHI DE CAEDE POLITES
 UNUS NATORUM PRIAMI PER TELA PER HOSTES
 PORTICIBUS LONGIS FUGIT ET VACUA ATRIA LUSTRAT
 SAUCIUS ILLUM ARDENS INFESTO VULNERE PYRRHUS
 INSEQUITUR IAM IAMQUE MANU TENET ET PREMIT HASTA
 UT TANDEM ANTE OCULOS EVASIT ET ORA PARENTUM
 CONCIDIT AC MULTO VITAM CUM SANGUINE FUDIT

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] TENET • ET PREMIT HASTA ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.;
 N. Heins (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakefield; Wagner (ed. Heyn.)

[*punct.*] TENET ET PREMIT HASTA ■■■ Wagner (1861); Ladewig; Ribbeck.

ELAPSUS . . . FUGIT . . . LUSTRAT. The running is suitable for Polites, he being swift of foot, Hom. *Il.* 2. 792: *πωδωκειησι πεποιθως*.

UT TANDEM (vs. 531) takes up the narrative dropped at SAUCIUS, and informs us that Polites—already presented to us as wounded, and fleeing from Pyrrhus (PYRRHI DE CAEDE ELAPSUS, SAUCIUS)—continues his flight until he reaches his parents' presence, and, there arrived, drops down dead. Nothing can be plainer than the connexion:

ECCE AUTEM ELAPSUS PYRRHI DE CAEDE POLITES,
 UNUS NATORUM PRIAMI, PER TELA, PER HOSTES,
 PORTICIBUS LONGIS FUGIT, ET VACUA ATRIA LUSTRAT
 SAUCIUS.
 UT TANDEM ANTE OCULOS EVASIT ET ORA PARENTUM
 CONCIDIT, AC MULTO VITAM CUM SANGUINE FUDIT.

The picture, so far as Polites is concerned, is as simple and at the same time as clear and distinct, as any picture can possibly be. Words cannot describe more plainly. But there is another actor on the stage, whose action—although synchronous with that of Polites, yet being a distinct and different action—cannot

be described synchronously, but must in description either precede, or follow, or be introduced in the middle. Being that of Polites' pursuer, it can neither precede nor follow; preceding, it would be unintelligible, impossible; following, it would be too late, the interest would be over. It is therefore placed in the middle, and the narrator suddenly leaves the one actor in the midst of his action, takes up and follows to the end the action of the second, and then returning to the action of the first proceeds with it also to the end, to that point where the two actions which had all along been synchronous terminate together. This is entirely according to our author's usual manner, for an example of which see the account of the storming of Priam's palace given in the same manner, the synchronous actions of besiegers and besieged being, by means of intermixture, *i. e.*, by means of rapid transition from one party to the other, carried on as much as possible together. There as here, readers, misled by the rapidity of transition, have fallen into the mistake of connecting together as parts or consequences of one action things which were parts or consequences of another. It is by such mistake arising from such cause that in our text UT TANDEM . . . CONCIDIT has been connected with PREMIT HASTA, and Polites supposed to die not in consequence of his original wound, the wound of which when he first came into view he was already SAUCIUS, but in consequence of a new wound inflicted on him at the end of the chase, and imagined to be found described in PREMIT HASTA—"PREMIT HASTA, durchbort ihn mit der lanze. CONCIDIT, in folge der neuen, ihm jetzt beigebrachten, wunde," Ladewig.

ILLUM ARDENS INFESTO VULNERE PYRRHUS INSEQUITUR, IAM IAMQUE MANU TENET ET PREMIT HASTA. **Not**, as represented by Heyne's punctuation as well as by Wagner's in his edition of Heyne, ILLUM ARDENS INFESTO VULNERE PYRRHUS INSEQUITUR, IAM IAMQUE MANU TENET, ET PREMIT HASTA, *i. e.*, not three co-ordinate sentences, **but** ILLUM ARDENS INFESTO VULNERE PYRRHUS INSEQUITUR, IAM IAMQUE MANU TENET ET PREMIT HASTA, *i. e.*, two co-ordinate sentences, TENET and PREMIT being connected into one single sentence by ET, and both equally operated on

by IAM IAMQUE; in other words, INSEQUITUR alone signifying what Pyrrhus does, while TENET and PREMIT signify what he is just on the point of doing, but does not do.

The sentence being thus analysed, we perceive, (1), the true force of UT TANDEM, viz., that those words refer not to any (impossible) continuation of the flight of Polites after he had been “pressus hasta,” but to the continuation of the flight of Polites SAUCIUS with his first wound—a flight continued from the PORTICIBUS LONGIS and VACUA ATRIA to the very spot where his parents are sitting, viz., in the court-yard at the altar of Jupiter Herceus; (2), why there is in the account of the death of Polites in verse 532 none, not even the slightest reference to the mode in which he had been, as alleged, “pressus hasta,” “durchbort mit der lanze,” but the description is limited to the mere statement that he fell, fell of a heap as we say, or altogether (CONCIDIT), and expired with a great loss of blood, the reason for such omission being that best of all reasons, that he had not been “pressus hasta” at all, but died of the effusion of blood which was the consequence of his previous wound, a wound not described because inflicted before he came on the stage; and (3), we perceive with what propriety Priam inveighs against Pyrrhus, not—as he should inveigh if Polites had been “pressus hasta” in his presence—for killing his son before his eyes, but, as well pointed out to me by my daughter, for making him see the death of his son —

QUI NATI CORAM ME CERNERE LETUM
FECISTI, ET PATRIOS FOEDASTI FUNERE VULTUS—

as if he had said: “who, not content with killing my son, with inflicting a mortal wound on my son, drovest him into my very presence to die”; Priam, in conformity with the never enough to be admired sentiment of antiquity, meeting with fortitude and equanimity the calamity of his son’s death as the *sors belli*, the will of heaven, the decree of fate, but rebelling and revolting against the barbarity which made him a witness of it.

IAM IAMQUE MANU TENET ET PREMIT HASTA.—Not *is every moment on the point of holding him in his hand and (actually) spears him*, but, IAM IAMQUE belonging no less to PREMIT than to HASTA,

is every moment on the point of holding him in his hand and spearing him. Compare 12. 753, where “iam iamque tenet” is explained by “similisque tenenti increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est;” and Ovid, *Met.* 1. 533 (of Daphne pursued by Apollo):

“ ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
vidit, et hic prædam pedibus petit, ille salutem.
alter inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere
sperat, et extento stringit vestigia rostro:
alter in ambiguo est, an sit depensus, et ipsi
morsibus eripitur, tangentiæque ora relinquit.”

Iam iamque marks the succession of time, a thing which cannot be represented in a picture or statue. See Rem. on 2. 213. To represent the successive times of a narrative, as many pictures would be necessary as there are times in the narrative, as many statues as the number of times in the narrative multiplied, say by the mean number of the objects and actors at all the different times. Supposing the actors and objects to be represented as of no more than some small fractional part—say one-hundredth, or one five-hundredth, or one-thousandth part—of their apparent natural size, the entire surface of our planet cleared of everything now upon it would not afford sufficient space for the exhibition of those represented in the single pocket volume of the *Æneid* or *Iliad*.

EVASIT, *came the whole way*, viz., the whole way just described (PER TEIA, PER HOSTES, PORTICIBUS LONGIS FUGIT, ET VACUA ATRIA LUSTRAT), into the very presence of his parents. See Rem. on 2. 458.

CONCIDIT, *falls down all at once and (as we say) of a heap*. The word differs from procumbit, which is to lie stretched at full length. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 763:

. . . “ ante aras ingens ubi victima taurus
concidit, abrupta cruro e cervice profusus.”

Ibid., 401:

“ concidit Ancaeus; glomerataque sanguine multo,” &c.

VACUA.—Heyne is right; *deserted*, where there was no one

else but himself. Compare Tacit. *Ann.* 11. 21: "*Vacuis per medium diei porticibus.*"

SAUCIUS, the emphatic word of the whole long sentence ECCE . . . SAUCIUS (see Rem. on 2. 246), is not merely *wounded*, but *desperately wounded and hors de combat*. Compare Cic. in *Verr.* act. 2, lib. 1. 26: "Servi nonnulli vulnerantur; ipse Rubrius in turba sauciatur." Vavassor, *de Vi et Usu*, etc.: "Saucius: *vulneratus*; prius apud Graecos τραυματίας, posterius τετραμενος . . . Proprie efferri saucios ex acie, non vulneratos historici dicere solent, qui melius quam ceteri Latine loquuntur." The same word is placed in the same effective position by Sil. 6. 66 (of Serranus):

. . . "miseramque parentem,
et dulces tristi repetebat sorte penates,
saucius. haud illi comitum super ullus," &c.

533-537.

HIC PRIAMUS QUAMQUAM IN MEDIA IAM MORTE TENETUR
NON TAMEN ABSTINUIT NEC VOCI IRAEQUE PEPERCIT
AT TIBI PRO SCELERE EXCLAMAT PRO TALIBUS AUSIS
DI SI QUA EST CAELO PIETAS QUAE TALIA CURET
PERSOLVANT GRATES DIGNAS

MEDIA IAM MORTE.—To be *in media morte* is to be in imminent danger of death; to have death as it were on every side round you, but not yet actually touching you. The expression is used indifferently of those who are so sick or so severely hurt or wounded as to be likely soon to die, *i. e.*, of those in whom a process which is to end in death has already begun, and of those with respect to whom the process which is to end in death has not actually begun, is only threatening and imminent. Accordingly the expression is applied, **firstly**, by Statius, (*a*), (*Theb.*

8. 728) to Tydeus, mortally wounded yet possessing strength enough to call for and gnaw the head of Melanippus :

“ tunc tristes socii cupidum bellare (quis ardor !)
et poscentem hastas, *mediaque in morte* negantem
expirare, trahunt, summique in margine campi
effultum, gemina latera inclinantia parma
ponunt, ac saevi rediturum ad praelia Martis
promittunt flentes :”

(b), (*Theb.* 8. 187) to Amphiaraus, still terrible although already half swallowed up by the yawning earth :

. . . “ tunc etiam *media de morte* timendum
hostibus, infestaque abeuntem vidimus hasta ;”

and (c), (*Silv.* 2. 5. 17) to a lion conquered and dying, but still able to fight :

. . . “ mansere animi, virtusque cadenti
a *media iam morte* redit :”

and on the other hand it is applied, **secondly**, by Cicero in *Verrem*, lib. 5 (ed. Lamb. p. 190, 4) to malefactors tied to the stake, but still sound and unhurt, and afterwards liberated : “ Hos ad supplicium iam more maiorum traditos, et ad palum alligatos, ex *media morte* eripere ac liberare ausus es,” where the meaning, if doubtful, would be placed beyond doubt by the exactly similar use of *medius* only a few lines later : “ ut homines servos, ut ipse qui iudicaret, ut statim e *medio* supplicio dimiserit.” Our author’s use of the term corresponds not with Statius’s but Cicero’s ; Priam is described as *MEDIA IN MORTE*, not because really and truly in the middle of death, or half dead, but because, although as yet unhurt, yet in such imminent and pressing danger as to be *as it were* in the middle of death. It is, no doubt, in the same sense the expression is used by Valerius Flaccus (3. 326), where Clyte, complaining that she had not had the satisfaction of being present when Jason killed Cyzicus, says :

“ ast ego non *media* te saltem, Cyzice, vidi
tendentem mihi *morte* manus ;”

meaning not the very moment in which he actually received the death wound, but that immediately preceding moment when the

danger was so imminent and urgent as to cause him to stretch out his hands imploring help. The difficulty which the commentators laboured under was their old one, that of taking their author's words literally and prosaically instead of figuratively and poetically. They could not for the life of them see how Priam was in death at all, either in the beginning, middle, or end of it ("prima, media, postrema," Servius); all they saw was that he was in manifest and immediate danger of death, and hence Servius's "manifesta," and Heyne's and Wagner's (*Virg. Br. En.*) "praesenti mortis periculo"—Virgil's meaning all the while being, not that he was in manifest and immediate danger, but that, so manifest and immediate was his danger that he was (poetically, of course, not historically and in point of fact) in the very middle of death; that death, again, **not** being the death of his son, as Servius to relieve himself out of his embarrassment is fain to understand it (for his being in the middle of Polites' death, *i. e.*, surrounded by the bloody tragedy of his son's death, had rather been a reason for his not sparing, than for his sparing, his wrathful words: NEC VOCI IRAEQUE PEPERCIT), **but** his own death: as if Virgil had said that Priam, although so near to and sure of death as scarcely to belong any longer to the living (his deadly enemy approaching him with the bloody sword in his hand with which he has just slain his son), yet did not hesitate to do that which would soon put his belonging to the living out of question, viz., exasperate his enemy.

In the very sense in which Virgil here uses the expression *media mors*, Livy (8. 24) uses the expression "*media fata*:" "*ut ferme fugiendo in media fata ruitur*;" Statius, the expression *medii Manes* (*Theb.* 2. 697, ed. Müller—Tydeus addressing the sole survivor of the fifty of which the ambuscade had consisted):

"quisquis es Aonidum, quem crastina munere nostro
Manibus exemptum mediis Aurora videbit;"

Catullus, the expression *medius turbo leti* (*Epith. Pel. et Thet.* 149):

"certe ego te in *medio* versantem *turbine leti*
eripui;"

and Ammian (31. 13), the similar but much weaker expression, "Inter ipsa mortis confinia."

Extrema mors has the same relation to media mors as extrema to media, therefore expresses a greatly increased, much more imminent urgency either of death or of danger of death (as, 2. 446:

. . . "his se quando ultima cernunt,
extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis,"

with which compare Ammian. 16. 12: "Formidabilis manus, extremæ necessitatis articulo circumventos, si iuvisset fors, ereptura")—nay, sometimes even death completed, as 11. 845 (Opis apostrophizing dead Camilla):

"non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit
extrema iam in morte; neque hoc sine nomine letum
per gentes erit, aut famam patieris inultae.
nam quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus
morte luet merita."

TENETUR, is held (*caught*), viz., as in a net, or other surrounding medium, out of which there is no possibility of flight or escape.

IN MEDIA . . . TENETUR. Compare Cic. *ad Att.* 11. 18: "Tenemur undique, neque iam quo minus serviamus recusamus," where the "undique" of Cicero corresponds to the MEDIA of our text; Aristoph. *Ranae*, 469: ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐχει μέσος ("sed nunc medius teneris").

AT (vs. 535).—"Hoc loco est cum indignatione imprecantis; Terent. *Heeyr.* 1. 2. 59: 'At te dii deaeque perdant cum tuo istoc odio,'" Wagn. (1861). Neither in our text nor in the Terentian parallel is there more indignation or imprecation contained in the "at" than there is in the TIBI or the "te." The imprecation is in the whole sentence and context; the "at," as *at*, is indifferent, takes its colour from the context and is joined with simple praying, blessing, and cursing, all alike. Its use seems to be on all occasions to connect the subsequent with the preceding, whether that preceding has been actually expressed, as Tibull. 1. 73:

"at tu casta, precor, maneat; sanctique pudoris
assideat custos sedula semper anus;"

or is merely supposed to have passed through the mind of the speaker, as in our text, and Eurip. *Med.* 759 (ed. Fix) where the chorus, who like Priam in our text has not previously said a word, begins her prayer of good wishes or blessing with *αλλα* :

αλλα σ' ο Μαιας πομπαιος αναξ
πελασειε δομοις, ων τ' επινοιαν
σπευδεις κατεχων πραξειας, επει
γενναιος ανηρ,
Αιγευ, παρ' εμοι δεδοκησαι.

SI QUA EST CAELO PIETAS.—Compare Shakesp. *Cymbeline*,
4. 6 :

. . . “but if there be
yet left in heaven as small a drop of pity
as a wren's eye, O gods, a part of it!”

Id. *Rom. and Jul.* 3. 5 :

“is there no pity sitting in the clouds
that sees into the bottom of my grief!”

There needs no further proof than this single passage, how entirely different the pietas of the Romans was from our *piety*, how totally opposite “pius Aeneas” to “pious Aencas.” PIETAS here is precisely our *pity*, and the whole expression exists in Italian at the present day, as Goldoni, *Zelinda e Lindoro*, 3. 9 : “Numi, assistetemi per pietà.” See Remm. on 1. 14 and 607.

540-553.

AT—ENSEM

VAR. LECT.

ET ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); Ven. 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.

EX ■■■ Wakefield, *ex conj.*

EC ■■■ Ribbeck.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

The connection of thought indicated by AT is: "Thou hast acted so, *but* Achilles acted differently; thou art worse than Achilles."

CORPUSQUE, &c., . . . REMISIT.—Compare Apollon. Rhod. 2. 966 :

ενθα ποτε προμολουσαν Αρητιαδα Μελανιπην
 ηρως Ηρακληης ελοχησατο, και οι αποινα
 Ιππολυτη ζωστηρα παναιολον εγγυαλιξεν
 αμφι κασιγνητης· ο δ' απημονα πεμψεν οπισσω.

ERUBUIT, *blushed, was ashamed, was not αναιδης*. There is, perhaps, allusion to the βωμος αναιδειας on which the prosecutor stood in the Athenian court of justice, Zenob. Proverb. 4. 36 : φησι Θεοφραστος εν τω περι Νομων Υβρεως και Αναιδειας παρα τοις Αθηναιοις ειναι βωμους. See Forchhammer, *Ind. Schol.* Kiel, 1843-4: "λιθος αναιδειας non est impudentiae lapis, sed implacabilitatis sive negatae veniae—qui vero accuset, is iam se nolle ostendit veniam dare, atque vel eam ob causam debet ex αναιδειας lapide perorare."*

IN MEA REGNA.—I think, not *into my kingdom*, in the literal sense, but in that secondary sense in which the same words might have been used by a private person. In the literal sense they had ill become the position in which Priam was at the time referred to. Compare *Ecl.* 1. 67 :

"en, unquam patrios longo post tempore fines,
 pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen,
 post aliquot, *mea regna* videns, mirabor aristas?"

Georg. 3. 476 :

. . . "vidcat desertaque *regna*
 pastorum et longe saltus lateque vacantes."

And Lucan, 9. 458 :

"*regna* videt pauper Nasamon errantia vento."

I believe, indeed, the precise words *mea regna* are never used in any other than this secondary sense.

* The above from "Zenob." to the end is quoted from "Cambridge Journal of Philology," No. 2, p. 3 and p. 21, which whole passage is to be compared, as well as Pausan. 1. 28. 5, referred to, *ibid.*, p. 21.

CONIECIT, *threw with all his might* (see Rem. on “contorsit,” 2. 52), but which nevertheless, his might being so little, did not tell, had no effect, did no damage, SINE ICTU.

RAUCO.—The ordinary adjunct. Compare Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 433.

. . . “an Mauri fremitum *raucosque* repulsus
umbonum, et vestros passuri cominus enses?”

The addition of this word is for the purpose of showing the utmost effect of the stroke, viz., to make the shield ring.

PROTENUS AERE REPULSUM, ET SUMMO CLIPEI UMBONE PENDIT.—Not having been thrown with sufficient force to penetrate the brazen plate of the shield, the spear stuck in the outer coat (viz., in the leather), and not having sufficient support there to stand erect or perpendicular to the plane of the shield, drooped or hung down so as to form an acute angle with the plane of the shield below, and an obtuse angle above. That this is precisely the picture which our author wishes to present is declared by Silius’s imitation (10. 115):

“haesit multiplici non alte cuspis in auro,
ac senium invalido dependens prodidit ictu.”

SUMMO CLIPEI UMBONE.—Very precise: not merely in the shield, but in the boss or prominent central part of the shield (UMBONE); and not merely in the boss, but in the very top or most projecting part of the boss. There were two reasons, therefore, why the spear did not penetrate; first, because it was thrown without force (IMBELLE), and secondly, because it struck the very strongest part of the shield. Spears which penetrate the shield so as to wound are always described as striking the orae or thin part of the shield near the circumference. Compare 10. 474 (Turnus wounded through his shield by Pallas):

“illa volans, humeri surgunt qua tegmina summa,
incidit, atque viam clipei molita per oras,
tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni,”

where we have the exactly opposite circumstances to those described in our text; the spear not only thrown with great force,

but striking the shield towards the margin, and accordingly not only penetrating but wounding. Also 10. 588 :

. . . “subit *oras* hasta per inas
fulgentis clipei, tum laevum perforat inguen.”

ILLI MEA TRISTIA FACTA DEGENEREMQUE NEOPTOLEMUM NARRARE MEMENTO.—ILLI, viz., PELIDAE. Compare Sil. 4. 286 (ed. Ruperti) :

“cui consul : ‘ferre haec umbris proavoque memento,
quam procul occumbas Tarpeia sede, tibi que
haud licitum sacri Capitolia cernere montis.’”

The whole point is in ILLI—“tell that Pelides who behaved so well to you, how ill you have been treated by his son.” Yet commentators have not been wanting to maintain that ILLI is not the pronoun but the adverb of place, and the meaning not that which I have just indicated, but “tell *there* (viz., there below in the shades where Pelides is) how badly you have been treated by the son of Pelides.” See Donatus ad Terent. *Hec. 1. 2. 19* :

“nam *illie* haud licebat nisi praefinito loqui,”

where he says : “Legitur et *illi*, ut sit circumflexus accentus, et significet *illie*, ut ILLI MEA TRISTIA FACTA, et absolutum est.” This is one of the not very rare cases in which the reader were better without any commentator—would be sure to go right if allowed to take his own way ; also one of the cases which show that the Donatus who commented on Terence, that Donatus whose comment on ILLI I have just quoted, was not Servius’s Donatus, the comment of the latter on the passage being to the point-blank opposite effect : “‘Ibis,’ inquit, ‘ut patri meo ipse referas male gesta mea.’”

ENSEM (vs. 553) belongs to both verbs, CORUSCUM only to EXTULIT. EXTULIT (ENSEM) CORUSCUM, because the very act of raising and flourishing the sword made it flash ; ABDIDIT ENSEM (no longer CORUSCUM), because the very act of plunging it (or stowing it away : see Rem. on *Aen. 1. 56*) into the side caused it to cease to flash.

If it be not mere supererogation to refer to instances of a

similar beautiful accuracy of language in a writer whose language is always supereminently accurate, I would here refer the reader to the special apposition of “bellatrix” to “aurea cingula,” and of “virgo” to “viris,” *Aen.* 1. 497; to the junction of “Fortuna” with the two verbs “finxit” and “finget,” and of “improba” with the latter only, *Aen.* 2. 80; and to the precise “intorscrit hastam,” “laeserit cuspide,” *Aen.* 2. 230, 231; also to Remm. on vv. 270 and 689.

554-558.

HAEC FINIS PRIAMI FATORUM HIC EXITUS ILLUM
SORTE TULIT TROIAM INCENSAM ET PROLAPSA VIDENTEM
PERGAMA TOT QUONDAM POPULIS TERRISQUE SUPERBUM
REGNATOREM ASIAE IACET INGENS LITTORE TRUNCUS
AVULSUMQUE HUMERIS CAPUT ET SINE NOMINE CORPUS

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] PRIAMI FATORUM • HIC ■ *Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.* and *Praest.*); Dietsch; Kappes.

[*punct.*] PRIAMI • FATORUM HIC ■■■ Peerlkamp; Haackermann; Ladewig; Haupt; Ribbeck.

So Ammianus Marcellinus (14. 11), finely, of Constantius Gallus Caesar: “Cervice abscissa, creptaque vultus et capitis dignitate, cadaver est relictum informe, paullo ante urbibus et provinciis formidatum.” Also Lucan (8. 710), much less finely, of Pompey the Great:

. . . “nullaque manente figura,
una nota est Magno capitis iactura revulsi.”

HAEC FINIS . . . TULIT.—Not HAEC FINIS PRIAMI, but HAEC FINIS FATORUM PRIAMI, (*α*), because finis elsewhere in Virgil

is always the end not of a person but of a thing. (**b**), because in the exactly corresponding passage of Tacitus (*Hist.* 1. 49), “Hunc *exitum* habuit Ser. Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis, quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus, et alieno imperio felicior quam suo,” it is not *exitus fatorum* but simply *exitus*. (**c**), because elsewhere in the same author it is invariably *exitus* of the person, not of the person’s fates, as *Annal.* 1. 10: “Sane Cassii et Brutorum *exitus* paternis inimiciis datos.” *Ibid.*, 4. 55: “Atrociore semper fama erga dominantium *exitus*.” (**d**), because HAEC FINIS PRIAMI had been if not absolutely disrespectful, at least much less respectful, towards Priam, than HAEC FINIS PRIAMI FATORUM. (**e**), because—the first clause ending with FATORUM and the second commencing with HIC—both clauses, the former especially, are more dignified, and the pause more acceptable both to mind and ear. (**f**), because the climax, the ascent from the fates of Priam in the first clause to Priam himself in the second, so impressive in the received structure, is wholly absent from the proposed. (**g**), because the repetition of the demonstrative in the like positions HAEC FINIS, HIC EXITUS, is more effective than in the unlike HAEC FINIS, FATORUM HIC EXITUS. (**h**), on account of the more perfect tallying of the clauses HAEC FINIS PRIAMI FATORUM, HIC EXITUS ILLUM SORTE TULIT (where SORTE balances FATORUM) in the same manner as HIC balances HAEC, and EXITUS, FINIS than of the two clauses HAEC FINIS PRIAMI, FATORUM HIC EXITUS ILLUM SORTE TULIT, where the whole weight both of FATORUM and SORTE is in the second clause, without any counterpoise at all in the first. (**i**), because FATORUM, tautological in the same clause with SORTE, expresses, in the same clause with FINIS, that the end spoken of is the end not of Priam, but of the fates of Priam, as if Virgil had said “here ends the history of Priam;” **and**, (**k**), because the citation by Gellius of HAEC FINIS PRIAMI FATORUM, without the context and without observation, is sufficient proof of the junction of FATORUM by Gellius and his contemporaries not with EXITUS but with FINIS. For all these reasons I adhere with Dietsch (*Theolog.* p. 23: “Minus recte FATORUM ad sequentia trahi mihi videtur, cum ita vis, quae in

anastrophe est, deleatur, neque HAEC FINIS PRIAMI sine molestia sit, postremo vero per verba HAEC FINIS FATORUM legentes cum quadam gravitate ad vs. 506 revocentur” to the received structure and punctuation, and reject the innovation of Peerlkamp, Haeckermann, and Ribbeck, notwithstanding the argument which might, but has not yet been advanced in favour of it, viz., that it has a perfect parallel in *τοῦτο Πομπηίου τέλος*, Plutarch's *epiphonema* of the closing scene of Pompey the Great, a closing scene so similar to that which our author has drawn for Priam as to call forth the observation of Servius on the latter: “Pompeii tangit historiam.”

SORTE TULIT, *i. e.*, SORTE *fati* TULIT. Compare 12. 501: “nescia mens hominum *fati sortisque* futurae,” *i. e.*, sortis quae e fato eveniet, sortis quam fatum dabit.

EXITUS SORTE [*fati*]. Compare Hom. *Il.* 3. 309: *θαυαροιο τέλος πεπρωμενον*.

INGENS LITTORE TRUNCUS AVULSUMQUE HUMERIS CAPUT ET SINE NOMINE CORPUS.—Only one of the nominatives, viz., TRUNCUS, belongs to IACET; the other two nominatives, CAPUT and CORPUS, have each their own verb, viz., *est*, understood. Compare *Aen.* 1. 452:

“aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexaeque
aere trabes,”

where the structure is not “limina nexaeque trabes surgebant,” but “limina surgebant, trabesque [*erant*] nexae.” There should, therefore, be a semicolon at TRUNCUS.

SINE NOMINE.—*Not*, without name in the sense of appellation, *but* without name in the sense of honour or renown. That this and no other is the meaning is placed beyond doubt by the manifest imitation of Silius (*a*), 10. 209:

“hic tibi finis erat, metas hic Aufidus aevi
servabat tacito, non felix Curio, leto.
namque, furens animi dum consternata moratur
agmina, et oppositu membrorum sistere certat,
in praeceps magna propulsus mole ruentum
turbatis hauritur aquis, fundoque volutus
Hadriaca iacuit sine nomine mortis arena,”

where “sine nomine” is explained by Silius himself to be equivalent to “sine nomine mortis,” and this again to be equivalent to “tacito leto.” Compare also (**b**), Silius, 13. 4 :

“ nulla laedens ubi gramina ripa
Turia deducit tenuem *sine nomine* rivum,
et tacite Tuscis *inglorius* affluit undis.”

(**c**), Flor. 3. 16: “C. Gracchum hominem sine tribu, *sine nomine*.” (**d**), *Aen.* 9. 343 :

“ ac multam in medio *sine nomine* plebem
Faciuntque, Herbesumque subit, Rhoetumque Abarinque
ignaros,”

in which three latter places, persons or things said to be “sine nomine” are actually named. Also (**e**), 11. 846: “Sine nomine letum” [a death without renown, an inglorious death]. (**f**), Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 437 :

“ illa legit calthas ; huic sunt violaria curae :
illa papaverae subsecat usque comas.
has, hyacinthe, tenes ; illas, amarante, moraris :
pars thyma, pars casiam, pars meliloton amat.
plurima lecta rosa est ; et sunt *sine nomine* flores.
ipsa crocos tenues, liliaque alba legit,”

where “flores sine nomine” are not *flowers which have never received names*, but *inglorious flowers, flowers of little fame and note*, and therefore not to be enumerated along with the famous flowers already mentioned.

The body of Priam, therefore, lay on the shore SINE NOMINE, not, with Wagner, 1861, because it could not be distinguished whose body it was (“quia absciso capite iam cognosci non poterat cuius esset corpus”) ; but, with Nonius (“nomen, decus, dignitas ; *Aen.* 2. 558 : SINE NOMINE CORPUS), because, although Priam’s body, and known to be Priam’s body, it had *no respect or honour*, was treated by the Greeks as if it had been the body of a man of no consequence, the carcase of a dog. See Remm. on 1. 613 ; 9. 343 ; 12. 514. The corresponding Greek expression is *πῶνυμος* or *ἀπῶνυμος*, as Hom. *Od.* 13. 238 (of Ithaca) :

ουδε τι λην ουτω νωνυμος εστιν. Eurip. *Hippol.* 1 :

πολλη μεν εν βροτοισι κούκ ανωνυμος
θεα κεκλημαι Κυπρις.

The corresponding English is *nameless*.

567-588.

IAM—FEREBAR

VAR. LECT.

IAM—FEREBAR ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Aldus (1514); Junta (1537); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861), who without ever so much as having seen the MS. takes upon him, I know not on what hearsay, to inform his readers that these verses are contained in the Palatine; Lad.; Haupt.

IAM—FEREBAR *OMITTED* ■ *Pal.*; *Med.*; "In nullo ex iis veteribus codd. quos versavimus habentur," Pierius. ■■ $\frac{2}{3}$. ■■■ Venice, 1470.

IAM—FEREBAR *OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED* ■■■ Heyn.; Brunck; Peerl. (vv. 567-623); Gruppe; Ribb.

Concerning these verses, the following opinion has been expressed by Charles James Fox in a letter to Gilbert Wakefield, then a prisoner in Dorchester gaol (Russell's *Mem. of Fox*, vol. 4, p. 411): "If the lines omitted in the Medici MS. are spurious, they are, I think, the happiest imitation of Virgil's manner that I ever saw. I am indeed so unwilling to believe them any other than genuine, that rather than I would consent to such an opinion, I should be inclined to think that Virgil himself had written and afterwards erased them on account of their inconsistency with the account he gives of Helen in the Sixth Book." Mr. Fox should have said:—The verses are genuine, for none but a Virgil ever wrote them, and there never was but one Virgil. By that one only Virgil therefore they were written, and are

absent from the more ancient MSS., because expunged along with the four introductory verses by Tucca and Varius, whose mutilation of the poem was antecedent not only to any MSS. of it now existing, but to any even so much as perusal of it after it had passed out of the capsule of the author (see Rem. on 2. 632). Wakefield, however, in his reply thus unqualifiedly accepts Fox's opinion: "Your supposition that the verses in *Æn.* 2 were Virgil's own, and omitted by him, with the reason for that omission, pleases me entirely."

How has it happened that not Fox and Wakefield only, but all the propugners of these verses, have so entirely omitted to draw an argument in their favour from *Hom. Od.* 20. 5? There—

ἐνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μνηστῆρσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 κείτ' ἐργηγορῶν· τὰ δ' ἐκ μεγάροιο γυναῖκες
 ἦσαν, αἱ μνηστῆρσιν ἐμισγέσκοντο παρὸς περ,
 ἀλλήλησι γέλω καὶ εὐφροσύνην παρεχούσαι.
 τοῦ δ' ὠρινετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φιλοῖσιν·
 πολλὰ δὲ μερμηρίζε κατα φρενὰ καὶ κατα θυμόν,
 ἦε μεταῖξας θάνατον τεύξειεν ἑκάστη,
 ἦ εἴτ' ἐὼ μνηστῆρσιν ὑπερφιαλοῖσι μιγῆναι
 ὕστατα καὶ πύματα. κῆρυξ δὲ οἱ ἐνδὸν ὑλακτεῖ.
 ὡς δὲ κύων ἀμάλῃσι περὶ σκυλακεσσὶ βεβῶσα
 ἀνδρ' ἀγνοήσας ὕλαει, μέμονεν τε μαχεσθαι,
 ὡς ῥα τοῦ ἐνδὸν ὑλακτεῖ ἀγαιομένου κακὰ ἔργα.
 στήθεος δὲ πλῆξας κῆρυγιν ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ·
 τέτλαθι δὴ, κῆρυξ· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἐτλης,
 ἡματι τῷ, ὅτε μοι μένος ἀσχετος ἦσθιε Κυκλωψ
 ἰφθίμους ἑταροὺς· σὺ δ' ἐτολμας, ὄφρα σὲ μητις
 ἐξαγαγ' ἐξ ἀντροῖο οἴομενον θανεέσθαι.
 ὡς ἔφατ' ἐν στήθεσσι καθάπτομενος φίλον ἦτορ.
 τῷ δὲ μάλ' ἐν πείσῃ κῆρυξ μὲν τετληνῖα
 νῶλεμεως.

562-576.

VITAM—POENAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 564).

CIRCUM ME ■■■ D. Heins.

ME CIRCUM ■■■ P. Manut. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Voss ; Heyne ; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861 ; see Wagner ad ll. 298) ; Ladewig ; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 576).

SCELERATAS ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Gesner ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakefield ; Wagner ; Ribb.

SCELERATAE ■■■ Heyne ("An SCELERATAE ? ut malim") ; Voss.

VITAM EXHALANTEM.—Compare *Bibl. Sacra, Lament. Ieremiae, 2. 12* : "Cum exhalarent animas suas in sinu matrum suarum." The expression is exactly equivalent to vitam exspirantem, and has descended into the Italian, as Ariost. *Orl. Fur.* 7. 76 :

"e lo scudo mirabile tolse auco,
che non pur gli occhi abbarbagliar solea,
ma l' anima facea sì venir manco,
che dal corpo esalata esser pareva."

CUM LIMINA, &c., . . . ASPICIO : "LIMINA VESTAE, templum Vestae in arce conditum," Forbiger, Ladewig. I think not ; first, because (see verse 632) Aeneas has not yet left the palace ; secondly, because the temple of Vesta on the arx being a temple could not properly be denominated "secreta sedes ;" and thirdly, because there was in every royal palace, and especially in Priam's, a sacred hearth, or hearth with sacred fire (εστια), which, on account of its peculiar sanctity, afforded an inviolable asylum to the fugitive. The LIMINA VESTAE of our text I understand to be that part of the palace in which the sacred hearth was, that most interior, secret and sacred part of the palace, de-

nominated penetralia Vestae, or more briefly penetralia, or even Vesta, from the goddess whose peculiar seat it was, and in honour of whom the sacred fire, the *εστια* or Vesta, was kept there, perpetually burning. See 5. 744 :

“ Pergameunque Larem et canae *penetralia Vestae*
farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.”

9. 258 :

. . . “ per magnos, Nise, Penates
Assaracique Larem, et canae *penetralia Vestae*.”

Hom. *Od.* 17. 155 :

ιστω νυν Zeus πρωτα θεων, ξενιη τε τραπεζα,
ιστιη τ' Οδυσσης αμυμονος, ην αφικανω,

—the last example; an appeal to the sacredness of the same Vesta, which is made more than once elsewhere in the course of the poem. Callim. *Hymn. ad Delum*, 325 (apostrophizing Delos) :

ιστιη ω νησων, ευεστιε, χαιρε μεν αυτη,

where Spanheim : “ Vestae autem simulacra . . . in iisdem Prytaneis, ac in privatis etiam aedibus, in earum penetrali seu media parte vulgo erant itidem sacrata. Hinc dicta quoque pridem *Vesta*, non solum in *penetralibus* habitare, ut apud Maronem, 5. 744, ‘penetralia Vestae;’ sed in Orphicis dudum ante, *ημεσον οικον εχεις*, . . . et apud Phornutum cap. de Cerere et Vesta, de hac, *κατα μεσους ιδρυται τους οικονς*. . . . Unde quemadmodum aedes aut ara Apollinis Delphica, *εστια μεσομφαλος*, *αρα* seu *sedes penetralis* apud veteres tragicos, Aeschylum, *Agam.* 1065, et alibi, haud semel appellata ; quod nempe urbs Delphi *orbis* haberetur iuxta poetam in Priapeiis *umbilicus* : ita haud minus *Delus* in medio Cycladum sita, immo *Cyclas* etiam, uti supra vidimus, et praeterea Latonae partu ac Apollinis natalibus et cultu veneranda, *ιστιη νησων*, et *ευεστιος*, *Vesta insularum* ac *fortunata*, hic dicitur.”

This apartment, this “limina Vestae,” being thus always in the innermost, least public, part of the building, . . . was of all places the most likely and most proper for Helen to take refuge in, not only on account of its secrecy and inviolability, but

because it was so near at hand, in the very palace. Precisely because Helen's hiding place was so retired, is the explanation added how it happens that Aeneas discovered her :

DANT CLARA INCENDIA LUCEM
ERRANTI, PASSIMQUE OCULOS PER CUNCTA FERENTI

[surely *not* everywhere and through everything in the arx or in the city, *but* everywhere and through everything in the palace]. Precisely because the hiding place is so retired is Helen's hiding herself in it appropriately expressed by the words *ABDIDERAT* and *LATENTEM*, *put herself out of the way*, and *lurking*, expressions which had been less applicable if Helen's hiding place had been a public temple. And precisely because the secret hiding place was the *εστια* or sacred hearth, is the interference of Venus called for, less to hinder the unmanly act of killing a woman than to hinder the almost unheard-of impiety of killing an *ικετης εφεστιος*.

There is a peculiar propriety in Helen's taking refuge in the domestic Vesta, and thus rendering herself an *ικετης εφεστιος*. The domestic Vesta of the prince or other principal person afforded sure safeguard and protection to the stranger or to the culprit who, flying from the justice or revenge of his fellow-countrymen, was fortunate enough to reach such place of refuge, and Helen was both a stranger and a culprit :

ILLA, SIBI INFESTOS EVERSA OB PERGAMA TEUCROS,
ET POENAS DANAUM, ET DESERTI CONIUGIS IRAS
PRAEMETUENS, TROIAE ET PATRIAE COMMUNIS ERINNYΣ,
ABDIDERAT SESE ATQUE ARIS INVISA SEDERAT.

In cases in which flight from home was impossible or not desirable, the guilty person used to take refuge in the same sanctuary, either for safety, or for the mere sake of hiding his shame from the eye of day, as Stat. *Theb.* 1. 492 (of Oedipus) :

“illum indulgentem tenebris, imaeque recessu
sedis, inaspectos caelo radiisque *Penates*
servantem, tamen assiduis circumvolat alis
saeva dies animi, scelerumque in pectore Dirae.”

In the houses of the poor there were no “*limina Vestae*” properly so called, no domestic sanctuary in which fire or at least a

lamp was kept perpetually burning. The place of the sacred fire was in such houses filled by the kitchen hearth, which, following the primitive practice, was the *εστια*, the sacred refuge of the fugitive and stranger, as Sil. 6. 73:

. . . “quum membra cubili
evolvens non tarda Marus

procedit, renovata *foeis* et *paupere Vesta*
lumina praetendens.”

The custom of the sacred or perpetual fire has, in common with so many other pagan observances, come down under a changed name to the present day, nay even to the present day varies in costliness in the direct ratio of the wealth of the individual votary; for while there is in every house in Rome a sacred light burning day and night before the likeness of the modern Vesta, it is only in palaces and churches this light radiates from a lamp or lamps of gold or silver, and serves to light a marble statue. In humbler dwellings it is a mere wick floating like a nurse's night-light on a little cup of oil, and serves to illuminate, not a marble statue, but a mere wood-cut on paper of the goddess, and is even sometimes obliged to perform the humbler, more useful, office of lighting a dark dirty stone stair or passage, or a dingy corner of an obscure shop, sometimes a wretched closet's still more wretched pallet.

SERVANTEM (vs. 568). See Rem. on 2. 450.

PRAEMETUENS.—“Fürchtete,” Voss. “Temendo,” Caro. “Dreads,” Dryden—all omitting the *PRAE*, the force of which is, that her fear anticipated the anger, that she fled without waiting to see whether her fear were well founded or not. Compare Phaedr. 1. 16. 3:

“ovem rogabat cervus modium tritici,
lupo sponsore. at illa, *praemetuens* dolum,” &c.

Metuere expresses the fear of an urgent or immediate, *præmetuere* of an uncertain or remote danger. The former word would express Helen's fear, if she was hiding from the Greeks, knowing them to be in actual pursuit of her; the latter expresses that sort of fear which leads Helen to hide herself without being

sure that the Greeks will pursue her, or that they have even so much as a hostile feeling towards her. *PRAEMETUENS INFESTOS TEUCROS, ET POENAS DANAUM ET DESERTI CONIUGIS IRAS*, is therefore equivalent to *fearing that such might be the state of things*; while *metuens INFESTOS TEUCROS, ET POENAS DANAUM, ET DESERTI CONIUGIS IRAS*, would have been equivalent to saying that Helen knew that such was the state of things, knew that the Teucri were irritated against her, that her husband and the Danaï were angry with her, and certainly would avenge themselves on her. The preposition *PRAE* is thus used with the greatest propriety, inasmuch as it expresses the precedence of the fear to the actual danger.

ABDIDERAT SESE ATQUE ARIS INVISA SEDEBAT.—The repetition, according to our author's usual manner (see Rem. on l. 151), in a slightly changed form, of the preceding *QUUM . . . ASPICIO*, VSS. 567-569.

INVISA (vs. 574), “unbemerkt,” Ladewig. No; but, as always elsewhere in Virgil, *odiosa*, *the hateful one*, and therefore *praemetuens* (vs. 573) not without reason. That this is the true import of the word seems to be placed beyond doubt by vs. 601: “*Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae*.”

SCELERATAS POENAS*.—“*Poenas de scelerata*,” La Cérda.

* It will be observed that the comment on this word rests on the acceptance of the term *scelus* in a wider and more general sense, to indicate, not absolute moral delinquency, but rather some circumstances of horror or the like accompanying the object to which it is applied. It is not, however, without some hesitation that I have adopted this view. If, as I formerly thought, the other interpretation be the correct one in this passage, then I would rather be inclined to read *SCELERATAE* with Voss, and not *SCELERATAS*—(1), because no parallel, so far as I know, has ever been adduced for the transference of the guilt of the offender to the punishment of the offence. *Poenae* may be *crudeles*, may be *sanguineae*, may be *cruentae*, but if I am not mistaken cannot be *sceleratae* unless there is *scelus* in taking them. If it be alleged that the guilt of the sinner is transferred to the place of his punishment in the expression “*sceleratum limen*,” 6. 563, I reply that the transition from the wicked person to the wicked place is as easy and natural as the transition from the wicked person to the wicked punishment is forced and unnatural—a transition not to the near neighbouring thing, but to its point-blank opposite, the punishment being, in the direct ratio of the *scelus*, not *sceleratae*,

“Paullo insolentius pro *poenas a scelerata femina sumptas*, nam ut sint *poenae per scelus exactae*, alienum a loco est,” Heyne. “*Scelus futurum erat, interficere supplicem ad aras sedentem*,” Wagn. (*Praest.*), Ladewig. The *poenae* are not *sceleratae* because Helen is *scelerata*, such use of the word being contrary to its use in all the other places in which our author has used it, in every one of which the *scelus* expressed by *sceleratus* is the *scelus* of the subject of which *sceleratus* is predicated, as 6. 563 : “*sceleratum limen* ;” 12. 949 : “*scelerato sanguine* ;” 3. 60 : “*scelerata terra* ;” 7. 461 : “*scelerata insania* ;” 2. 231 : “*sceleratam hastam* ;” 9. 137 : “*sceleratam gentem* ;” *Georg.* 2. 256 : “*sceleratum frigus*.” *SCELERATAS POENAS* is, therefore, *poenae* which are *sceleratae* in their own nature, and so far the explanation of Wagner and Ladewig is correct. But I differ *toto caelo* from those critics in the explanation of the *scelus* ascribed to the *poenae*. The *poenae*, as Heyne rightly observes, are not called *sceleratae*, as being *poenae exactae per scelus*. Aeneas, at the moment when the *IRA* enters his breast, thinks only of punishing Helen, and is so far from thinking that it is any crime to punish her, or that he is violating the sanctuary of Vesta in punishing her, that his reflection is: that although the act was no act of bravery in him, still it would be approved of, as no more than she deserved—

EXTINXISSE NEFAS TAMEN ET SUMPSSISSE MERENTIS
LAUDABOR POENAS

[I shall be praised for having punished the wretch]. But if the *poenae* were *sceleratae* for the reason assigned by Wagner and Ladewig, *sceleratae* in the sense alluded to and disapproved

but *iustae*, *aequae*, and *piae*. **And**, (2), because nothing was easier than the mistake of *SCELERATAS* instead of *SCELERATAE*, the following word beginning with an *s*.

As analogues to *SCELERATAE POENAS*, we may compare 6. 542, “*malorum poenas* ;” 6. 422, “*poenas amborum* ;” also 11. 258, where there was like opportunity to use the contorted expression, but where nevertheless the simple, easy, straightforward opposite one, viz., “*scelerum poenas*,” is preferred.

of by Heyne, viz., *per scelus exactae*, Aeneas, so far from being praised for having inflicted them, would have been condemned, would have incurred the displeasure both of men and gods. He would himself have been rendered *sceleratus* by the act. But it is not in this sense the *poenae* he was about to take were *sceleratae*: they were *sceleratae* in the sense which I have explained at full in my Remark on "*scelus expendisse merentem*," verse 229, in that sense in which every extreme and capital punishment is *sceleratus*, partakes in its own essential nature of wickedness. *Improbis* is used in a similar manner to express wickedness which is not moral, and the English word *wickedness* itself is not unfrequently used in the same manner, in such expressions, for instance, as: "he gave him a wicked blow," "he served him a wicked trick," "that is a wicked wind which is blowing to-day." In this sense the *poenae* Aeneas was about to inflict on Helen were *sceleratae*, *poenae* the infliction of which had not made him *sceleratus*, would on the contrary have obtained the approbation of his countrymen, but which were in their abstract character, no matter where inflicted, or on whom, *sceleratae*, as being extreme, and from which all persons in their cool moments turn away with disgust and horror—precisely the sense in which *sceleratus* is applied by our author himself, *Georg.* 2. 256, to the coldness of the soil, "*sceleratum frigus*," exactly our *wicked, accursed, devilish, shocking, damned*: and so precisely we would say in English, of the vengeance wreaked on Helen, *damnable*: "He punished her damnably." And so *Plin.* II. N. 25. 3: "*Nec bestiarum solum ad nocendum scelera sunt, sed interim aquarum quoque et locorum.*" *Plaut. Pseud.* 3. 2. 28:

"teritur sinapi *sceleratum*: illis qui terunt,
priusquam triverunt, oculi ut exstillent, facit."

Plaut. Mostel. 3. 1. 1:

"*scelestio*rem ego annum argento foenori
nunquam ullum vidi, quam hic mihi annus obtulit."

Plaut. Amph. 192 (ed. Bothe):

"ego tibi istam hodie *scelestam* comprimam linguam."

Cicer. *ad. Att. 6. 1.* (ed. Graev.): “tu *scelestè* suspicaris; ego *αφελως* scripsi.” Sil. 3. 272 (ed. Rup.):

. . . “*scelerataque* succis
spicula dirigere, et ferrum infamare veneno.”

See Rem. on 5. 793.

583 606.

NON—CALIGAT

NON ITA, οὐ δῆτ', Eurip. *Hec. 367* (ed. Porson).

NAMQUE ETSI, &c., . . . MEORUM.—In the exact coincidence of the sentiments here expressed by Aeneas with those expressed by Aruns when meditating the death of Camilla (*Aen. 11. 790, et seqq.*), Burmann and Heyne might have found a strong additional argument for the authenticity of this fine passage concerning Helen. The reader will, however, observe that the poet, although he has assigned similar sentiments to his hero and the coward Aruns while meditating similar acts, has been careful to draw a sufficiently broad distinction between the actual conduct of the one and that of the other. The hero is immediately diverted from and relinquishes his hasty purpose; the coward persists in, and coolly executes, his deliberately formed plan.

EXTINXISSE . . . MEORUM. The repetition in a slightly changed form of the preceding (vss. 575-6) EXARSERE . . . POENAS. See Rem. on 1. 151.

MERENTIS.—“Exquisite pro *a merente*,” Heyne. “Strafe an der schuldigen,” Ladewig. “Sumi MERENTES s. merito sumendas,” Wagn. (*Praest.*) Wagnér is certainly wrong that MERENTIS is the accusative; Heyne and Ladewig so far right as that MERENTIS is the genitive, not however that it is equivalent to *a merente*, as if Virgil had said “POENAS SUMPSISSE *a merente*,” “strafe an der schuldigen.” MERENTIS is the simple

genitive of possession depending on POENAS, POENAS MERENTIS, exactly as verse 576, SCCELERATAE POENAS (according to Voss's reading); "malorum poenas;" 9. 422, "poenas amborum." Compare verse 229 above: "scelus expendisse *merentem* Laocoonta ferunt;" and, aptly quoted by Ladewig, Val. Flacc. 2. 101:

"quocirca struit illa nefas; Lemnoque *merenti*
exitium furiale movet."

ANIMUMQUE EXPLESSE IUVABIT ULTRICIS FLAMMAE ET CINERES SATIASSE MEORUM.—This close juxtaposition of a moral flamma and a material CINERES has a bad effect, inasmuch as it suggests a relationship the farthest in the world from the author's thought, viz., that of cinders to flame. If the author perceived the unseasonable suggestion, he was called upon to take some pains to avoid it; if he did not perceive it, it is another instance of an inadvertency respecting small matters, of which his great work affords but too many examples. See 2. 360:

. . . "nor atra cava circumvolat umbra.
"quis cladem illius *noctis*, quis funera fando
explicit?"

where "illius" suggests an identity between "noctis" and the preceding "nox," than which nothing could be farther from the author's thought, "nox" being merely figurative, while "noctis" is real, material night. Also 1. 87: "qua data porta *ruunt* . . . totumque . . . *ruunt*," where the same verb in the same person, number, and tense is applied in a transitive sense to the identical subject to which it has been applied, the line but one before, in an intransitive—whether observed by the author and left uncorrected as of small importance, or not observed at all, I shall not pretend to say.

CONFESSA DEAM.—Jocularly imitated by Petronius, p. 143 (ed. Hadrian.): "Modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum Eulhyumque *confessus*."

QUANTA (vs. 592), of as great size as, i.e., in her full magnitude. See Rem. on 1. 756.

OBDUCTA TUENTI MORTALES HEBETAT VISUS, theme; HUMIDA CIRCUM CALIGAT, variation. See Rem. on 1. 550.

608-618.

HIC—ARMA

VAR. LECT. (vs. 616).

LIMBO ■■ $\frac{2}{6}$ (viz., Basle A and Munich 10719, in the latter of which it occurs as a second reading: it is the only example of a second reading which occurs in the whole of the second book). LIMBO is also quoted by Heyne as the second reading of *Moret. Sec.* ■■■ Servius ("alii LIMBO legunt"); "Twelve Years' Voyage," 1853; Ladewig, 2nd ed.; Haupt; Ribb.

NIMBO (or NYMBO) ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ $\frac{6}{6}$. ■■■ Princ. Rom. 1473; Strasb. 1470 (Mentell.); Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1486; Milan, 1475; Aldus (1514); Philippe; Heyn.; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *V. L.* and *Praest.*), and all editors and commentators down to Ladewig, who adopted LIMBO from my "Twelve Years' Voyage."

UMBONE ■■ $\frac{1}{6}$.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

With this fine picture of the gods giving their personal help towards the destruction of a city, compare the historical narrative, Tacit. *Ann.* 13. 41: "Adiicitur miraculum, velut numine oblatum; nam cuncta extra, tectis tenus, sole illustria fuere: quod moenibus cingebatur, ita repente atra nube coopertum, fulguribusque discretum est, ut, quasi infensantibus deis, exitio tradi crederetur."

Independently of the defence, of which Virgil's account of the taking of Troy is otherwise capable (see Rem. on vs. 5), the poet, calling in the hostile gods, and even Jupiter himself, to aid in the taking and destruction of the city, already (verse 351) deserted by its own gods, seems to be invulnerably armed against the assaults of those critics, who, with Napoleon at their head (see Remm. on vv. 15 and 299) insist that his whole narrative unstrategical, incredible, impossible.

PRIMA (vs. 613), the principal personage, the leader, the mover of the whole matter, princeps. As Juno, although thus expressly stated to be the leader, the mover of the whole matter (*i.e.*, of the destruction of the city), is yet not mentioned first in order, but placed in the middle between Neptune and Pallas, so Machaon (vs. 263), also stated to be the “*primus*,” the mover of the whole matter, the principal actor, or taking the principal part among those enclosed in the wooden horse, is not mentioned first in order, but seventh, or nearly last. The same term *prima*, in the same sense and in a very similar connexion, is applied to the same Juno, *Aen.* 1. 27 :

. . . “*veterisque memor Saturnia belli,
prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis.*”

FERRO ACCINCTA.—Not, literally, *girt with a sword, having a sword at her side* (“*umgürtet mit stahl*,” Voss), which had been much too tame, too unbellicose a picture for the occasion, but—according to the secondary signification of the word *accinctus*—*equipped with a sword, armed with a sword*, or, as we say, *sword in hand*. Compare 9. 74 :

“*atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris*”

[not, surely, *with torches girded on*, but *armed with torches, torches in hand*]. See also 6. 570 (where see Rem.) :

“*continuo sontes ultrix accincta flagello
Tisiphone quatit insultans*”

[not surely *with a whip in her girdle*, but *armed with a whip, whip in hand*]. Compare also the similar use of *succinctus* in conjunction with *faces* by Prudentius, *Psychom.* 42 :

“*quam [Pudicitiam] patrias succincta faces Sodomita Libido
aggreditur, piceamque ardenti sulphure pinum
ingerit in faciem, pudibundaque lumina flammis
appetit, et tetro tentat suffundere fumo*”

[not, surely, *undergirt with torches*, but *equipped with torches, ready for action with torches*]. And see the *Comment. in libros Regum falso S. Eucherio ascript.* lib. 4 (De la Bigne, 5. 905) : “*Cuius temeritatem arrogantiae modesto sermone compescens rex Israel ait :*

‘Dicite ei, ne glorietur *accinctus*, aequè ut *discinctus*.’ Aliud est autem *accinctus*, aliud *discinctus*, aliud *non accinctus*. *Accinctus* namque est qui cingulo circumdatus incedit: *discinctus* qui cingulum nuper deposuit, verbi gratia, vel balneum intraturus, vel lectum ascensurus, vel alteram tunicam forte induturus: *non accinctus*, qui, nuper tunica indutus, necdum se addita zonae circumpositione munivit. Sic ergo et in expeditione castrensi qui positus est recte *accinctus* nominatur, *i.e.*, armis indutus; qui pugna confecta victor domum rediit iure *discinctus* vocatur, quia nimirum depositis armis optatae pacis otium gerit; qui vero necdum pugnare, neque se ad certamen parare iam coeperat, merito *non accinctus* esse dicitur. Ait ergo rex Israel regi Syriac gloriante quasi iam cepisset Samariam, quam obsidere coeperat, ‘Ne glorietur *accinctus* aequè ut *discinctus*:’ ac ‘si aperte dicat, ‘Noli gloriari quasi iam victor bellici discriminis, qui adhuc in acie positus, quem victoria sequatur, ignoras.’”

These arguments are, as I think, sufficiently strong and decisive. The very picture, however, found by Voss in our text is actually presented by Silius, 9. 296 :

“contra *cineta* latus ferro Saturnia Iuno,”

where, as *Aen.* 11. 489: “laterique accinxerat ensem,” the addition of “latus” fixes the meaning to be, not *armed with*, but *girt with*. See Rem. on “succinctam pharetra,” 1. 327.

ARCES PALLAS INEDIT.—It is with peculiar propriety that Pallas is represented as taking possession of the *arx*, the *arx* having been her invention, and always (not alone at Troy, but elsewhere) her selected abode. Compare *Ecl.* 2. 61 :

. . . “Pallas, quas condidit *arces*,
ipsa colat.”

Claud. *de Rapt. Pros.* 2. 19 :

“et Pandionias quae cuspide protegit *arces*.”

Catull. 64. 8 :

“diva . . . retinens in summis urbibus *arces*.”

RESPICE.—Not merely *look*, or *see*, but *look behind thee* :

ASPICE (vs. 604), *look here before thee*; RESPICE, *look there behind thee*. Compare Tibull. 2. 5. 21 :

. . . “cum maestus ab alto
Ilion ardentes respiceretque deos.”

Observe also the effective position of the word immediately before the object to which it points, PALLAS; and immediately after the words exciting expectation, IAM SUMMAS ARCES TRITONIA. See Rem. on verse 203.

NIMBO EFFULGENS ET GORGONE SÆVA.—I have myself personally examined only five MSS. with respect to this passage, viz., the oldest Gudian (No. 70), the two Leipzig, the Dresden, and No. 113 (Endlicher's Catal.) in the royal Library of Vienna, but in the whole five I have found NIMBO, which (see Foggini) is also the reading of the Medicean, and has been adopted without hesitation or exception, so far as I know, by all the editors and commentators. The explanation which the elder commentators have given us of this word is *halo* (“nube divina,” Servius, La Cerda), against which the objection of Forbiger, “hic voc. nimbi significatus non nisi cadentis Latinitatis,” seems to me to be conclusive. The more modern explanation of the word is that adopted by Heyne from Pomponius Sabinus: “nubes obscura qua illa cingitur;” the effulgence of such obscure “nubes” being ascribed by Heyne to its reflexion of Pallas's aegis (“fulgentem aegidem tenet, a qua relucet nimbus”), and by Wagner to its reflexion of the flames of the burning city (“nimbus igitur ille, quem ut iratae deae atrum fuisse consentaneum est, fulgebat et rutilabat ab incendii flammis”), an interpretation which has been adopted and approved of by Forbiger.

I object, (I), that nimbus is never “nubes,” but always that combination of darkness, heavy rain (or hail), wind, thunder and lightning, called in Germany *gewitter*, and in Italy *temporale*, but for which the English language possesses no more appropriate appellation than *thunder-storm*. See *Aen.* 5. 317: “effusi nimbo similes” [*poured out, surely not like a cloud, but like a thunder-storm, a sudden shower of heavy rain*]. *Aen.* 2. 113:

. . . “toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi,”

[not, clouds resounded over the whole sky, but thunder-storms resounded]. *Aen.* 4. 161 :

. . . "insequitur commixta grandine nimbus"

[not, a cloud mixed with hail, or a hail cloud, follows, but a hail-storm, a shower of hail, follows]. *Aen.* 4. 120 :

"his ego nigrantem commixta grandine *nimbum*

desuper infundam"

[not, I will pour a cloud mixed with hail on them, but a hail-storm on them]. (2), that there appears no reason, and no reason has been assigned, why Pallas should have a nimbus (whether understood to mean a cloud, or a storm) about her on this occasion. Such appendage had been equally useless, either for the purpose of inspiring terror, or for the purpose of concealment, she being (in common with the other gods introduced on the occasion, and who, it will be observed, had no nimbi) invisible to all human eyes except those of Aeneas alone, from which Venus had miraculously taken away OMNEM NUBEM QUAE MORTALES HEBETAT VISUS, and so rendered them able to see the invisible. **And**, (3), that Pallas could not correctly be represented as EFFULGENS NIMBO, whether the word be understood to mean (according to Heyne's erroneous definition of it) "nubes obscura," or (according to that which I have shown is its only true interpretation) *gewitter, temporale, thunder-shower, thunder-storm*, unless we admit the propriety of the expression (in the former case) *effulgent with darkness*, and (in the latter) *effulgent with the obscure cloak* in which gods were used sometimes for particular purposes to wrap themselves up, and hide themselves from observation, as *Aen.* 12. 416 :

. . . "Venus, obscuro faciem circumdata *nimbo*."

Ibid. 10. 634 :

. . . "agens hiemem, *nimbo* succincta per auras."

Despairing, therefore, of obtaining any good sense from the reading NIMBO, I look for a different reading, and being informed by Servius that "alii LIMBO legunt, ut (*Aen.* 4. 137) : 'Sidoniam pecto chlamydem circumdata *limbo* ;'" and finding

that information confirmed by Heyne ("LIMBO, *Moret. Sec. pro var. lect.*"), I adopt LIMBO, and thus at once obtain, not merely an intelligible, but an admirable, sense—*Pallas* effulgent, neither with a dark cloud illuminated by her aegis or by flames of the burning city, nor with a dark thunderstorm, but with her limbus or *instita*, and her gorgon. *Pallas* is said to be effulgent with the "limbus," this part being the most splendid of the whole female dress; see the "limbus" of Dido, quoted by Servius above, and especially the "limbus" of the dress put by Thetis (*Stat. Achill. 1. 325*) on Achilles when she disguised him as a female for the court of Lycomedes :

"aspicit ambiguum genitrix, cogitque volentem,
innectitque sinus ; tunc colla rigentia mollit,
summittitque graves humeros, et fortia laxat
brachia, et impexos certo domat ordine crines,
ac sua dilecta cervice monilia transfert,
et picturato cohibet vestigia *limbo*,"

where it will be observed that the whole female dress of Achilles is placed before the eye of the reader by the "monilia" (representing the upper part) and the embroidered "limbus"¹ (representing the lower), just as in our text the whole costume of *Pallas* is represented by the (effulgent) gorgon above and the effulgent "limbus" below.

If it was proper for Statius thus to put forward the "monilia" and "limbus" as representatives of the whole of Achilles' petticoats, it was still more proper for Virgil to use a similar representation in the case of *Pallas*, that goddess being remarkable for wearing ("pace deae dictum sit!") petticoats so long as to acquire the appellation of *talares*, *i. e.*, of coming down quite to her heels. See almost all her numerous statues.

Neither do I require to point out to the reader the necessity there was that *Pallas*, although invisible to all human eyes, should yet wear clothes, or the propriety with which those clothes, when she is rendered visible to Aeneas, are described to have been of a splendour suitable to the goddess (see below), and to the attitude in which she is represented, viz., that of standing mistress of the conquered citadel.

Similar to the effulgence of Pallas's "limbus" in our text is that of her palla in Claudian, *de Rapt. Pros.* 2. 25 :

. . . "tantum stridentia colla
Gorgonos obtentu *pallae fulgentis* inumbrat ;"

and elsewhere I find a similar effulgence ascribed to other parts of the goddess's equipment. Thus (Claudian, *de Rapt. Pros.* 2. 226) her spear is so bright as to illuminate the chariot of Dis :

. . . "libratur in ictum
fraxinus, et nigros *illuminat* obvia currus ;"

her chariot (Auson. *Perioch.* 17. *Odyss.*) casts a red light over the sky :

" iam caelum roseis *rutilat* Tritonia bigis ;"

and (Claud. *Gigant.* 91) a similar light is cast by her gorgon :

. . . "Tritonia virgo
prosilat, ostendens *rutila* cum gorgone pectus."

TO LIMBO EFFULGENS ET GORGONE SAEVA thus understood as descriptive of the splendour of the goddess's dress, we have an exact parallel in *Aen.* 5. 132 :

. . . "ipsique in puppibus auro
ductores longe *effulgent* ostroque decori."

It would appear from the very ancient and remarkable statue of Minerva Polias, now in the Augusteum of Dresden, that the battle of the Giants described by Euripides (*Hecub.* 466), and by the author of *Ciris* (vs. 29), as embroidered on the peplum of Pallas, was not spread over the whole peplum, but confined to a clavus (limbus?), stripe, or border, represented on the statue as descending down the front of the person from the waist to the feet. For a view of this very striking statue, as well as for a separate view and description of the clavus, stripe, or border, descending down the front of its peplum, see Becker, *August. Dresd.* tabb. 9 and 10. Müller (*Minerva Polias*, p. 26) informs us, if I understand him right, that there is a similar band, or stripe, on the pepla of all the very ancient statues of the Minerva Polias : " Insignis maxime *clavus* quidam sive limes ceteris aliquanto latior de medio corpore decurrens, qui etiam apud populos Asiae maxime decorus habebatur."

SAEVA is predicated not (according to Servius's second interpretation) of Pallas, but (according to his first interpretation) of the gorgon: *first*, because the picture is thus more concentrated; *secondly*, because *saeva* (the Greek *δεινη*) is precisely the term applied to the gorgon both by Hesiod, *Scut. Hercul.* 223:

παν δε μεταφρενον ειχε κερη δεινοιο πελωρου
γοργους,

and Homer, *Il.* 5. 741:

εν δε τε γοργειη κεφαλη δεινοιο πελωρου
δεινη τε σμερδνη τε, Διος τερας αιγιοχοιο:

and, thirdly, because to apply to Pallas, in the positive degree only, the very term which had just (vers. 612) been applied to Juno in the superlative degree, had been an anti-climax of the worst kind.

Despairing to make any tolerable sense out of the received reading, I take the hint from Servius: "alii LIMBO legunt," and read LIMBO. Pallas is effulgent, neither with a "nubes divina" (Servius), for there is no instance of *nimbus* used in that sense either by Virgil or any of Virgil's cotemporaries, nor with a *dark* thundershower ("repentinae pluviae," Pomp. Sabin., Germ. *gewitter*, Ital. *temporale*), the only sense in which *nimbus* ever occurs in Virgil, but she is effulgent with her "limbus," *i. e.*, with the broad border of her peplum on which was depicted the battle of the Giants. See, in addition to the authors quoted three paragraphs back, in Buonarotti (*Osserv. sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi*, p. 78), a figure of Pallas in which the limbus of the peplum occupies nearly the lower half of it. With such "limbus," either taken literally or as representing the whole female skirt or petticoat, Pallas is refulgent. Compare (α), Stat. *Achill.* 1. 325, where the whole female dress is thus represented by its most conspicuous and striking parts, the monilia above, and the embroidered limbus below. (β), Stat. *Theb.* 6. 366, where Apollo Musagetes is described as putting off (as soon as he had done playing on the lyre) the embroidered limbus, *i. e.*, the gown with embroidered border, which he had worn while playing. (γ), especially Trebell.

Pollio, *Triginta Tyranni*, 30, where Zenobia appears before the assembly wearing a helmet and purple limbus: "Ad conciones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo, gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam" [a flounced purple skirt or petticoat]. (d), *Ibid.* 14: "Eousque ut tunicae, et limbi, et paenulae matronales in familia eius hodieque sint, quae Alexandri effigiem de liciis variantibus monstrent," where also "limbi" can be nothing else than female skirts or petticoats. (e), Apollon. Rhod. 4. 940:

αυτικ' ανασχομεναι λευκοις επι γουνασι πεζας.

And (f), Nonius: "*limbus*, muliebre vestimentum quod purpuram in imo habet."

The connection of "*limbus*" in either sense with EFFULGENS is not only appropriate, but according to Virgil's usual practice of representing his characters as effulgent with splendid dress, as 5. 132; 10. 539; 11. 489. Nor is the splendid "*limbus*" inappropriately joined as an object of terror with the gorgon, for see Prudent. *contra Symm.* 2. 573:

"nullane tristificis Tritonia noctua Charris
advolitans praesto esso deam praeunntia Crasso
prodidit? aut Paphiam niveae vexero columbae,
cuius inauratum tremere gens Persica limbum?"*

where "*limbum*" is Venus's cestus—*limbus* being, as I may here incidentally observe, primarily *any broad stripe* (see Varro, *fragm.*: "mundus domus est . . . maxima rerum, quam quinque altitonae . . . fragmine zonae cingunt, . . . per quam *limbus* . . . pictus bis sex . . . signis stellimicantibus altus, . . . in obliquo aethere, lunae . . . bigas solisque receptat"), and only secondarily, and inasmuch as the border of a garment was usually ornamented and completed by a broad sewed-on stripe, *the border of a garment*.

LIMBO EFFULGENT.—Pallas is always effulgent. Her pallas is fulgens, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 25; her spear illuminates

* "*Nimbus*" has here in some editions taken the place of "*limbum*."

the whole chariot of Dis, *ibid.* 2. 226; her chariot casts a red light over the sky, Auson. *Perioch.* 17. *Odyss.*; her gorgon casts a red light, Claud. *Gigant.* 91; and she comes *παμφαινούσα*, Apollon. Rhod. 4. 1309, out of the head of Jupiter.

EFFULGENS.—So usually, properly, and even specially, is effulgence attributed to dress or equipment, that examples are not wanting of the single word *effulgere* used to signify *effulgent in dress*. Compare Claud. 6. *Cons. Honor.* 543:

“ omne, Palatino quod pons a colle recedit
Mulvius, et quantum licuit consurgere textis,
una replet turbæ facies: undare videres
ima viris, altas *effulgere* matribus aedes.”

By a similar substitution of *n* for *l*, most of the MSS. of Statius read “*nymphas*” instead of “*lymphas*,” *Silv.* 1. 3. 34 (of the villa of Vopiscus):

“ quid primum mediumve canam; quo fine quiescam?
auratasne trabes, an Mauros undique postes,
an picturata lucentia marmora vena
mirer, an emissas per cuncta cubilia *lymphas*?”

621-631.

DIXERAT—RUINAM

SPISSIS NOCTIS SE CONDIDIT UMBRIS.—Peerlkamp objects: “CLARA INCENDIA obstant.” Those who make such objections require more than is to be obtained from any poet. You must wink, or you cannot read, much less enjoy, poetry. The spectator in the theatre sits looking on, delighted at the performance, and shuts his eyes to the incongruities. If he does not, good-bye to the delight. The objection is of a piece with the rest of Peerlkamp’s objections, which require nothing less than the recasting of every line of the *Aeneid*, with the view of rendering the style mathe-

matically correct, and the necessary consequence of reducing it from poetry to prose, of substituting the common, vulgar, everyday light, for the gorgeous hues of the spectrum. See Rem. on "ignes iugales," 7. 320.

NUMINA MAGNA DEUM.—"Numen" is taken here not as at 1. 12, in its primary sense of will or pleasure, but in its secondary sense, viz., of the person of whom that will or pleasure is an attribute, exactly as in our expression: "the King's most excellent Majesty," meaning the most excellent and majestic king. NUMINA MAGNA DEUM therefore (literally and primarily *the gods' great wills*) is here equivalent to *the great willing and commanding gods*. See Rem. on "numine," 1. 12.

TUM VERO . . . TROIA.—Compare Pind. *Ol.* 11. 34 :

και μεν ξεναπατας

Επειων βασιλευς οπιθεν

ου πολλον ιδε πατριδα πολυκτεανον υπο στερεω πυρι

πλαγαις τε σιδαρου βαθυν εις οχετον ατας

ιζοισαν εαν πολιν.

The manifest allusion to the original building of Troy, at the very moment of its overthrow, had been happier if it had not been forestalled by representation of Neptune himself engaged in overthrowing it, verse 610. The expression is repeated in a similar context and similarly constructed, almost identical, verse, 3. 2 :

... "ceciditque superbum

Ilium, et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,"

where the allusion to the builder of Troy is happier, the picture of the same builder engaged in its overthrow being there less fresh in the recollection.

MINATUR.—Servius seems to be in the same doubt here as at 1. 166, and 2. 240, whether "minari" is to be taken in its primary or secondary sense: "MINATUR, aut eminet aut movetur," where by "movetur" can only be meant *threatens to fall* ("Cader' minaccia," Alfieri). That the former is meant, I have as little doubt here as on the two former occasions, and, as on those occasions, interpret the word: *towers, holds its head high*; an interpretation which has at least these two great advantages

over its rival ; first, that it is as entirely in conformity with the use of the term on both, especially on the first of those two former occasions, as the rival interpretation is in direct contradiction ; and, secondly, that it is not to a tree immediately toppling over when the axe is laid to its root that *pious* Aeneas should compare the beleaguered city, but to a tree which continues to hold its head high and fearless (USQUE MINATUR) even while the axe is being laid to its root. See Rem. on 1. 166 ; 2. 240 ; 4. 88 ; 8. 668.

TREMEFACTA COMAM CONCUSO VERTICE NUTAT, *nods with her leafy head, viz., as a warrior with his crested and plumed helmet. Compare 9. 677 :*

“ ipsi intus dextra ac laeva pro turribus adstant
armati ferro, et cristis capita alta corusci :
quales aeriae liquentia flumina circum,
sive Padi ripis, Athesim seu propter amoenum,
consurgunt geminae quercus, intonsaque caelo
attollunt capita, et sublimi vertice nutant.”

CONGEMUIT.—Not merely *groaned*, but *groaned loudly* ; as it were *with all its force collected into one last effort*. See Rem. on vs. 52 ; 6. 634.

AVULSA.—“ *Evulsa*,” Ruæus.

. . . “ und schmetternd, den höhn entrottet, *hinabkracht*.”

Voss.

. . . “ e dal suo giogo al fine

o con parte del giogo *si diveglie*,

o si scoscende.”

Caro.

No, but AVULSA, TRAXIT RUINAM IUGIS, *i.e.*, “ *ibi, in iugis :*” *torn away with ropes from the stump where the axe had nearly (but not entirely) cut it through, fell there on the mountain.* AVULSA, *sciz.*, funibus. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 774 :

. . . “ labefactaque tandem
ictibus innumeris, adductaque *funibus* arbor
corrui, et multam prostravit pondere silvam.”

Thus the cadence—cracked, broken and limping, if the structure be

CONGEMUIT, TRAXITQUE, IUGIS AVULSA, RUINAM—

becomes fluent and sonorous :

CONGEMUIT, TRAXITQUE IUGIS, AVÛLSA, RUINAM ;

the ictus falling full upon VÛL.

632-633.

DESCENDO AC DUCENTE DEO FLAMMAM INTER ET HOSTES
EXPEDIOR

VAR. LECT.

DEA ■ *Ver.* DUCENTEDEA (DEO *a m. sec. superscr.*). ■■ cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ “Legitur et DEO . . . Qui legunt DEO *fatum* volunt dictum . . . Qui vero legunt DEA *matri* adtribuunt Aeneae liberationem,” Schol. Veron. (Keil’s ed., p. 88, l. 29).

DEO ■■■ Servius ; “DUCENTE DEO, non DEA,” Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 8 ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. ; Brunck ; Wakefield ; Heyne ; Voss ; Wagn. (*Praest.*) ; Ladewig.

O *Vat., Rom., St. Gall.*

DESCENDO.—Whence ? If from the roof, he has been able from the roof not only to see Helen where she was hid in the interior of the temple of Vesta (LIMINA VESTAE SERVANTEM ; SECRETA IN SEDE LATENTEM ; ABDIDERAT SESE ; ARIS SEDEBAT), but to rush on her with his sword—“TALIA IACTABAM ET FURIATA MENTE FEREBAR . . . ALMA PARENS . . .” DEXTRA PREHENSUM CONTINUIT.” If from the arx why has there been no mention of his previous descent from the roof ? In either case the difficulty is so great that I am fain to think that the original sequence has been

AD TERRAM MISERE AUT IGNIBUS AEGRA DEDERE
TUM VERO OMNE MIHI VISUM CONSIDERE IN IGNE,

a sequence affording this most natural connection of thought :—
“I look about ; I find myself alone. My companions have all

perished, and so at last I lose hope, give up everything for lost, and, descending from the roof from whence I have seen the city burning and the king killed, return home in order if possible to carry my father safe out of the city." Nothing can be better than this connexion of thought and this position of Aeneas's descent from the roof. On the other hand, nothing can be worse than the connexion of thought:—"I am left alone, Troy has been burnt, my companions have perished in the flames; I spy Helen in the temple of Vesta, and am prevented from killing her only by the intervention of my mother, who reproves me, and shows me the divinities personally occupied in overthrowing the city. Then and only then do I give up hope and descend;" as, in like manner, nothing can be worse than this position of DESCENDO, whether we consider the descent to be from the roof, in which case Aeneas has seen Helen from the roof, and had the interview with his mother on the roof, or whether we consider the descent to be from the arx, in which case we have no account either of Aeneas's descent from the roof, or of his feelings on finding himself alone on the roof after all his companions have perished—hear absolutely nothing of him, either of his thoughts or of his doings, from the time he finds himself alone on the roof till the time he is rushing on Helen hid in the temple of Vesta. Still further, in this connexion of thought and this position of DESCENDO, we have (■), Aeneas reminded by Venus (verse 596 :

NON PRIUS ASPICIES UBI FESSUM AETATE PARENTEM
LIQUERIS ANCHISEN ? SUPERET CONIUXNE CREUSA
ASCANIUSQUE PUER ?)

of that which had occurred to himself before Venus made her appearance (verse 560 :

. . . SUBIIT CARI GENITORIS IMAGO
UT REGEM AEQUAEVUM CRUDELI VULNERE VIDI
VITAM EXHALANTEM ; SUBIIT DESERTA CREUSA,
ET DIREPTA DOMUS, ET PARVI CASUS IULI.

(●), we have the comparison AC VELUTI . . . RUINAM—unexceptionable if coming in immediate sequence after

AD TERRAM MISERE AUT IGNIBUS AEGRA DEDERE—

liable to have this strong exception taken to it, viz., that it forces on us an inevitable mental juxtaposition of the agents engaged in the destruction of Troy, the NUMINA MAGNA DEUM, and the agents engaged in felling the tree, the AGRICOLÆ, nay of the instruments used, the “bipennes” of the one party and the “tridens” of the other, even of the grammatical pendants EMOTA and ACCISAM, ERUIT and ERUERE INSTANT. **And (3),** we have DEO the general term for divinity, and the very term which had rightly had a place in the sequence of thought in which no particular duty is introduced; we have, I say, this general term used in a sequence in which a particular duty has been introduced in so pointed a manner that the reader remains doubtful in which way to extricate himself from the ambiguity, whether by assuming that the particular divinity is referred to by the general term, or by finding Virgil guilty of ascribing to divinity in general what the whole context, with the exception of this single word, compels the reader to ascribe to the particular divinity so prominently placed before him at the very moment. For all these reasons I am strongly inclined to think that the original sequence of thought has been from

AD TERRAM MISERE AUT IGNIBUS AEGRA DEDERE

to

TUM VERO OMNE MIHI VISUM CONSIDERE IN IGNES,

that the in itself beautiful and truly Virgilian picture of Venus, Helen, and the deities inimical to Troy, has been an after-thought, not well dove-tailed in, and that this after-thought, if actually and in point of fact expunged by Tucca and Varius, was so expunged not at all on account of the unmanliness of Aeneas's intended onslaught on Helen, but altogether as an after-thought, which, however beautiful in itself, was so awkwardly filled in as rather to be an eyesore than an ornament.

644.

SIC O SIC POSITUM AFFATI DISCEDITE CORPUS

"Mortuum se effingit, componitque, ac si efferendus esset ad tumulum," La Cerda. "Dieses zurechtlegen der glieder und haende in gestreckte lage gehoert zu den heiligen letzten pflichten der verwandten . . . Dass Anchises es hier selbst thut, zeigt das freiwillige und feste seines entschlusses," Thiel. "Der zum sterben entschlossene Anchises hat sich selbst schon die lage eines verstorbenen gegeben," Ladewig. "*Sic positus* (ut 4. 681) quemadmodum mortui solent, rectus extentusque, Eurip. *Hipp.* 786 : *ορθωσαι' εκτειναντες αθλιον νεκρον*," Wagner (1861).

So Anchises stretches himself out stark and stiff and straight as if he were a laid-out corpse! A very pretty picture, indeed, especially as it is of a man who, while he thus stretches himself out stark and stiff and straight as if he were a laid-out corpse, tells us, at the same time, he will fight until he forces the enemy to kill him—IPSE MANU MORTEM INVENIAM. No, no; there is none of this child's play, this game of dead-and-alive, in the Aeneid. Anchises does not stretch himself out stark and stiff and straight as if he were a laid-out corpse; but, throwing himself on the ground, or on a couch or sofa, or continuing to lie there, if he had been lying there previously, refuses to stir, and bids his friends take leave of him lying there, as they would take leave of him if he were lying dead: "Away," he says, "and save yourselves; leave me here to die; take leave of me as you would if I were laid here already dead, for you will never again see me alive." Compare Eurip. *Electr.* 1325 (Orestes telling Electra to take leave of him as if he were dead):

βαλε, προσπτυξον σωμα' θανοντος δ'
ως επι τυμβω καταθρηνησον,

and Val. Flacc. 1. 334 (Alcimedee taking leave of Jason): "et dulci iam nunc preme lumina dextra." Also Propert. 2. 34. 59

(ed. Hertzlb.):

“ me iuvet hesternis *positum* languere corollis,
quem tēgit iactu certus ad ossa deus ; ”

in not one of which cases does the individual act death, stretch himself out stiff and stark as if he were dead : all he does is to compare his lying, languishing, despairing, inert position, with the lying, inert position of a corpse. And, exactly so in our text : Anchises does not stretch himself out and act the laid-out corpse, but requests his friends to regard him as lying there already dead, and take leave of him accordingly : “ Let this, oh ! let this, be my death bed ; take leave of me here for ever. The enemy will find me here and kill me in mercy and for the sake of my spoils. They shall not spare my life, for I will fight till I force them to kill me.”

I by no means deny that *positus* has sometimes and even frequently the meaning assigned to it in this place by the commentators, is sometimes (*ex. gr.*, by Ovid, *Met.* 9. 502 :

. . . “ toroque
mortua componar, *positaeque* det oscula frater ; ”

and even by our author himself, 11. 30 :

“ corpus ubi exanimi *positum* Pallantis Aeocetes
servabat senior ”)

applied to the stretched, formally laid-out corpse, **but** that such meaning is inherent in the word, and therefore not to be ascribed to it except in those cases in which, as in the examples just adduced, the context shows that it is used in that special technical sense. But in our text the context shows the very contrary, shows that “ *positus* ” has not this special meaning of formally stretched, straightened, and laid-out, as dead bodies are stretched, straightened, and laid-out by the care of their surviving friends ; but the much more ordinary, less special sense of *laid*, or *lying dead*, of which more ordinary, less special sense the following are examples : (α), Stat. *Theb.* 12. 288 (of Argia, searching for the dead body of Polynices on the field of battle) :

. . . “ visuque sagaci
rimatur *positos*, et corpora prona supinat
incumbens ; ”

(*b*), Stat. *Theb.* 12. 359 (of Antigone) :

“ quippe truncem campum, et *positus* quo pulvere frater
noverat,”

in neither of which passages will it be pretended that Polynices is described as formally laid out, straightened, and stretched, and not merely as laid or lying in his blood on the field of battle. Also, (*c*), Ovid, *Met.* 13. 543 (Hecuba finding Polydorus's body washed on shore) :

“ nunc *positi* spectat vultum, nunc vulnera nati,”

where it will as little be pretended by anyone that the stretched, straightened, laid-out position given to a corpse by the undertaker, and not the position in which the corpse happened to be laid, placed, or thrown by the sea, is meant. Compare also, (*d*), *Aen.* 4. 681 : “ sic te ut *posita* crudelis abessem,” where the term is applied to Dido, not even yet dead but only dying ; and, (*e*), Stat. *Silv.* 1. 4. 106 :

“ dixerat : inveniunt *positos* iam segniter artus [Gallici]
pugnantemque animam ; ritu se cingit uterque
Paeonio, monstrantque simul, parentque volentes ;
donec letiferas vario medicamine pestes,
et suspecta mali ruperunt nubila somni,”

where it is applied to Gallicus, laid or lying on the sick bed. (*f*), Ovid, *Met.* 3. 420 (of Narcissus) :

“ spectat humi *positus* geminum, sua lumina, sidus.”

And (*g*), Met. *Epist.* 4. 97 :

“ saepe sub ilicibus Venerem Cinyraque creatum
sustinuit *positos* quaelibet herba duos.”

We might point out a thousand-and-one other instances in which it is applied to persons, in perfect health and vigour, laid or lying on the ground, in bed, on a sofa, no matter how. The words of the nuncius, then, in the *Hippolytus* directing the attendants to go and stretch and formally lay out the corpse of Phaedra :

ορθωσατ' εκτειναντες αθλιον νεκυν,

by the citation of which Wagner has endeavoured to throw light on the picture, serve only to obscure and confuse it, the word

positus not being used in the narrow and technical sense of laid out, straightened, and stretched, but in the wider, more general sense of laid or lying, and not at all containing the notion of death, not even with all the assistance afforded to it by the addition of corpus (for see “ponere corpus,” even with the further addition of “humo,” applied to persons in the perfect vigour of life and health, Ovid, *Amor. B. 11* :

“ingenium dura ponere corpus humo.”

Id., *Art. Amat. B. 523* :

“clausa tibi fuerit promissa ianua nocte,
perfer et immunda ponere corpus humo”),

but that notion being left to be gathered from the words of the context: AFFATI DISCEDITE; MORTEM INVENIAM; MISEREBITUR HOSTIS; FACILIS LACTURA SEPULCRI, &c.; and so far is the position taken by Anchises from being that in which the attendants are directed by the nuncius to place the dead body of Phædra—

ορθωσατ' εκτειναντες αθλιον νεκρον—

and in which the chorus informs us the attendants proceed immediately to place it—

ηδη γαρ ως νεκρον νιν εκτεινονσι δη--

that it is the very opposite, viz., such uncared neglected position as had been assumed by Phædra's body in the noose, or after it had been taken down from the noose and *before* the care directed by the nuncius had been bestowed on it.

To recapitulate: The words POSITUM CORPUS are equally applicable to any one of three states—laid (lying) alive; laid (lying) dead; and laid (lying) dead and formally straightened, stretched, and laid out. Which is the state meant in any particular case can only be shown by the context. In the case of Anchises the context plainly shows that the state meant is that of laid (lying) dead. Pity that the natural and pathetic should have been turned into the absurd and ridiculous; that the universal destiny, the common lot of man, the position in which we are all sooner or later to be placed—viz., that of being left to

die, left for dead—should be confounded with the particular attitude and set which it is the fashion to give to the body after it is dead!

CORPUS strengthens POSITUM. Anchises does not say, “take leave of me laid here, as you would take leave of me if I were laid here dead,” but “take leave of the body (*σῶμα*, Eurip. *Electr.*, just quoted), laid here as if it were dead.”

SIC POSITUM, *so laid; so placed; in this position*, no matter what the position may be. Compare *Ecl.* 2. 54 :

“et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te, proxima myrte;
sic *positae* quoniam suaves miscetis odores.”

Aen. 4. 681 : “sic te ut *posita* crudelis abessem.” Hor. *Sat.* 1. 2. 105 :

. . . “leporem venator ut alta
in nive sectetur, *positum* sic tangere nolit,
cantat”

(where Orelli : “In verbo autem *sic* inest notio: commode ac sine ullo labore leporem tolli posse”). Hor. *Carm.* 2. 11. 13 :

“cur non sub alta vel platano, vel hac
pinu *iacentes* sic tenere . . .
potamus uncti ?”

SIC, o SIC.—The O and the second SIC are added for the sake of pathos, and to show still more clearly that Anchises not merely bids his friends take leave of him where he was then laid, but bids them take leave of him as if he were laid there dead. We must punctuate SIC, o SIC, and not with the editors, Heyne, Brunck, Wakefield, Wagner (ed. Heyn. and 1861), Lade-wig, SIC O, SIC. In order to express the pathos, the exclamation must go to the second SIC; otherwise there is an anticlimax.

645-649.

IPSE MANU MORTEM INVENIAM MISEREBITUR HOSTIS
 EXUVIASQUE PETET FACILIS IACTURA SEPULCRI
 IAMPRIDEM INVISUS DIVIS ET INUTILIS ANNOS
 DEMOROR EX QUO ME DIVUM PATER ATQUE HOMINUM REX
 FULMINIS AFFLAVIT VENTIS ET CONTIGIT IGNI

IPSE MANU.—“MANU hostis,” Servius, Heyne. No; *I myself with my own hand*. Compare “ipsa manu” (*Georg.* 4. 329), *thou thyself with thine own hand*; “ipse manu” (*Æn.* 2. 320; 3. 372; 5. 241; 7. 143), *he himself with his own hand*; “ipsa manu” (7. 621), *she herself with her own hand*; “ille manu” (6. 395; 12. 899), *he with his hand*; “illa manu” (11. 816), *she with her hand*.

IPSE MANU MORTEM INVENIAM.—Not MORTEM MANU (which had been only *violent death*), but INVENIAM MANU, *will find by my hand*, i. e. *by fighting*. Compare verse 434: “meruisse manu;” 11. 116: “bellum finire manu;” Sil. 4. 47: “metui peperere manu.” That it is death by fighting Anchises means, and not death by suicide (“Selbst werd’ ich mich tödten,” Voss. “*Manu mortem invenire valet manum sibi inferre*,” Wagner, ed. Heyn.) appears sufficiently, first from the just-adduced examples of manu used in the sense of pugnando, and secondly from the immediately connected MISEREBITUR HOSTIS, EXUVIASQUE PETET—the enemy, in compassion to the wretched old man who endeavours to fight, will put an end to his trouble by killing him, and will be the more ready to do so in order to get possession of his spoils.

MISEREBITUR HOSTIS.—“Nullus dubito, quin post INVENIAM particula aut exciderit,” Wagner. No, by no means; there is no division, no disjunction, no alternative. MISEREBITUR HOSTIS assigns the *how* he will find his death by fighting: the enemy will take pity on him and put him out of the way. Compare

11. 493:

“figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
conicite, o Rutuli, me primam absomite ferro;
aut tu, magne pater divum, miserere, tuoque
invisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo;”

also, 10. 676:

. . . “vos o potius miserescite, venti;
in rupes, in saxa volens vos Turnus adoro
ferre ratem, sacvisque vadis immittite syrtis,
quo neque me Rutuli, nec conscia fama sequatur.”

It is not the old man whom the enemy will kill in compassion, but the old man *fighting*; they will rightly judge that his only object is to be killed, not to survive his country and friends, and therefore they will kill him, to do which act of mercy they will have the additional motive, viz., of obtaining his spoils. The mistake committed by the commentators here is precisely the same as that which they have committed at verse 521. In neither case have they been able to see that the pitiable object was not the old man, but the old man reduced to the extremity of using arms.

MISEREBITUR HOSTIS. Compare Val. Flacc. 1. 323₄ (Alcimedede lamenting the departure of Jason):

. . . “si fata reducant
te mihi, si trepidis placabile matribus aequor;
possum equidem lucemque pati, longumque timorem.
sin aliud Fortuna parat, miserere parentum,
mors bona, dum metus est, nec adhuc dolor.”

FACILIS IACTURA SEPULCRI.—“Hoc a summa rerum omnium desperatione profectum ut ne sepulcri quidem iactura moveatur,” Wagner (1861), Ladewig (1855). I think not; inasmuch as, no matter how great the despair, the loss of the sepulchre was still to be lamented, that loss being the worst and last loss, and the care of the poor remains clinging even to the most unhappy, the most desperate. How then is the IACTURA SEPULCRI, this worst and last loss, so FACILIS to Anchises? The explanation is to be found in what immediately follows. He had been smitten with lightning, and so marked out by Jove himself as a reprobate unworthy of sepulture (IAMPRIDEM, &c.) Compare Festus,

Fragm. e cod. Farnes. (Mueller's *Festus*, p. 178): "In Numae Pompili regis legibus scriptum esse: 'Si hominem fulmen Iovis occisit, ne supra genua tollitor,' et alibi: 'homo si fulmine occisus est, ei iusta nulla fieri oportet;'" and again, p. 210: "Pestiferum fulgur dicitur, quo mors exiliumve significari solet." See also Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* 2. 9 (ed. Reiff.): *Ου γαρ οι κεραυνωθεντες μετατιθενται, αλλ' οπου αν υπο του πυρος καταληφθωσιν, ενταυθα θαπτονται.* Pers. 2. 27:

"triste iaces lucis evitandumque bidental."

The loss of a sepulchre now by the sacking of the city was a light loss, *FACILIS IACTURA*, to a man who, having been struck many years ago by Jove's lightning, had from that time lingered on, a useless castaway, hated by the gods, despised by men, and unworthy even of a sepulchre. If he lost the sepulchre now by the sacking of the city, it was no more than he might have expected ever since the day he was struck by Jove's lightning, on which day it had been better for him he had died (*IAMPRIDEM DEMOROR ANNOS*). So explained, the *FACILIS IACTURA SEPULCRI*, which has appeared to commentators so inconsistent with the religious character of Anchises, is not only not irreligious, but on the contrary in the highest degree religious, as a bowing to and submission of the entire will to the will of Jove. It is at the same time in the most perfect harmony with the changed feelings and conduct of the same eminently religious man, that as soon as convinced by two signs from heaven that he had been precipitate in forming his judgment of the disposition of Jove towards him, he should have allowed his son to rescue him.

FACILIS IACTURA SEPULCRI, exactly as Liv. 5. 39: "*Facilem iacturam esse seniorum, relictæ in urbi utique periturae turbae.*"

IAMPRIDEM.—This word and the sentence to which it belongs stand in the most intimate connexion with the immediately preceding. It is as if Anchises had said: "the loss of the sepulchre, great a loss as it is, is a light loss to one who has been so many years under the ban of the Omnipotent, and marked out by Him as undeserving of any respect and honour both during life and after death."

FULMINIS AFFLAVIT VENTIS ET CONTIGIT IGNI.—According

to the vague natural philosophy of the ancients, the noise of thunder was produced by the clashing of winds, on each other or on the clouds, as Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 221 :

“ quantum non Italo percussa Ceraunia fluctu :
quantum non madidis elisa tonitrua Coris ; ”

and the thunderbolt itself (*fulmen*) consisted of *ventus* and of *ignis*, as Lucret. 6. 274 :

“ heic, ubi *ventus*, eas idem qui cogit in unum
forte locum quemvis, expressit multa vaporis
semina, seque simul cum eo commiscuit *igni* ;
insinuatus ibei vortex vorsatur in alto,
et calideis acuit *fulmen* fornacibus intus.”

And so not only the scholiast of the Veronese Palimpsest, commenting on our text (Keil's ed., p. 89, l. 9) : “ Ventumque igneum fulmen vocant,” but our author himself, in his account of the manufacture of the thunderbolt by Vulcan, 8. 430 : “ rutili tres ignis et alitis Austri.”

In the division of the simple thesis *fulmine percussit* into two distinct theses, each relating to a distinct constituent of the general subject (“*fulmen*”), our author has only exhibited his usual manner. See Rem. on l. 550. The “*venti*” being supposed to be the less, the “*ignis*” the more, solid part of the “*fulmen*,” it is with the strictest propriety that *APPELAVIT* is assigned to the former, and *CONTIGIT* to the latter. Compare Callim. *Hymn. in Dianam*, 116 :

. . . απο δε φλογος ηψαο ποιης
Μυσω εν Ουλυμπω φαιος δ' ενεγκας αυτημην
ασβεστων, το ρα πατρος αποσταζουσι κεραυνοι.

Stat. *Theb.* 5. 586 :

. . . “ moti tamen *aura* cucurrit
fulminis et summas libavit vertice cristas.”

And Sil. 1. 252 (ed. Rup.) :

“ spectarunt Poeni tremuitque exercitus Astur,
torquentem cum tela Iovem, permixtaque nimbis
fulmina, et excussos *ventorum flatibus ignes*
turbato transiret [Hannibal] equo.”

AFFLAVIT, precisely our *blasted*; as Milton, *Par. Lost*, 4. 928: "the blasting, vollied thunder;" and the Italian *ventò*, as Dante: "col fulmine me ventò." Compare also Liv. 28. 23: "ambusti afflatu vaporis;" Plin. *Paneg.* 90: "Utrumque nostrum ille optimi cuiusque spoliator et carnifex stragibus amicorum, et in proximum iacto fulmine afflaverat;" and, quoted by Wagner, Liv. 30. 6: "saucii afflatique incendio."

CONTIGIT.—According to the peculiar import of *con*, *struck violently, with force*.

653.

FATOQUE URGENTI INCUMBERE VELLET

I am not aware of a satisfactory explanation of this passage by any commentator. Servius's (ed. Lion) "*Simile est ut currentem incitare, praecipitantem impellere*" can hardly be called an explanation at all; at most and best tells what the Virgilian sentiment resembles; while Heyne's "*h. e. exitium quod vol sic imminabat accelerare. Urgent quae instant; ut, quae casum minantur his si incumbimus, ea impellimus ut proruant*" is a mere vague generalization from which the reader is left to collect if he can that Aeneas, in Heyne's opinion, implores his father not to push impending fate so hard as to bring it toppling over on himself and friends—a picture which, if it be verily the picture intended by Virgil, the reader will, I hope, have less difficulty in realising than I have.

But if Servius and his followers are so little precise as to afford no information at all, and put us off with sound in the place of sense, La Cérda is not only explicit but positive, and regards the INCUMBERE of Anchises on fate as beyond all doubt the incumbere of the suicide on the drawn sword ("*Sumpta proculdubio locutio ab his qui incumbunt gladiis ut se interimant*") ;

and La Cerda is followed, says Forbiger, for I have not the *Zeitschrift* before me, by Haeckermann: "INCUMBERE FATO, ex analogia locutionis *incumbere gladio, ferro.*" Plausible, however, as at first sight this explanation appears to be, and deservedly great as is my respect for both La Cerda and Haeckermann, I have found it impossible to reconcile myself to an allusion in INCUMBERE FATO to *incumbere ferro*, and preferred to remain in doubt until time, that great revealer of secrets, should perhaps throw in my way some truer parallel for INCUMBERE FATO than *incumbere ferro*. Nor had I long to wait, the desired parallel presenting itself almost immediately in "*incumbere fortunae*," Sil. 7. 241 (of Hannibal):

" *Fortunae Libys incumbit, flatuque secundo
fidit agens puppim*"

[*leans on fortune, puts pressure on fortune so as to make it go on faster*]. This was the first true parallel which presented itself. The next was "*instare fatis*," Sil. 1. 268 (of the same Hannibal):

" *ergo instat fatis, et rumpere foedera certus
qua datur interea Romam comprehendere bello
gaudet, et extremis pulsat Capitolia terris*"

[*presses on the fates, viz., so as to make them more faster*]. And the third was "*addere cursum fatis*," Sil. 12. 45:

" *en qui nos segnes et nescire addere cursum
fatis iactastis*"

[*to add speed to the fates, to make the fates go faster*]. Not only then were both La Cerda and Haeckermann wrong, entirely wrong, but Conington ("to lend his weight to the destiny that was bearing us down") was entirely wrong too, and old Servius was right, and understood his author well, however little pains he took to explain him intelligibly to the uninitiated.

URGENTI.—Is URGENTI transitive, either meaning, as it must mean with La Cerda and Haeckermann, *pressing on him* (Anchises), or meaning, as it means with Conington, *pressing on us* ("bearing us down")? or is URGENTI intransitive, as it is with Servius, and does it mean, as it means with Servius, merely

hastening? I need hardly answer: intransitive, and means, with Servius, merely *hastening*. Compare Liv. 5. 22: "Quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa [Veii] . . . postremo, iam *fato* tum denique *urgenti*, operibus tamen, non vi, expugnata est." Lucan, 10. 30 (of Alexander the Great):

"perque Asiae populos *fatis urgentibus* actus
humana cum strage ruit."

Virg. *Georg.* 3. 199:

. summaeque sonorem
dant silvae, longique *urgent* ad littora fluctus."

URGENTI INCUMBERE.—Compare Plaut. *Aulul.* 4. 1. 7:

"si herum videt superare amorem, hoc servi esse officium reor,
refinere ad salutem; non cum quo *incumbat*, eo *impellere*,"

the "impellere" of which passage corresponds to the INCUMBERE of our text, and the "incumbat" of which passage corresponds to the URGENTI.

657-661.

MENE EFFERRE PEDEM GENITOR TE POSSE RELICTO
SPERASTI TANTUMQUE NEFAS PATRIO EXCIDIT ORE
SI NIHIL EX TANTA SUPERIS PLACET URBE RELINQUI
ET SEDET HOC ANIMO PERITURAEQUE ADDERE TROIAE
TEQUE TUOSQUE IUVAT PATET ISTI IANUA LETO

MENE EFFERRE . . . SPERASTI.—Not, *hast thou expected me to move my foot?* but *is it me (me, thy affectionate son) whom thou expectedst to move, &c.?* Compare 5. 848, and Rem.; and 1. 37, and Rem.

ET SEDET HOC ANIMO.—Compare 5. 418: "*idque pio sedet Aeneae.*" The metaphor is taken from a balance, of which that scale in which the greater weight is placed is said *sedere*; see Tibull. 4. 1. 41:

“ iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra,
prona nec hac plus parte *sedet*, nec surgit ab illa.”

PATET ISTI IANUA LETO.—“ Ad talem mortem ab hoste accipiendam via patet ; ea mors facile obtineri poterit. . . . Idem quod (645) IPSE MANU MORTEM INVENIAM,” Heyne—confounding [with Thiel, who quotes Lucr. 1. 1104 :

“ nam quaecunque prius de parti corpora cêsse
constitues, haec rebus erit pars *ianua lethi* ;”

Id. 3. 829 :

“ haud igitur *lethi* praecclusa est *ianua* menti ;”

Id. 5. 374 :

“ haud igitur *lethi* praecclusa est *ianua* caelo,”

as parallel and explanatory] the two very different, almost opposite, expressions, *patet ianua lethi*, *ανεωγμεναι Αδου πυλαι*, *the door of death is open* [Sil. 11. 186 (ed. Ruperti) :

. . . “ nullo nos invida tanto
armavit natura bono, quam *ianua mortis*
quod *patet*, et vita non aequa exire potestas.”

Val. Flacc. 3. 378 :

. . . “ non si mortalia membra
sortitusque breves, et parvi tempora fati
perpetimur, socius superi quondam ignis Olympi,
fas ideo miscere neces, ferroque morantes
exigere hinc animas redituraque semina caelo.
quippe nec in ventos, nec in ultima solvimur ossa :
ira manet duratque dolor ; cum deinde tremendi
ad solum venere Iovis, questuque nefandam
edocuere necem, *patet* ollis *ianua lethi*,
atque iterum remeare licet ; comes una sororum
additur, et pariter terras atque aequora lustrant.
quisque suos sontes inimicaque pectora poenis
implicat, et varia meritos formidine pulsant.”

Eurip. *Hipp.* 56 (of Hippolytus) :

. . . ου γαρ οιδ' ανεωγμενας πυλας
Αδου, φας τε λοισθιον βλεπων τοδε·

Id. *Hecub.* 1 :

Ηκω, νεκρων κευθμωνα και σκοτου πυλας
λιπων, εν' Αιδης χωρις οικισται θεων.
Πολυδωρος, Εκαβης παις γεγως της Κισσεως,
Πριαμου τε πατρος],

and PATET IANUA LETO, *the door is open to death*, i. e., *open for death to enter in*. Compare Gul. Tyr. *Bell. Sacr.* 15. 22 : “Hoc vir audiens magnanimus, licet doloris angeretur immensitate, et mortem non dubitaret adesse pro foribus, imperiali tamen maiestate constanter observata, sprexit,” &c.

Out of this confusion Mr. Conington in vain endeavours to extricate himself: “‘Leti ianua’ and similar expressions occur repeatedly in Lucretius, *e. g.*, 5. 373, ‘haud igitur leti praeclusa est ianua caelo.’ Virgil has perhaps varied the image a little, though it is not clear whether he means the door that leads to death, or, as the dative would rather suggest, the door through which death may come. . . . The latter interpretation is favoured by two passages which Henry quotes—Plin. *Ep.* 1. 18 : ‘illa ianuam famae patefecit;’ and Ter. *Heaut.* 3. 1. 72 : ‘Quantum fenestram ad nequitiam patefeceris!’” Instead of saying “it is not clear whether,” &c., Mr. Conington should have said it is perfectly clear and certain that the meaning is *the door for death to enter stands open*; and instead of requoting my insufficient quotations of twenty years ago, might have quoted Ovid, *ex Pont.* 2. 7. 37 :

“sed quia res timida est omnis miser, et quia longo
tempore lætitiæ ianua clausa meae est.”

Id. *Past.* 5. 502 : “hospitibus ianua nostra patet.” I need hardly point out to the reader how inharmonious—nay, how inconsistent both with the determination of Anchises to remain where he is, and with the announcement of Aeneas that Pyrrhus will be there immediately—are the words PATET ISTI IANUA LETO understood to mean, *the door to death is open to you, there is nothing to hinder you from going out to meet him*; how perfectly consistent in the sense, *the door is open for death to enter, the whole meaning being then*: “You are determined to remain here and die: there is nothing to hinder you; the door is open for death to enter in, and enter in he will immediately in the shape of Pyrrhus, who does not hesitate to butcher the son before the eyes of the father—the father at the altar.”

670.

NUNQUAM OMNES HODIE MORIEMUR INULTI

Commentators stumble over this passage more than they need. “NUNQUAM pro *non*,” says Aelius Donatus, quoting our text, ad Terent. *Adelph.* 2. 1. 15. “NUNQUAM pro *non*,” repeats Servius (ed. Lion); and “NUNQUAM pro *non*,” re-repeats Heyne—all of them, in order to get rid of the apparent incongruity NUNQUAM—HODIE, content to reduce passion’s strongest negative NUNQUAM (*i. e.*, non-unquam, *never*, *not ever*, *not for all time*) to the cool, common-place, simple negative non (*not for the present time, the time in which the negative is uttered*). I would not be fractious, but I must protest against this cutting down of NUNQUAM, non unquam, into mere non, especially of NUNQUAM in this emphatic position of first word in the sentence. I would not so deal even with Juvenal’s “nunquamne reponam”—how much less with the NUNQUAM of Aeneas, first word of the short sentence with which the hero sums up as he rushes forth to be revenged and die. Let us go back a little. It was plain to Aeneas that the only safety either for himself or his family was in flight. But his father was immovable in the determination not to fly. He was himself equally determined not to desert his father. The conclusion was obvious: death for all—

HOC ERAT, ALMA PARENS, QUOD ME PER TELA, PER IGNES
ERIPIS, UT MEDIIS HOSTEM IN PENETRALIBUS, UTQUE
ASCANIAM, PATREMQUE MEUM, IUNTAQUE CREUSAM,
ALTERUM IN ALTERIUS MACTATOS SANGUINE CERNAM?

The thought is intolerable to Aeneas, and he calls for arms. He will at least not sit there to see his whole family butchered and be butchered himself along with them. He will have some revenge. “*Never*,” he cries, “shall we all die to-day unrevenged. You are determined that we shall all die to-day. Be it so: but

it shall *never* be that we all die to-day unrevenge'd" [compare Sil. 4, p. 67 :

"dii patrii
talin' me letho tanta inter praelia nuper
servastis ? fortunae animam hanc exscindere dextra
indignum est visum ? redde, o, me nate, periclis,
redde hosti, liceat bellanti areessere mortem,
quam patriae fratrique probem"].

Aeneas's NUNQUAM is not in place of non, denies more strongly than it is possible for non to deny—denies not merely for the moment in which it is uttered, but for all future time. It is more impassioned than non in the very ratio in which it is less logical. Logic is the last thing emotion ever thinks of.

HODIE.—But commentators are always logical ; and, disappointed—even Donatus himself—in cutting down NUNQUAM to mere non, change their hand, and letting NUNQUAM stand unshorn (" *Nunquam* plus asseverationis habet quam *non*, ut Virgilius : NUNQUAM OMNES HODIE MORIEMUR INULTI," Donatus ad Terent. *Andr.* 2. 5. 7), vent all their malice on HODIE : "*Hodie* autem aut abundat, ut NUNQUAM OMNES HODIE MORIEMUR INULTI [Donat. ad Terent. *Adelph.* 4. 2. 31, a hint which Voss taking, translates our text thus : ' nie doch sinken wir all' ungerächet dem tode !' and is praised by Thiel for so doing : ' Voss übersetzt mit recht HODIE nicht '], aut *nunquam hodie pro nullo tempore huius diei, quia nunquam per se generale est* "—the **former** of which interpretations, not fixing for any particular time, still less for to-day, either the slaughter of Aeneas and his family or the revenge which Aeneas promises both himself and family for that slaughter, deprives the scene of the interest and pathos attaching to inevitable immediately impending destruction avenged on the instant to the utmost ability of the sufferers ; while the inordinate emphasis thrown on HODIE by the **latter**—" *nullo tempore huius diei*," at no time of this day—necessarily suggests at some time of some other day, a sentiment repudiated by the whole context.

But harsh and unmerited as has been the treatment which sometimes the NUNQUAM, at other times the HODIE, of our text

has received from former commentators, harsher and still more unmerited than which both words at once have received at the hands of Mr. Conington, who, not content in his paraphrase of our text ("if my father dooms himself and the rest of the family to an unresisting death, I will not share it") with both cutting down NUNQUAM to mere non, and omitting HODIE altogether, refers us for further information to his note on *Ecl. 3. 49*, where we are told that "the phrase ['nunquam hodie'] is found in the comic writers . . . as an arch way of saying that a thing shall not be, and 'hodie' seems to be a sort of comic pleonasm." (!) Poor, almost forgotten Phaer knew better than either Donatus, or Voss, or Heyne, or Thiel, or Conington, and more than three hundred years ago (July, 1555) in Kilgerran forest, correctly and vigorously, without eke or omission, or exaggeration or perversion of any kind, translated: "never shall we die this day unvenged all." Compare Tacit. *Hist. 1. 29*: "ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire *hodie* necesse est, aut, quod aequè apud bonos miserum est, occidere." Eurip. *Hipp. 21*:

α δ' εἰς ἐμὴν ἡμαρτήκε, τιμωρησόμεαι
Ἰππολύτων ἐν τῇ δ' ἡμέρᾳ.

A

Soph. *Oed. Col. 1611*:

ὦ τέκνα,
οὐκ ἐστ' ἐθ' ὑμῖν τῇ δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πατήρ.
ὀλῶλε γὰρ δὴ πάντα τὰ μα, κοῦκετι
τὴν δυσπουνήτων ἐξετ' ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ τροφήν.

Soph. *Trach. 741*:

τὸν ἀνδρᾶ τὸν σὸν ἰσθί, τὸν δ' ἐμὸν λέγω
πατέρα, κατακτείνασα τῇ δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

And also—not correctly only, but conformably to the very commonest usage—Erasm. *Colloq. Opulent. Sordida*: "‘Heus,’ inquam, ‘Orthogone, erit hodie pereundum fame?’"

672-684.

INSERTABAM—PASC

VAR. LECT. (vs. 683).

MOLL ■ *Ver.* ■■■ P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Philippe ; Pott. ; Wagn. (1845 ; *Lect. Virg.*) ; Wakef. (*Silv. Crit.* 4, p. 227).

MOLLIS ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■■. cod. Canon. (Butler) (MOLLES) ; “ In antiquis aliquot codd.,” Pierius. ■■■ Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. (*in loco*) ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*) ; Thiel ; Voss ; Ladewig ; Haupt ; Ribb. ; Con. O Rom., *St. Gall.*

INSERTABAM.—Incorrect substitution of the frequentative for the ordinary form, merely because *inserebam* could not be fitted into an hexameter verse. See Köne, “ Ueber die Sprache der Romisch. Epiker,” p. 159. There is, however, this peculiar propriety in the word *insert*, used in whichever form, that the strap or handle of the shield through which the arm was passed was (as we are informed by Cacl. Rhod. *ad locum*) technically denominated *insertorium*.

FUNDERE LUMEN APEX.—“ Apex proprie dicitur in summo flaminis pileo virga lanata, hoc est, in cuius extremitate modica lana est ; quod primum constat apud Albam Ascanium statuisse. Modo autem summitatem pilei intelligimus,” Servius, followed by Burmann and Leopardi. An interpretation to which I object, (■), that if the fire had been in the cap, the first thing to do was to pull off the cap, and that nothing can be more ridiculous than the figure made by Iulus in the picture in the Vatican Fragment (reproduced in Pozzoli’s [Romani e Peracchi’s] *Dizionario della Favola*, tav. 72), where two attendants are represented pouring water on the cap on the top of Iulus’s head ; **and** (●), that the “ flammeus apex ” which burned on the top of the head of Servius Tullius, and which was the prototype of the APEX of

our text, was plainly not the apex or tuft of a cap, but an apex of flame, “*flammeus apex* ;” Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 629 :

“*signa dedit genitor tunc cum caput igne corusco
contigit, inque comis flammeus arsit apex ;*”

Liv. 1. 39 : “*Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit, caput arsisse ferunt, multorum in conspectu,*” in both which accounts, the prosaic no less than the poetic, the miraculous burning is not of a head-dress, but of the head itself or hair. Compare Hom. *II.* 18. 205 :

αμφι δε οι κεφαλη νεφος εστεφε δια θεων
χρυσεον' εκ δ' αυτου δαιε φλογα παμφανωσαν.

Val. Flacc. 3. 186 :

“*accessere (nefas !) tenebris fallacibus acti
Tyndaridae in sese : Castor prius ibat in ictus
nescius ; ast illos nova lux, subitusque diremit
frontis apex.*”

Claud. 4 *Cons. Honor.* 192 :

. . . “*ventura potestas
claruit Ascanio, subita cum luce comarum
innocuus flagraret apex, Phrygioque volutus
vertice fatalis redimiret tempora candor.*”

Sil. 16. 118 :

“*huic [Masinissae] fesso, quos dura fuga et nox suaserat atra,
carpentis somnos subitus rutilante coruscum
vertice fulsit apex, crispamque involvere visa est
mitis flamma comam, atque hirta se spargere fronte.*”

Also—an example of the application of the same term to the pointed summit of a real fire—Silius, 10. 556 :

“*tum, face coniecta, populatur fervidus ignis
flagrantem molem, et, rupta caligine, in auras
actus apex claro perfundit lumine campos.*”

The two substantives, *APEX* and *FLAMMA*, taken together present the precise picture which is afforded by “*flammeus apex*,” Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 630, quoted above, exactly as in verse 722,

“*veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,*”

the two substantives “*veste*” and “*pelle*” present the precise

picture which had been afforded by *veste pellicea*. See Rem, on 721. The same words are united, with the same effect, 10. 270, where

“ardet *apex* capiti, cristisque a vertice *flamma*
funditur”

is exactly equivalent to “*flammeus apex ardet capiti, cristisque a vertice funditur.*” See Rem. on 10. 270.

TACTUQUE INNOXIA MOLLES.—TACTU INNOXIA, “unschädlich berührend,” VOSS. “Quae TACTU non nocet; nihil consumens,” Forbiger. “TACTU innoxio,” Conington. I think rather, *harmless to be touched; that would not harm you if you meddled with it*; just as *Georg. 3. 416*, “*mala tactu vipera*,” where “*mala tactu*” seems to be the precise correlative of TACTU INNOXIA. If an active signification had been intended it is more probable the word employed would have been *attactu*, as 7. 350. It is at least remarkable that our author speaking of the viper being touched should use (*Georg. 3. 416*) as here the simple, and speaking of the viper touching should use (7. 350) the compound, word. Compare the Greek *ευαφης*, *good to be touched*, i. e., *smooth*, or *soft*.

This interpretation being adopted, the reading of the next word is determined to be not *MOLLI*, but, in conformity with the weight of MS. authority, either *MOLLIS*, as descriptive of *FLAMMA*, or *MOLLES*, as descriptive of *COMAS*. But *MOLLIS* is not wanting for *FLAMMA*, that subject being already sufficiently provided for in TACTU INNOXIA; and *COMAS*, otherwise without an epithet, requires some description. We come thus to choose *MOLLES*, and find our choice confirmed, first by the very similar “*est molles flamma medullas*” of the fourth book; secondly, by the proof left behind by Sidonius Apollinaris that the reading in his time was *MOLLES* (*Carm. 2. 114*):

“sic loquitur natura deos; cunctantis Iuli
lambabant *teneros* incendia blanda *capillos*,”

and thirdly, by the consideration that *mollis* is (see Forbiger *ad locum*) a very usual epithet for the hair.*

* [Among Dr. Henry's MSS. the following remark occurs, dated March, 1864.

689-691.

IUPITER OMNIPOTENS PRECIBUS SI FLECTERIS ULLIS
 ASPICE NOS HOC TANTUM ET SI PIETATE MEREMUR
 DA DEINDE AUXILIUM PATER ATQUE HAEC OMINA FIRMA

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] ASPICE NOS HOC TANTUM : ■ *Vat.*,* *Med.* (HOS), *Ver.* ■■■ D.
 Heins.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

[*punct.*] ASPICE NOS : HOC TANTUM : ■■■ Venice, 1471; N. Heins.;
 Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.

[*punct.*] ASPICE NOS : HOC TANTUM ■■■ Ven. 1475; P. Manut.
 O *Rom.*, *St. Gall.*

VAR. LECT.

AUXILIUM ■ *Vat.*, *Pal.*, *Med.*, *Ver.* ■■■ Cynth. Genet.; Rom. 1473;
 Jul. Scalig. *Poet.* 3. 26; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.
 (1671); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.,
Lect. Virg., ed. 1861); Coningt.

AUGURIUM ■■■ Probus (ad *Ecl.* 6. 31); Peerlk; Keil (*Philol.* Götting.
 vol. 2, p. 166); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Weidner.

O *Rom.*, *St. Gall.*

and as I am not certain that the view given in the text embodies his final opinion, I here insert the other as a note.—Ed.] MOLLI, not MOLLES—first, because the harmlessness of the flame requires to be expressed more fully than by the single word INNOXIA. Secondly, TACTU INNOXIA is a strange expression not at all analogous as alleged to “mala tactu,” *Georg.* 3. 416, where “tactu” is passive, whereas TACTU in the construction TACTU INNOXIA is active. Thirdly, because we have the expression tactus mollis both in Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 7. 13 :

“membra reformidant mollem quoque saucia tactum,”

and in Sil. 6. 91 :

“ . . . nunc purgat vulnera lympha,
 nunc mulcet succis; ligat inde, ac vellera molli
 circumdat tactu, et torpentes mitigat artus.”

The reading, therefore, is MOLLI, and the structure LAMBERE TACTU MOLLI.

* Bottari, therefore, is incorrect in placing a point after NOS. There is no appearance at all in the MS. of a point in that situation.

Observe the words IUPITER OMNIPOTENS (expressive of the *power* to relieve, even in so desperate an extremity) joined to all the verbs in the sentence; the word PATER (moving to exert that power) joined only to the immediate prayer of the petition, DA DEINDE AUXILIUM, ATQUE HAEC OMINA FIRMA. See Rem. on verse 552.

ASPICE NOS; HOC TANTUM.—This punctuation, which is that of Nicholas Heinsius, renders ASPICE NOS, already emphatic by its position at the beginning of the line, still more emphatic by the sudden pause which separates it from the subsequent words; see Rem. on verse 246. Wagner removes the pause, and connects HOC TANTUM closely with ASPICE NOS: which arrangement—while it has the effect, first, of diminishing the emphasis of the emphatic words ASPICE NOS; and, secondly, of substituting for a simple, pathetic, passionate exclamation, one bound up with a cool, phlegmatic, lawyerlike condition or limitation—is directly opposed to Virgil's usual manner, which, as we have so often seen, is first to present us fully and boldly with the main thought, the grand conception, and then to modify, limit, soften down, adapt, or explain, afterwards. And so, precisely, on the present occasion, we have first the short, strong, emphatic ASPICE NOS, and then, after a pause, HOC TANTUM: *do but so much and I am sure of all the rest.*

ASPICE NOS, *look on us* (i. e., *in our trouble*); *see the trouble we are in. Look on us, see the trouble we are in, and I ask no more.* Compare Aesch. *Suppl.* 206: Ζεὺς δὲ γεννητῶρ ἰδοι [not the vocative, nor addressed to God, but expressing a wish only: *may God look on us!*]. Eurip. *Hec.* 808 (ed. Fix) (Hecuba speaking):

ἰδου με κἀναθρῆσιν οἱ ἐχω κακά.

Prudent. *Cathem. Hymn.* 3. 6:

“huc nitido, precor, intuitu
flecte salutiferam faciem.”

ASPICE.—The opinion was, that your cause was safe, your wishes acceded to, your prayer granted, if the god or other person to whom your prayer was addressed looked on you, especially if he looked on you with a mild and placid aspect. Compare

Aesch. *Suppl.* 210 (chorus of Danaïdes) :

ἰδοῖτο [Zeus] πρεμνέουσιν ἀπ' ὀμματος.
κείνου θέλοντος εὐ τελευτήσει ταδε.

Sil. 7. 239 :

“magnum illud, solisque datum, quos mitis euntes
Iupiter *aspexit*, magnum est, ex hoste reverti”

(with which contrast *Aen.* 10. 473 :

“sic ait, atque oculos Rutulorum *reiecit* arvis”).

Also Hesiod, *Theog.* 81 :

ὄντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κούραι μεγάλοιο,
γείνομενον τ' ἐσιδῶσι δῖοι τρεφῶν βασιλῆων,
τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλῶσση γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἑέρσην.

Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 18 (ed. Dissen) :

ἐν Κρίσῃ δ' εὐρυσθενὴς εἰδ' Ἀπολλῶν νιν
πορὲ τ' ἀγλαΐαν
καὶ τοῦτι

(where Dissen : “Benevole *aspexit*”).

In Italy at the present day every supplication for alms by the commonest beggar is prefaced by the identical⁴ prayer “guardi,” so little have manners changed in two thousand years, and so narrow the line of demarcation between worshipper and beggar ; so insensibly does prayer merge in beggary.

HOc TANTUM.—Compare Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 314 :

“sed *tantum* permitte cadat : nil poscimus ultra.”

Epitom. Iliados, 716 (of Dolon) :

“ille timore pavens, ‘vitam concedite,’ dixit,
‘*hoc unum* satis est.’”

And—exactly parallel—Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 298 :

“liceat cognoscere sortem.
hoc tantum. liceat certos habuisse dolores.”

Also Sil. 4. 407 :

“post me state, viri, et pulsa formidine *tantum*
aspicite.”

And Sil. 2. 230 : “spectacula *tantum* ferte, viri.”

PIETATE, not *our piety*, viz., towards heaven, but *our tenderness*, viz., towards each other. See Rem. on *Aen.* 1. 14. Therefore the expression, ASPICE; *look on us, see what a picture of family affection we present*; and so, precisely, Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 4. 35 (addressing his friend, from exile):

“ quae pro te ut voveam mihi pietate mereris,
haesuraque mihi tempus in omne fide ”

[by your *brotherly kindness* and fidelity towards me].

AUGURIUM.—Notwithstanding the preponderance both of manuscript and editorial authority in favour of AUXILIUM, I am inclined to think that AUGURIUM is the true reading: (1), on account of the very parallel passage of *Sil.* 15. 143, where on the occasion of a first prodigy's being established by a second, sent as in our text by Jupiter himself, the word *augurium* is not only used but even repeated:

. . . “ bis terque cornuseum
addidit *augurio* fulmen pater, et vaga late
per subitum moto strepuere tonitrua mundo.
tum vero capere arma iubent, genibusque salutant
summissi *augurium*, atque iret qua ducere divos
perspicuum, et patrio monstraret semita signo.”

And (2), because the identical expression, “da, pater, *augurium*,” is used by our author himself, 3. 89:

“ da, pater, *augurium* atque animis illabere nostris.”

Compare also 7. 259:

. . . “ dii nostra incepta secudent,
auguriumque suum;”

and *Iscan.* 2. 131:

. . . “ da, maxime, felix
auspiciam, laetum tribuas nubentibus omen.”

693-698.

ET DE CAELO LAPSA PER UMBRAS
 STELLA FACEM DUCENS MULTA CUM LUCE CUCURRIT
 ILLAM SUMMA SUPER LABENTEM CULMINA TECTI
 CERNIMUS IDAEA CLARAM SE CONDERE SILVA
 SIGNANTEMQUE VIAS TUM LONGO LIMITE SULCUS
 DAT LUCEM ET LATE CIRCUM LOCA SULFURE FUMANT

ET DE, &c., . . . CUCURRIT.—Compare S. Matth. *Evang.* 2. 9 : *Και ιδου, ο αστηρ, ον ειδον εν τη ανατολη, προηγεν αυτους, εως ελθων εστη επανω ου ην το παιδιον.* In “Saunders’s News-Letter,” of July 25, 1844, there is, in an extract from a letter, the following account of a meteor, seen almost on the same spot, and presenting precisely the same appearances as that seen by Aeneas :—“Constantinople, July 3.—On Sunday last, five minutes before sunset, we had a splendid sight here. The atmosphere was hazy, but without cloud. Thermometer about 90°. An immense meteor, like a gigantic Congreve rocket, darted, with a rushing noise, from east to west. Its lightning course was marked by a streak of fire, and, after a passage of some forty or fifty degrees, it burst like a bombshell, but without detonation, lighting up the hemisphere with the brilliancy of the noon-day sun. On its disappearance, a white vapour remained in its track, and was visible for nearly half an hour. Everybody thought it was just before his eyes, but it was seen by persons twelve and fifteen miles to the northward, in the same apparent position, and positively the self-same phenomenon. Many of the vulgar look upon it as a very bad omen, whilst others attribute it to the warm weather, which continues. The thermometer stands, at this moment, at 91° in the shade, and in the coolest spot could be selected.”

SUMMA SUPER LABENTEM CULMINA TECTI.—Compare Apollon. Rhod. 1. 774 (ed. Beck), of Jason :

βῆ δ' ἰμεναι προτι αστυ, φαεινω αστερι ισος,
 ον ρα τε νηγατεσιν εεργομεναι καλυβησι
 νυμφαι θηησαντο δομων υπεραντελλοντα,
 και σφισι κυανοιο δι' ηeros ομματα θελγει
 καλον ερευθομενος, γανυται δε τε ηιθεοιο
 παρθενος ιμειρουσα μετ' αλλοδαποισιν εοντος
 ανδρασιν, ω κεν μιν μνηστην κομεωσι τοκης.
 τω ικελος προ πολλος ανα στιβον ηιεν ηρως.

CERNIMUS, &c. — Wagner (*Praest.*) and Forbiger, understanding the structure to be CLARAM SIGNANTEMQUE VIAS SE CONDERE, have removed the pause placed by the two Stephenses, the two Heinsii, and Heyne, after SILVA. The pause should undoubtedly be replaced, SIGNANTEM being connected by QUE, not with its unlike CLARAM, but with its like LABENTEM, and it being Virgil's usual method thus to connect a concluding or winding up clause, not with the immediately preceding clause, but with one more remote. See Remm. on 2. 148; 3. 571; 4. 483; 5. 522.

SIGNANTEMQUE VIAS, *i.e.*, marking the way; which way, being towards Ida, signified to Aeneas that he was to take refuge in Ida. Compare (α) the way to the newly born Christ pointed out to the Magi by the star, Prudent. *Cathem.* 12. 53 :

“ exin sequuntur, perciti
 fixis in altum vultibus,
 qua stella sulcum traxerat
 claramque signabat viam.”

(b), the pigeons pointing out to Aeneas his way to the golden bough, 6. 198 :

“ observans, quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.”

(c), the way marked for Acestes to heaven by the flaming arrow, 5. 525 :

“ namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo,
 signavitque viam flammis.”

(d), the way towards Africa pointed out to Scipio by the fiery snake in the sky, Sil. 15. 139 :

“ ecce, per obliquum caeli squalentibus auro
 effulgens maculis, ferri inter nubila visus
 anguis, et ardenti radiare per aera sulco,
 quaque ad caeliferi tendit plaga littus Atlantis,
 perlabi resonante polo

tum vero capere arma iubent, genibusque salutant
 summissi augurium, atque iret, qua ducere divos
 perspicuum, et patrio monstraret semita signo.”

(*e*), the way marked by the admiral's ship for the rest of the fleet to follow, Senec. *Agam.* 427 :

“ signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
 et clara lentum remigem monuit tuba,
 aurata primas prora designat vias,
 aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secent.”

(*f*), the light placed on the turret by Hero to be “signa viae” to Leander crossing the Hellespont, Ovid, *Heroid.* 19. 35 :

“ protinus in summa vigilantia lumina turre
 ponimus, assuetae signa notamque viae.”

(*g*), the way from this same Ida to the Grecian encampment pointed out to Hector and the Trojan army by a miraculous cloud of dust, Hom. *Il.* 12. 252 :

. ἐπὶ δὲ Zeus τερπικεραυνος
 ὠρσεν ἀπ' Ἰδαιῶν ὄρεων ἀνεμοῖο θυελλᾶν,
 ἥ ρ' ἰθὺς νηῶν κονίην φέρεν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιῶν
 θέλγε νοῦν, Τρῶσιν δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορὶ κύνος ὀπαζεν.
 τοῦ περ δὴ τεραέσσι πεποιθότες, ἠδὲ βιηφιν
 ρηγνυσθαι μέγα τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν πειρητίζον

(and so the Schol. of the Veronese Palimpsest (Keil's ed., p. 90, l. 21) : “Ait Troianos stellam ducem discessionis habuisse”).

And, (*h*), Plut. in Caesar. : Τη δὲ προ τῆς μάχης [of Pharsalia] νυκτὶ τὰς φυλάκας ἐφοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ, περὶ τὸ μεσονυκτικὸν ὠφθῆ λαμπρὰς οὐρανοῦ πυρὸς, ἣν ὑπερένεχθῆσαν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατοπέδον, λαμπρὰν καὶ φλογώδη γενομένην, ἐδοξεν εἰς τὸ Πομπηίου καταπεσεῖν (thus indicating to him that he was to go towards Pompey, that he was to persist in his intention of fighting Pompey).

SIGNANTEM VIAS, not *drawing or marking a path or line in the sky*, but *marking, or signifying, or pointing out the route*, viz., for Æneas, the method by which this is effected being explained in the immediately following words to be by drawing a long luminous furrow in the sky: TUM LONGO LIMITE SULCUS DAT LUCEM.

LIMITE, *track or path*. Contiguous properties being anciently, as still very generally on the continent of Europe, separated from each other, not by a fence, but merely by a narrow intermediate space, along which (in order not to trespass on the ground on either side) it was usual for those who had business in the neighbourhood to walk, the term limes, primarily signifying a boundary or limit, came by a natural and unavoidable transition to signify a *path, way, or track*. Compare Stat. *Theb.* 12. 240: “quoties amissus eunti limes?” [*how often the way or path lost?*]

702-714.

DI—CERERIS

DI PATRII.—Commentators being generally silent with respect to these words, the Virgilian student is left to himself to find out their meaning the best way he can. It occurs to him that it may be either *gods of my country*, or *gods of my fathers*. The difference, perhaps, is not great, but still he is curious to know which precisely was in Virgil’s mind. If he has recourse to the translators he finds they are pretty well agreed that Virgil meant *gods of my country*—Surrey translating:

“o native gods! your family defend;”

Phaer:

“o country gods! our house behold;” . . .

Caro:

. . . “o de la patria
sacri numi Penati, a voi mi rendo;”

Dryden :

“ keep, o my country gods ! our dwelling place ; ”

and J. II. Voss, alone of translators of repute, rendering :

. . . “ ich folg’ euch, götter der, väter,
wo ihr auch führt; erhaltet das haus.”

Turning to Gesner’s excellent lexicon he finds two separate and distinct adjectives *patrius*, one placed under the head *pater* and the other under the head *patria*, and our text cited as an example of the latter. He is quite persuaded, and for him it is to his country’s gods Anchises commends his house and grandson. But let him beware. The minority or weaker side is shown by all experience to be oftener in the right than the majority or stronger side, and the present case constitutes no exception to the general rule. The *DI PATRII* of our text are the identical *πατρώοι θεοί* which Aeneas carries out of Troy on his shoulders along with his *μητρώοι θεοί*, or gods of his mothers, and therefore are and can only be gods of his fathers. Compare Xenoph. *de Venat.* 1. 15 : *Αινείας δε σωσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεοὺς, σωσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δοξάν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνεγκάτο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολεμιοὶ μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ, ὧν ἐκρατήσαν ἐν Τροίᾳ, ἐδόσαν μὴ συληθῆναι.*

But the student has not been left equally free with respect to the relation these words bear to the context. A period at *ADSUM* in the editions shuts off *DI PATRII* from *DUCEATIS*, and throws those words wholly to *SERVATE*. In vain the bewildered student asks himself: Is not the *DUCEATIS* no less than the *SERVATE* addressed to the *DI PATRII*? Is it not the *DI PATRII* who have just sent the guiding leading star, *SIGNATEM VIAS*? Is it possible that *DUCEATIS* can be addressed to Aeneas, Creusa, and Ascanius, and only *SERVATE* to the *DI PATRII*? that Anchises addresses in the first place his friends, and only in the second place his gods; begins with his friends and ends with his friends, and bundles his gods into a parenthesis in the middle? Again the commentators are silent, and of five translators three follow the editors, Surrey translating :

“ ‘now, now,’ quod he, ‘no longer I abide:
follow I shall where ye me guide at hand.
o native gods! your family defend;’ ”

Phaer:

“ ‘now, now, no more I let, lead where ye list, I will not swarve.
o contrey gods, our house behold, my newew safe preserve;’ ”

Dryden:

“ ‘now, now,’ said he, ‘my son, no more delay;
I yield, I follow, where heaven shows the way;
keep (o my country gods!) our dwelling place;’ ”

Caro:

. . . “ o de la patria
sacri numi Penati, a voi mi rendo.
voi questa casa, voi questo nipote
mi conservate; ”

and J. H. Voss:

. . . “ ich folg’ euch, götter der väter,
wo ihr auch führt. erhaltet das haus, erhaltet den enkel.”

Yes; it is not only possible but certain, concludes the student, surrendering his common sense to the weight of authority, and continuing to do so until such time as editors shall perceive that there is no reason why the very first words Anchises utters after he has seen the guiding star should be cut off from the “affari deos” which the sight of that star prompted—that the structure is not: IAM IAM NULLA MORA EST; SEQUOR ET QUA DUCITIS ADSUM. DI PATRII, SERVATE DOMUM, SERVATE NEPOTEM, but DI PATRII, IAM IAM NULLA MORA EST; SEQUOR ET QUA DUCITIS ADSUM. SERVATE DOMUM, SERVATE NEPOTEM—and shall substitute a comma for the period they have placed at ADSUM.

VESTROQUE IN NUMINE TROIA EST.—“ ‘In tua,’ inquit, ‘pater carissime, in tua sumus custodia,’ ” Petron., p. 354 (ed. Hadr., Amst. 1669).

LONGE SERVET VESTIGIA CONIUX (vs. 711).—There seems to be no ground whatever for the charge which has so frequently been brought against Aeneas, that he deserted, or at least neglected, his wife. Comp. Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 83:

“ si quaeras, ubi sit formosi mater Iuli:
occidit, a duro sola relicta viro.”

It was necessary to divide the party, in order the better to escape observation by the Greeks; and not only the greater imbecility of, but stronger natural tie to, the father and the child, rendered it imperative to bestow the first and chief care on them. If Aeneas's direction that Creusa should keep, not merely behind, but far behind (*LONGE SERVET VESTIGIA CONIUX*), excite animadversion, I beg to suggest that it was indispensable that the separation should be to some considerable distance, not merely in order to ensure its being effectual for the purpose above mentioned, but in order to afford Creusa herself the chance of escape, in case of the miscarriage of those who led the way. With this account of Aeneas's loss of Creusa compare Göthe's not less charming description of Epimetheus's loss of Pandora, in his unfinished dramatic piece entitled *Pandora*.

TEMPLUM VETUSTUM DESERTAE CERERIS.—“Cuius templum erat desertum vetustate vel belli decennalis tempore,” Heyne. No; Wagner's explanation is the correct one: “DESERTAE, quod templum habuit in loco infrequenti.” The truth of this interpretation (rested by Wagner solely on the context, and the similar use made of the term *desertus* by other authors) seems to be established by the testimony of Vitruvius, that religion required that the temples of Ceres should be built outside the walls and in lonely situations (“Item Cereri, extra urbem loco, quo non semper homines, nisi per sacrificium, necesse habeant adire”); in order, no doubt (see the Emperor Julian's Letter to Libanius, *Epist. Mut. Graecan.* p. 148), to pay Ceres the especial compliment, that her worship should be apart from all secular concerns, not performed *en passant*.

The temple of Ceres outside Troy was therefore a fit place for the unobserved rendezvous of Aeneas and his party; as in real history the temple of Ceres outside Rome was a fit place for Piso (the intended successor to the empire) to wait unobserved until the conspirators should have despatched Nero: “Interim Piso apud aedem Cereris opperiretur, unde cum praefectus Fenius et ceteri accitum ferrent in castra,” Tacit. *Annal.* 15. 53.

721-725.

HAEC FATUS LATOS HUMEROS SUBIECTAQUE COLLA
 VESTE SUPER FULVIQUE INSTERNOR PELLE LEONIS
 SUCCEDOQUE ONERI DEXTRAE SE PARVUS IULUS
 IMPLICUIT SEQUITURQUE PATREM NON PASSIBUS AEQUIS
 PONE SUBIT CONTUX FERIMUR PER OPACA LOCORUM

LATOS HUMEROS, &c., . . . LEONIS.—“Instravit Aeneas humeris vestem, vestique pellem,” Heyne.

“Breit’ ich darauf ein gewand und die haut des gelblichen löwen.”

Voss.

Certainly, and for many reasons, not the meaning : (1), because Aeneas, about to undertake a perilous flight with his father and SACRA on his shoulders, should not load himself with two outside coverings when one was sufficient. (2), because Agamemnon, issuing out at night, puts on over his tunic only the lion’s skin, Hom. *Il.* 10. 23 :

αμφι δ’ ἐπεῖτα δαφοῖνον ἐσσάτο δερμα λεοντος,

and Dolon (*Il.* 10. 334) only the wolf’s skin :

ἐσσάτο δ’ ἐκτοσθεν ρινον πολιοιο λυκοιο.

(3), because the lion’s skin was the sole (outside) covering of Hercules, the rough block out of which courtly Aeneas is hewn. **And**, (4), because the construction by hendiadys, so usual with our author elsewhere [compare 9. 306 :

“dat Niso Mnestheus *pellem* horrentesque leonis
exuvias,”

not two objects, viz., a skin and a lion’s spoils, but the single object, a lion’s skin, twice described] affords the unexceptionable meaning : rug, or cover of lion’s skin.

VESTE FULVIQUE PELLE LEONIS, a rug of lion’s skin. I say rug, not garment, because Aeneas represents himself as “super-instratus” with it, and SUPERINSTERNOR points directly to a rug

such as is laid or spread upon a bed, or floor, or hearth, or table, or horse, not to a garment for the person. Compare Sil. 7 (p. 105) of Hannibal :

. . . " iam membra cubili
erigit, et *fulvi* circumdat *pelle leonis*,
qua *super instratus* proicetus gramine campi
presserat ante *toros*,"

where we have not only the precise "*fulvi pelle leonis*" and "*superinsternor*" of our text, but the double use of the *vestis*, first as a rug to lie on, and then as a wrapper. See Rem. on 2. 682.

Vestis, generally, is any *outside* cover, whether of bed, table, or person. See Lucret. 2. 34 :

" nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres,
textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
iacteris, quam si plebeia in *veste* cubandum est."

Aen. 1. 643 :

" arte laboratae *vestes* ostroque superbo."

Celsus, *de Medicina*, 1. 3 : " per autumnum vero, propter caeli varietatem, periculum maximum est. Itaque neque *sine veste* neque *sine calceamentis* prodire oportet." The corresponding Greek term *εἶμα* is also applied to the coverings of the floor or ground, carpets, as Aesch. *Agam.* 921 :

μηδ' εἶμασι στρωσας' επιφθονον πορον
τιθει.

INTERNOR.—This word, properly applied to the *ἐπιππια* or covering of the horse (the modern saddle-cloth and ancient saddle; compare 7. 277 :

" *instratus* ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis")

shows unmistakeably Aeneas's tacit comparison of himself with a horse equipped for and receiving his rider on his back. The allusion is continued in *SUCCEDO ONERI*, the term *succedere* being commonly applied to horses or other animals yoked or put to a carriage or other burthen, as 3. 541 :

" sed tamen idem olim *curru succedere* sueti
quadrupedes, et frena iugo concordia ferre."

SEQUITURQUE PATREM NON PASSIBUS AEQUIS.—The picture presented is that of the child in his father's hand, and striving to keep up with him; but, having shorter legs and taking shorter steps, not quite abreast with him, and trotting while the father walks. A similar picture, except that both parties are running, is presented by the words, "manu parvum nepotem trahit," 2. 320. Compare also Stat. *Theb.* 5. 441 :

"audet iter magnique sequens vestigia mutat
Herculis, et tarda quamvis se mole ferentem
vix cursu tener aequal Hylas."

Hom. *Od.* 15. 450 :

παιδα γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἐὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροις αἰτῖαλλω,
κερδαλέον δὲ τοιον, ἀμὰ τροχὼν τὰ θύραζε·
τὸν κεν ἀγοιμ' ἐπὶ νηὸς· ὁ δ' ὑμῖν μυρίον ὠνὸν
ἀλφοί, ὅπῃ περασῇτε κατ' ἀλλοθροὺς ἀνθρώπων.

Sil. 4. 30 :

. . . "dextra laevaquo trahuntur
parvi, *non aequo comitantes ordine, nati.*"

Val. Flacc. 1. 704 :

. . . "acrisona volucer cum Daedalus ora
prosiluit, iuxtaque comes brevioribus alis."

Senec. *ad Marciam*, 11 : "Iluc [ad mortem] omnis ista quae in foro litigat, in theatris desidet, in templis precatur turba, *dispari gradu vadit*" [*i.e.*, some quicker, some slower, some walking, some running].

SEQUITUR PATREM [Iulus] ; PONE SUBIT CONIUX.—Iulus has his hand in Aeneas's, and SEQUITUR HAUD PASSIBUS AEQUIS, goes along with Aeneas, keeps company with Aeneas : Creusa alone follows behind both. This meaning, viz., to go along with, to accompany as an inferior, to follow the lead of, without, however, being actually behind, is a very common one of sequi. See Senec. *Hippol.* 844 (Theseus speaking) :

. . . "heu, labor quantus fuit
Phlegethonte ab imo petere longinquum aethera,
pariterque mortem fugere, et Alcidem *sequi*!"

Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 14. 1 :

“quid iuvat immunes belli cessare puellas
nec fera peltatas agmina velle sequi”

[*not follow behind, but go along with as inferior*]. *Ibid.* 3. 8. 25 :

“discite, qui sapitis, non quae nos scimus iuertes,
sed trepidas acies et fera castra sequi.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 419 :

“fastus inest pulchris, sequiturque superbia formam.”

And our author himself, *Aen.* 4. 384 : “*sequar atris ignibus absens*,” where see Rem. The Greeks made a precisely similar use of *επισθαι*, as Hom. *II.* 16. 154 (of Achilles’ horse Pedasus) :

ος και θνητος εων, επισθ’ ιπποις αθανatoi.

NON PASSIBUS AEQUIS, *not keeping pace with him*. Compare Val. Flacc. 3. 485 :

. . . “petit excelsas Tirynthius ornos ;
haeret Hylas lateri, passusque moratur iniquos.”

Stat. *Theb.* 11. 321 (of Jocasta) :

“non comites, non ferre ipsae vestigia natae
aequa valent. tantum miserae dolor ultimus addit
robur, et exsanguis crudescunt luctibus anni.”

FERIMUR PER OPACA LOCORUM.—OPACA, *not dark*, but only *shady* ; not so dark but that one could see the way. Compare Plin. *Epist.* 7. 21 : “Cubicula obductis velis *opaca*, nec tamen obscura, facio.” Also Plin. *Epist.* 8. 8 : “Modicus collis assurgit, antiqua cupressu nemorosus et *opacus*.”

729-759.

SUSPENSUM—AURAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 738).

FATO NE ■ *Pal.* ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ Ven., 1471 and 1475; Mod.; R. Steph.; P. Manut.

FATONE ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$. ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Philippe; Heyne; Pott.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg. and Praest.*).

FATO EST ■■■ Peerlk.; Dietsch; Lad.

FATO MI ■■■ Ribbeck.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 755).

ANIMO SIMUL ■ *Med.*

ANIMOS, SIMUL ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyn.; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.)

ANIMO, SIMUL ■ *Pal.* (ANIMO* · SIMUL). ■■■ Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg. and ed.* 1861); Ribb.

SUSPENSUM, "sollicitum," Servius, Heyne. No; SUSPENSUM is not "sollicitum," equivalent to *anxious, uneasy*; but *suspended, hung between hope and fear*, and so *irresolute, undecided, not knowing whether to go on or stop*. See Remm. on 2. 114, and 3. 372.

HEU! MISERO, &c., . . . INCERTUM (vss. 738-740).—"Excusationes istae ad triplex caput reducuntur; aut ad deos et fata, quae eripuerunt; aut ad Aeneam, qui non potuit animadvertere; aut ad Creusam, quae disparuit subsistens, errans, sedens prae lassitudine," La Cerda. "CONIUX [*mihi*] MISERO EREPTA CREUSA FATONE SUBSTITIT, *an* ERRAVIT DE VIA, *an* LASSA RESEDIT," Heyne; approved of both by Wunderlich and Forbiger. "Musste sie nach dem willen des schicksals stehen bleiben, um von den feinden getödtet zu werden," Lade-wig. I agree, however, entirely with Servius: "FATO EREPTA CREUSA, SUBSTITITNE ERRAVITNE VIA." Aeneas is certain of

* Ribbeck has omitted the point.

one thing and of one thing only, viz., that Creusa was MISERO FATO EREPTA. How it happened that she was MISERO FATO EREPTA was entirely unknown to him—remained wrapt in obscurity; it might have been that she had stopped short, being afraid to go on, or that she had missed her way, or that she had grown weary, and sat down to rest. He could not tell in which of these three possible ways it had happened; but certain it was that she had been MISERO FATO EREPTA.

FATONE EREPTA CREUSA SUBSTITIT = SUBSTITITNE CREUSA EREPTA FATO, exactly as 10. 668: “tanton’ me crimine dignum duxisti” = “duxistine me dignum tanto crimine,” not only FATONE and “tanton’,” but SUBSTITIT and “duxisti” occupying the same positions both in their respective verses and respective sentences. See Rem. on “Pyrrhin’ connubia servas?” 3. 319.

MISERO FATO EREPTA.—“*Mihi MISERO EREPTA FATO*,” Heyne, Wunderlich, De Bulgaris, Wagner, Forbiger, and Conington. I have two reasons, however, for thinking that MISERO certainly belongs to FATO, and not to “mihi” understood: **First**, the personal pronoun is usually expressed when miser is applied to the speaker in the third case, as *Ecl.* 2. 58: “heu! heu! quid volui *misero mihi*?” *Aen.* 2. 70: “aut quid iam *misero mihi* denique restat?” *Aen.* 10. 849: “heu! nunc *misero mihi* demum exitium infelix.” Seeing that our author has thought it necessary to supply the personal pronoun to “miser” in these instances, in which there was no ambiguity to be apprehended from its omission, and yet has not supplied it in our text where there was the ambiguity arising from the near vicinity of FATO, I conclude that there is no pronoun at all to be supplied, and that the adjective really belongs (as at first sight it appears to do) to the substantive expressed; compare, only three lines preceding,

HIC MIHI NESCIO QUOD TREPIDO MALE NUMEN AMICUM
CONFUSAM ERIPUIT MENTEM.

And secondly, FATO EREPTA, *without* the addition of MISERO, means *died a natural death* (see *Livy*, 3. 50: “quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi *fato ereptam*”; also *Aen.* 4. 696 and Rem.); *with* the addition of MISERO, FATO EREPTA means *died a violent*

death, the only kind of death which can be meant by Æneas. Compare *Aen.* 4. 20: "*miseri post fata Sychæi.*" *Aen.* 1. 225: "*crudelia secum fata Lyci.*" *Aen.* 4. 696:

. . . "peribat
sed *misera* ante diem subitoque accensa furore."

DEFUIT (vs. 744), well opposed to VENIMUS; the two words of so opposite significations corresponding exactly to each other, not merely prosodically, but in emphasis arising from position, each being last word of its own clause, first word of its own verse, and separated by a pause from the sequel. See Rem. on "ora," 2. 247, and compare "substitit," 2. 243.

ET RURSUS CAPUT OBIECTARE PERICLIS.—Compare *Bibl. Sacr.* [Vulg.] 4. *Regum*, 25. 27: "*Sublevarit Evilmerodach rex Babylonis, anno quo regnare coeperat, caput Ioachin regis Iuda de carcere.*"

SIMUL IPSA SILENTIA TERRENT.—So Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 84), not less finely of Vitellius: "In palatium regreditur, vastum desertumque . . . *terret solitudo et tacentes loci.*" Compare also Schiller, *Braut von Messina*:

"es schreckt mich selbst das wesenlose *schweigen.*"

SI FORTE PEDEM, SI FORTE TULISSET.—Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 13. 164:

"*sive, quod heu timeo! sive superstes eris.*"

EXSUPERANT FLAMMAE, FURIT AESTUS AD AURAS.—See Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, act 5, sc. 1:

"die flamme prasselnd schon zum himmel schlug."

AURAS, the sky; exactly as *Ecl.* 1. 57:

"hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad *auras*;"

and Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* p. 199: "quid incestis aperis Titanibus *auras*?" in both which passages "*auras*" is the sky; in the former, as in our text, literally and simply the sky, in the latter the sky figuratively, *i. e.*, the upper world, on which the sky looks down and shines, as contrasted with the lower world to

which the Titans are condemned and on which the sky never looks down or shines. Compare also Ovid, 10. 178:

“quem prius aerias libratum Phoebus in *auras*
misit, et oppositas disiecit pondere nubes;”

and Val. Flacc. 6. 56:

“tandem dulces iam cassus in *auras*
respicit, ac nulla caelum reparabile gaza,”

in the former of which passages “*auras*,” simply and literally the sky, is repeated with a slight variation in “*nubes*,” and in the latter of which passages “*auras*,” simply and literally the sky, is repeated with a similar slight variation in “*caelum*.”

769-779.

IMPLEVI—OLYMPI

IMPLEVI . . . VOCAVI.—Compare Orpheus calling on Eurydice in the fourth Georgic, and Pope’s fine imitation (*Ode on St. Cecilia’s Day*):

“Eurydice the woods,
Eurydice the floods,
Eurydice the rocks and hollow mountains rung.”

INFELIX SIMULACRUM (IPSIVS CREUSAE) theme; IPSIVS UMBRA CREUSAE, first variation; NOTA MAIOR IMAGO, second variation.

SIMULACRUM, *likeness, image, fac-simile*, nothing more. Compare Cicero, *de Invent. Rhet.* 2. 1 (of Zeuxis): “Helenae se pingere *simulacrum* velle dixit.”

ET NOTA MAIOR IMAGO.—It is the beholder’s fear makes the ghost appear larger than life. The real living Esmeralda, taken for her own ghost by Claude Frollo, appeared to be above her usual size, Victor Hugo, *Not. Dame*, 9. 1: “Elle lui parut plus grande que lorsqu’ elle vivait.” To a not very dissimilar fear

is, no doubt, to be traced the notion of the superior size of the gods, if not, with Lucretius, the very notion of gods.

SIC AFFARI, theme ; CURAS HIS DEMERE DICTIS, variation.

"FAS, *fatum* ; 'non fatum, nec interpret fati, Iupiter,'"
Wagner (*Praest.*), following Heinsius. And so Forbiger, who adds : "Ceterum ad FAS non supplendum verbum *est*, sed iungendum FAS SINIT." So also VOSS, Thiel, and Conington. Neither the meaning of fas, nor the structure. (1), **not** the meaning of fas, for how would that meaning answer for Sinon, where he says, verse 157 :

" *fas* mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,
fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras,
 si qua tegunt" ?

How would it answer for Aeolus where he says to Juno, l. 81 : "mihi iussa capessere *fas* est ?" How would it answer, verse 402, for "heu nihil invitis *fas* quenquam fidere divis ?" or for 3. 55, where Polymnestor

" *fas* omne abruptit, Polydorum obtruncat, &c.,"

or how would it answer in any one of the numerous places in which our author has used the word ? No, no ; FAS is here as everywhere *divine sanction, permission, license*, and differs from licet only in being more solemn and referring always to the permission granted by laws above human. While fatum is positive and obligatory, fas is permissive and optional ; while fatum is what *must* happen, fas is what may. So far, therefore, from fas being equivalent to fatum, it is as directly opposed to it as permission is to obligation, as *may* to *must*. To do anything except according to fas involved responsibility and punishment, to do anything except according to fate was impossible. The relation of fas was to the innocence or guilt of the act in the eye of heaven, the relation of fatum was to the physical occurrence. The same act could therefore be, and in the case of every great crime actually was, at one and the same time contrary to fas and according to fatum ; *ex. gr.*, Polymnestor murdering Polydorus "abruptit omne fas," while he is all the time only fulfilling fatum. (2), **nor** is the struc-

ture *FAS SINIT*, because the *SINIT*, the permission, the lawfulness, is contained in the very notion *FAS*. In other words, it is impossible for *FAS* to permit, *FAS* itself being permission. The structure is *FAS est*, exactly as the structure is "*fas est*" both at verse 157 and verse 158, quoted above; as it is "*fas est*," *Georg. 4. 358*: "*'fas illi limina divum tangere,' ait*;" and as it is "*fas est*," 4. 350: "*et nos fas externa quaerere regna*." Nor is *FAS est* only the true structure, it is also the most emphatic; the pause after *FAS* throwing a very strong emphasis on that word (see Rem. on 2. 247), while, on the contrary, the structure *FAS SINIT* furnishes us with a sing-song line in which there is no prominent or emphatic word. Nor is the structure only the most emphatic; it affords also the most elegant line and most according to our author's usual manner (see Rem. on 3. 2); *FAS* and *AUT ILLE SINIT SUPERI REGNATOR OLYMPI* not being two permissive authorities, fate and fate's interpreter, Jupiter, but one permissive authority only, viz., Jupiter, the permission being expressed in *FAS*, and more fully explained and set out in *ILLE SINIT SUPERI REGNATOR OLYMPI*: in other words, *FAS* being the theme, of which *ILLE SINIT SUPERI REGNATOR OLYMPI* is the variation. (See Rem. on 1. 550). If I may use a very familiar illustration, Creusa says to Aeneas, "you are not allowed, Jupiter will not permit it," as a little sister says to her little brother, or a little schoolgirl to a little schoolboy, "you are not allowed to do that; papa (or the master) will be angry at you." See Rem. on "*fata obstant*," 6. 438, and on "*immortale fas*," 9. 95.

781-784.

ET TERRAM HESPERIAM VENIES UBI LYDIUS ARVA
 INTER OPIMA VIRUM LENI FLUIT AGMINE TYBRIS
 ILLIC RES LAETAE REGNUMQUE ET REGIA CONIUX
 PARTA TIBI LACRYMAS DILECTAE PELLE CREUSÆ

UBI LYDIUS, &c.—Comp. Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, act 2, sc. 2 :
 “wo jetzt die Muotta zwischen wiesen rinnt.”

ARVA OPIMA.—“Terra fertilis,” Donatus. “Fruitful fields,” Surrey. No; *opimus* is not *fruitful*, but *in prime condition*; in that condition, *sciz.*, of which fruitfulness is the consequence. Land is *opima* (*in prime condition, or of the best quality*) before it bears, and even before the seed is put into it; it is not *fruitful* until it bears. Accordingly, both adjectives are applied by Cicero (*de imp. Pomp.* 6) to one and the same land: “*regio opima et fertilis* ;” and the OPIMA ARVA of Virgil are exactly the *πειρα αρουρα* of Homer, *Il.* 18. 541; *Od.* 2. 328, and the *πειρα* of Pind. *Nem.* 1. 14 :

. . . αριστευοισαν ευκαρπου χθονος
 Σικελιαν πειραν.

Opimus has precisely the same meaning when applied to animals: *viz.*, *in prime condition*; not, as incorrectly stated by Gesner, and even by Forcellini, *fat* (*pinguis*); fatness being only one of the qualities necessary to entitle an animal to be styled *opimus*. This primitive sense of *opimus* (to which its meanings in the expressions *spolia opima*, *opima facundia*, &c., are but secondary), is expressed in French by the phrase “*en bon point*.”

Dryden has had his reward with the English reader for giving himself no trouble about such niceties, but substituting at once, for the Virgilian thought, whatever idea, suited *ad captum vulgi*, came first into his mind :

“ where gentle Tiber from his bed beholds
the flowery meadows and the feeding folds.”

Virgil is innocent of all but the first three words.

ARVA INTER OPIMA VIRUM.—With Heyne I refer VIRUM to ARVA, and not with Burmann and Forcellini to OPIMA: (1), because Virgil, on the other occasions on which he has used the word opimus, has used it absolutely. (2), because opimus in the forty examples of its use quoted by the industry of Forcellini stands absolute in thirty-eight, and only in two is connected with a case, which case is not the genitive, but the ablative. (3), because, even though it had been the practice of Virgil, or of other good authors, to join opimus to the genitive, the phrase OPIMA VIRUM were neither elegant nor poetic, and had besides not failed to recal to a Roman reader or hearer the “*segetes virorum*” of Cadmus, than which no allusion could have been more *mal-a-propos*—Manil. 3. 8:

“ Colchida nec referam vendentem regna parentis,
et lacerum fratrem stupro, *segetesque virorum*,
taurorumque truces flammæ, vigilemque draconem.”

(4), because OPIMA, taken absolutely, is in perfect unison with the plain intention of the apparition, viz., to recommend Hesperia to Aeneas; taken in connexion with VIRUM, contradicts that intention, a country being the less eligible to new settlers, in the direct ratio in which it is already OPIMA VIRUM. (5), because we have (*Aen.* 10. 141):

. . . “ ubi pinguis culta
exercentque viri, Pactolosque irrigat auro,”

where not only the structure, rhythm, and thought correspond with those of our text, but even the separate word—“*ubi*” being the same in both, and “*pinguis*” answering to OPIMA, “*culta*” to ARVA, “*viri*” to VIRUM, “*Pactolos*” to TYBRIS, and “*irrigat*” to FLUIT. And, (6), because in the account of the fulfilment of the prophecy, 8. 63 (where we cannot but suppose our text was present in a lively manner to our author’s mind), it is “*pinguis culta*.”

ARVA VIRUM, as “*sæcula virum*,” *Georg.* 2. 295.

LENI FLUIT AGMINE.—It is difficult to determine in which of three possible senses “agmen” is here to be understood; whether in the sense of a body consisting of several parts and in motion, or in the sense of a body consisting of several parts, considered abstractedly from its motion, or in the sense of the motion of a body considered abstractedly, no matter whether consisting of several parts or not.

If in the first of these senses, we have the picture presented to us of the innumerable waters which make up the Tiber stream marching quietly and in good order through the country, the very picture, only less detailed, which we have at 9. 25, of the Ganges and Nile :

“ iamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis

ceu septem surgens sedatis annibus altus
per tacitum Ganges, aut pingui flumine Nilus
cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo.”

If in the second sense we have the same picture, the motion of the compound body, the “agmen” being expressed not as in the former case twice, viz., both by AGMINE and by FLUIT, but by FLUIT alone. If in the third, we have no longer the picture of the waters composing the river, but only of the river alone flowing with gentle march, as Steph. Byz. (of the river Parthenius) : *δια το ηρεματον και παρθενωδες του ρευματος* :

ως ακαλα πορεων ως αβρη παρθενος εισι.

It is in the last of these senses, as the simplest, I think our author has used the expression AGMINE in our text; and Servius is right in his gloss; “LENI AGMINE, leni impetu.” Compare 2. 212: “*Illi agmine certo Laocoonta petunt*,” where “agmine certo” is *sure and steady march*, and where Servius is again right in his gloss, “*itinere, impetu*.” See Rem. on 2. 212. That AGMINE in our text, no less than at verse 212 of this book, refers to motion only, and not at all to composite nature or aggregation, is shown further by the application by Silius, 14. 442, of agmen to the motion of a simple uncompound body :

“ tremulo venit agmine cornus,
et Neptunicolae transverberat ora Telonis.”

DILECTÆ, not merely *loved*, but *loved by choice or preference*. An exact knowledge of the meaning of this word enables us to observe the consolation which Creusa ministers to herself in the delicate opposition of DILECTÆ CREUSÆ to REGIA CONIUX PARTA.

785-802.

NON EGO—DIEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 794).

SOMNO ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Serv.; Ven. 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.

FUMO ■■■ *Macrob. Sat.* 4. 5; *Manil.* 1. 822; Wakefield. Compare *Aen.* 5. 740; *Georg.* 4. 499.

O *Vat., Rom., Ver., St. Gall.*

NON EGO . . . NURUS. Compare Shakespeare, *Anton. and Cleop.*, act 5, sc. 2 (Cleopatra speaking) :

. . . “ know, sir, that I
will not wait pinioned at your master’s court,
nor once be chastised with the sober eye
of dull Octavia. Shall they hoist me up,
and show me to the shouting varlotry
of censuring Rome ? ”

NON EGO ASPICIAM, AUT IBO ; just as 3. 42 : “ *non Troia tulit, aut cruor hic manat.* ” In both of these places our modern idiom would use (as Shakespeare, in the passage just quoted) the negative not the affirmative conjunction.

HAEC UBI DICTA, &c., . . . IMAGO (vss. 790-793) :

“ this having said, she left me all in tears,
and minding much to speak ; but she was gone,
and subtly fled into the weightless air.
Thrice raught I with mine arms to accoll her neck :

thrice did my hands' vain hold the image escape,
 like nimble winds, and like the flying dream.
 So, night spent out, return I to my feres :
 and there, wondering, I find together swarmed
 a new number of mates, mothers, and men ;
 a rout exiled, a wretched multitude,
 from each-where flock together, prest to pass
 with heart and goods to whatsoever land
 by sliding seas me listed them to lead.
 And now rose Lucifer above the ridge
 of lusty Ide, and brought the dawning light ;
 the Greeks held the entries of the gates beset :
 of help there was no hope. Then gave I place,
 took up my sire, and hasted to the hill."

Such are the concluding words of Surrey's translation of the second book of the *Æneid* ; such the sweet, chaste voice, which the bloody axe of an obscene and ruffian king silenced for ever, at the age of thirty—"diis aliter visum." And this, let the reader observe, is blank verse in its cradle ; before it has acquired the sinewy strength, the manly dignity, the high, chivalrous port, of Shakespeare and Milton. Let him, further, compare these lines with the corresponding *rhymes* of Dryden, and then hear with astonishment (astonishment at the unequal rewards of human deservings) that Surrey's biographer (Dr. Nott) deems it praise to compare him with that coarse and reckless writer ; and that Dr. Johnson, and even Milton, was so little aware, not of his merits only, but almost of his existence, that the former writes in his life of Milton, "The Earl of Surrey is said [*is said !*] to have translated one of Virgil's books without rhyme ;" and the latter (Preface to *Paradise Lost*) claims for his great poem the (perhaps) only praise to which it is not entitled, that it is "the first example in English of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming." Whoever wishes to know more of Surrey "of the deathless lay," and has not access to Dr. Nott's Life of him, will find a passing mention of him in Fitztravers' song in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, where Sir W. Scott only too little admires and pities the unhappy youth, only too little execrates the savage English Commodus (Cant. 6. 20) :

“ thou jealous, ruthless tyrant ! Heaven repay
 on thee, and on thy children’s latest line,
 the wild caprice of thy despotic sway,
 the gory bridal bed, the plunder’d shrine,
 the murder’d Surrey’s blood, the tears of Geraldine ! ”

DESERUIT (791).—Observe the tender reproach contained in this word ; observe, also, that it is spoken, not of Creusa (on whom the exquisite judgment of the poet is careful not to throw even the shadow of an imputation), but of the apparition, against which it falls harmless, while at the same time it expresses the bereavement of Aeneas, and his affection towards his wife, as strongly, nay more strongly, than if it had been spoken directly of Creusa herself. How the word must have sounded in the ears of Dido ! **DESERUIT**, *deserted* ; therefore left him free to form a new attachment.

TER CONATUS IBI COLLO DARE BRACHIA CIRCUM, &c.—Compare Dante, *Purgat. 2. 80* :

“ tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinsi,
 e tante mi tornai con esse al petto.”

Different but no less striking, no less affectionate, is the cognate thought of Saint Ambrose, (“ *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*,” l. 19) : “ *O amplexus miseri, inter quos exanimum corpus obri-guit, halitus supremus evanuit ! stringebam quidem brachia, sed iam perdideram quem tenebam.* ”

The *Dauides*, that wild, unequal, and irregular, but highly poetic, effusion of the neglected Cowley, is a paraphrase, and in many places almost a translation, of the two first books of the Aeneid. The *Lutrin* of Boileau (“ *qui fait d’un vain pupitre un second Ilion*,” *Lutrin*, c. 1) is a very elegant, witty and amusing parody of the second.

OPIBUS (vs. 799).—No English word, perhaps, comes so near to the use of *opes* as *means*. The word is used in precisely the same sense, l. 575 :

“ *auxilio tutos dimittam, opibusque iuvabo,* ”

and l. 367 (where see Rem.) : “ *portantur avari P’ygmalionis opes pelago.* ” In all the three places *opes* is the money, clothes,

provisions, furniture, guides, and means of transport, and appliances of all kinds, necessary for a long journey; and in two of the places, viz., in our text and at l. 367, not only for a long journey, but for founding a colony at the end of the journey.

DUCEBAT DIEM (vs. 802) is a translation, no doubt, of the preceding Lucifer, or *φωσφορος*.

The compliment which Lucifer paid to the sun every morning, thus ushering him in and introducing him to the world, was duly paid back by the sun to Hesperus every evening, Eurip. *Ion*, 1148 (ed. Fix) :

• *ιππους μεν ηλαν' ες τελευταιαν φλογα*
 Ηλιος, εφελκων λαμπρον Εσπερου φαις.

AENEIDEA.

III.

1-4.

POSTQUAM RES ASIAE PRIAMIQUE EVERTERE GENTEM
IMMERITAM VISUM SUPERIS CECIDITQUE SUPERBUM
ILIUM ET OMNIS HUMO FUMAT NEPTUNIA TROIA
DIVERSA EXILIA ET DESERTAS QUAERERE TERRAS

RES ASIAE.—RES, thus used in the sense of power, is a literal translation into Latin of the Greek *πραγματα*, as Herod. 1. 46 : Μετα δε η Αστυαγεω του Κυαξαρεω ηγεμονιη καταρθευσα υπο Κυρου του Καμβυσεω και τα των Περσεων πρηγματα αυξανόμενα . . . where *πρηγματα* is *power*.

CECIDITQUE SUPERBUM, &c., . . .—TROIA, a repetition not only in thought, but in expression and structure, of 2. 624 :

“tūm vero omne mibi visum considerare in ignes
Ilium, et ex imo verti *Neptunia Troia*.”

In both places “*Ilium*,” owing to its position (see Rem. on 2. 247), is emphatic, and “*Neptunia Troia*” is its complement. The structure is, if I may so say, Virgil’s habitual structure. Compare 2. 778 :

. . . “nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam
fas, aut ille sinit *superi regnator Olympi*,”

where see Rem.

DIVERSA EXILIA.—“Multi ad illud referunt: ‘magnum quae sparsa per orbem.’ Constat namque diversas orbis partes tenuisse Troianos, ut Helenus et Antenor: sed melius est specialiter hoc Aeneae dare, qui compulsus auguriis est diversas terras, hoc est in diversa regione [codd. h. e. e reg.] positas quaerere,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “‘DIVERSA EXILIA, desertae terrae,’ pro terris novis ac *diversis*, longinquis, inhabitandis,” Heyne. “‘Ferne verbannungen,’ J. H. Voss. “DIVERSA, longinqua, longe remota,” Gossrau. “DIVERSA EXILIA, positum in contraria parte orbis terrarum exilii locum,” Wagn. (1861). “DIVERSA, widely removed from Troy,” Conington.

The essence of this, the first, or as it may be called, the Servian interpretation of the passage, is that only one exile is spoken of, and that that exile is in a remote or contrary part of the world from Troy. The interpretation is false in both its parts, (1), because, in no one of the other six-and-thirty instances of our author's use of the term, is *diversus* applied to a plural expressive of a single conception, but in every instance either to a singular expressive of a single conception, or to a plural expressive of plurality; (2), because it remains yet to be shown that in any one of these six-and-thirty instances the term is used in any other than its well-established sense of *different*, *divers*, *diverse*—the two latter words being neither more nor less than different, *divers* English forms of the identical Latin word, viz., *divers-us*. Let not the reader be alarmed. I am not going to drag him through the thirty-six instances, only through one of them, and to ask him whether he requires to be informed more explicitly than he is informed by the “septem” of *Georg. 4. 292*, that the “*diversa ora*” there spoken of are not one single mouth in a remote or contrary part of the world, but different, *divers* mouths, mouths opening in different directions, divergent. **And**, (3), on account of the exact parallel, *Liv. 42. 8*: “post hanc pugnam, ex *diversa* fuga in unum collecti Ligures, quum maiorem partem civium amissam quam superesse cernerent . . . dediderunt sese,” where any doubt that “*diversa fuga*” can by possibility be anything else than *flight in different directions*, *scattered flight*, is removed by the just

preceding “inde terror iniectus Liguribus: *diversi* in omnes partes fugerunt.” The *DIVERSA EXILIA* of our text is therefore to be understood not as meaning one far exile, but as meaning different, divers exiles.

What, then? What are these divers, these different, exiles? Are they, with Cynthius Cenetensis, Aeneas's own exiles, the successive exiles of Aeneas and his party?—“*DIVERSA EXILIA: exilia Aeneae haec fuerunt. Nam Aeneas venit in Chersonesum, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Arcadium, Cytheram, Cretam, Epirum, Siciliam et Africam.*” I think not. *DESERTAS TERRAS* being, as I shall by-and-by show, not any specific desert lands, but the desert lands of exile generally, *DIVERSA EXILIA* are not any specific exiles, are not Aeneas's own several special exiles, they are divers exiles generally, the divers exiles, the, if I may so say, divergent exiles from a central point, which are the usual lot of the conquered nation, and which were on the present occasion the lot of the “gens Dardania,” scattered over the wide world (“magnum quae sparsa per orbem”); and the “multi” of Servius (ed. Lion) (“Multi ad illud referunt: ‘magnum quae sparsa per orbem’”) are, as they so often are, nearer right than either Servius himself or Cynthius. The two indefinite plurals, *EXILIA* and *TERRAS*, are thus perfectly in place, the two clauses of the verse tally, and each predicate whilst it refers directly to its own subject has a certain indirect reference to the subject of the other predicate, the exiles being not only divers but desert, and the lands not only desert but divers.

In whichever way, however, we interpret the passage, there is, as so often happens in passages of Virgil, a defect in it. If the ordinary interpretation be adopted: if *DIVERSA EXILIA* be understood to be the precise distant exile, and *DESERTAS TERRAS* the precise desert land for which Aeneas is bound, whether Hesperia or any other precise place of destination; or if with Cynthius Cenetensis *DIVERSA EXILIA* and *DESERTAS TERRAS* are Aeneas's successive attempts at settlement, how comes it that there is no notice whatever taken of any of the other fugitives from the great city of Troy? How comes it that we hear no word of any one surviving the fall both of the empire and

citadel of Priam except Aeneas and his party, not one word of those relics of the vast ruin which are to be scattered over the whole world?—those relics of which Aeneas himself expressly informs Dido at his first interview that he and the Trojans with him formed but an insignificant moiety :

“ non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quicquid ubique est
gentis Dardaniæ magnum quæ sparsa per orbem.”

DIVERSA EXILIA ET DESERTAS QUÆRERE TERRAS, whether understood of the ultimate settlement or of the various attempts at settlement of Aeneas and his party, is but a meagre apodosis for the grand and imposing protasis :

POSTQUAM RES ASIÆ PRIAMIQUE EVERTERE GENTEM
IMMERITAM VISUM SUPERIS, CECIDITQUE SUPERBUM
ILIUM, ET OMNIS HUMO FUMAT NEPTUNIA TROIA.

If, on the other hand, DIVERSA EXILIA and DESERTAS TERRAS are different exiles and (different) desert lands, and—not Aeneas and his party only, but—all the survivors of Troy form the subject of AGIMUR, we have indeed a more worthy apodosis, and the three grand first verses remind us less of the mountain in labour, but we have almost instantly afterwards the fugitives limited to Aeneas and his party, and the apodosis, of so good promise in DIVERSA EXILIA ET DESERTAS QUÆRERE TERRAS, shrunk like a Miltonic devil all at once into a pigmy.

The defect—not, so far as I see, to be remedied by any conceivable interpretation—must only be acquiesced in like any other of the numerous defects of the work—most of them defects from which no work of the magnitude, and especially no work left without the last touches of the master—can ever be expected to be entirely free. It is our part, if we are wise, to enjoy the good without being put out of humour by the inevitable admixture of bad ; and, regarding the Æneid in the light of a friend, relative, or sweetheart,

“ be to its faults a little blind,
and to its virtues very kind ;”

and accompany all the fugitives from Troy as far as the seashore on their way to divers desert exiles, but on the seashore

attach ourselves to Aeneas and go with him only across the deep—

FEROR EXUL IN ALTUM
CUM SOCIIS NATOQUE, PENATIBUS ET MAGNIS DIS.

DESERTAS.—The commentators have vexed themselves about the meaning of this word: “DESERTAS autem a Dardano accipe. Nam ubique laudantur, et uberes eas esse legimus, ut (l. 531): ‘*atque ubere glebae*,’” Servius (ed. Lion), Cynth. Cenetens., and Wagner (ed. Heyn.) To this, as usual, too literal and matter-of-fact interpretation the objection of Dietsch is, as I think, unanswerable: “quas qui DESERTAS ab Dardano, Troianae gentis auctore, intellexerunt, Servius et Wagnerus, secum non reputasse videntur quantopere sagacitate aut potius divinatione Didonis et Carthaginiensium confideret Aeneas, si eos tenero putaret quae nondum commemorasset, et nisi ab Apolline cognovisset, ipse, Dardani progenies, ignoraret”—an objection no less applicable to, and no less conclusive against, Servius’s still more strange and untenable *aliter*: “aut quas et tenuimus et descriuimus, ut Cretam et Thraciam.”

Next in order comes the interpretation of Voss: “‘desertae terrae’ sind aus dem dunklen orakelspruche entlehnt, wo sie öde länder zu heissen scheinen, und nur vom Dardanus verlassen heissen,” which it will be time enough to confute when the “dunkel orakelspruch” “wo sie öde länder zu heissen scheinen” is produced. We have next the second or improved interpretation of Wagner (1861): “Auguria quae Troianis obtigerant ita interpretabantur ut omnino statuerent TERRAS quasdam diversas ac DESERTAS petendas esse,” where the commentator, smarting under the castigation of Dietsch (“quas qui,” &c., above) cries: “*peccari*; DESERTAS is not ‘DESERTAS a Dardano’; it is DESERTAS. Aeneas and his companions understand themselves to be sent by the auguries of the gods in search of DESERTAS TERRAS.” Of the amount and value of this information let the reader judge for himself. Then comes Ribbeck’s astounding “*Novas sedes in desertae patriae vicem in alia patria quaerere*,” and then Heyne’s so much nearer approach to the truth (I mean, of course, to what I conceive to be the truth)

than any of those yet mentioned: "Poeta hoc unum agit ut miserationem moveat." So much nearer, I say, for even the explanation of Heyne is still far from the truth, inasmuch as to excite sympathy by a knowingly false representation had been unworthy of the poet, and still more unworthy of the hero (who, it will be observed, and not the poet, is the speaker), and is not, in fairness, to be ascribed to either, unless in the case that an explanation more honourable to one or other or both is not to be arrived at. What, then? Has Ladewig at last arrived at that explanation? Does Aeneas formally contrast the home he has just lost with that in store for him, the former glowing in the bright colours RES ASIAE, PRIAMI GENTEM, SUPERBUM ILIUM, NEPTUNIA TROIA, the latter deep in the shade of DIVERSA EXILIA and DESERTAS TERRAS?—"DESERTAS TERRAS. So erscheint dem scheidenden Aeneas die neue heimath im gegensatz zu dem innig geliebten SUPERBUM ILIUM," Ladewig. Impossible; he does not even so much as know where he is going—

INCERTI QUO FATA FERANT, UBI SISTERE DETUR.

How could he who has no fixed destination, who does not know whither the fates may bring him, where they may allow him to stop, designate his new home as desert in comparison of that which he has left? He could not, and does not do so. The "terrae desertae" of which he speaks are not those of his new home—he has no new home—they are those of exile generally, the desert lands of exile, the exile's desert lands. It is not with a petty contrast of the old home of Aeneas and his companions with the new home which the fates have provided for them, and for which they are bound, the poet commences his third book; it is with the retrospect, in a few words, of the great events of the preceding book—the overthrow of the Asiatic kingdom and entire stock of Priam, the fall of proud Ilium, and the smoking from the ground of all Neptunian Troy, followed by the prospect before the survivors of dispersion and lonely exile. The notion of home, of the home lost for ever, has been entirely omitted; that was too touching a note not to be struck by the poet, and we have it, not here either in RES ASIAE, or PRIAMI GENTEM, or

SUPERBUM ILIUM, OR NEPTUNIA TROIA, but seven lines later, in its proper place, at the actual parting :

LITTORA CUM PATRIAE LACRYMANS PORTUSQUE RELINQUO,
ET CAMPOS UBI TROIA FUIT,

with the superaddition of the character under which home was left, viz., that of an exile ; and not merely that of an exile, but, as before, that of an exile without specific destination ; that of an exile who had yet to find out a new home to replace the old—FEROR EXUL IN ALTUM, as if he had said : “ away to the wide deep, an exile.” And then ? what then ? out on the wide deep he makes, of course, immediately for Hesperia ? Far from it. It is for Thrace he makes, and there he begins to build, and is only very sorry when he finds the gods’ auguries do not allow him to remain, but send him back the very way he came. But, at least, he then steers direct for Hesperia, his appointed destiny, that Hesperia which, in comparison of the home he has left, he expects to find so “ deserta ?” Not one word of it. He is totally at a loss, does not know whither in the world to turn, and in his perplexity goes to ask the oracle in Delos :

“ da propriam, Thymbrææ, domum ; da moenia fessis,
et genus et mansuram urbem
quem sequimur ? quoque ire iubes ? ubi ponere sedes ?”

Sent by the answer of the oracle in search of his ancient mother (“ antiquam exquirite matrem”), not even then does he so much as guess it is Hesperia he is sent to ; on the contrary, guesses it must be Crete, and hearing accidentally that the coasts of Crete are clear (“ deserta,” our very word), and therefore Crete the precise place for settlers, sets off without more ado for Crete, and begins to build there—

. . . “ avidus muros optatae molior urbis,
Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
hortor amare focos, arcemque attollere tectis—”

and continues to build, and establish himself there, till the visitation of a pestilence makes him doubt he is in the right box ; and, advised by Anchises, he is on the very point of returning

all the way to Delos to inquire more particularly of the oracle :

“ quam fessis finem rebus ferat ; unde laborem
temptare auxilium iubeat ; quo vertere cursus,”

when he is saved the trouble by the apparition of the Penates to him in his sleep, who inform his total ignorance, in the identical terms in which the total ignorance of Dido is informed by Ilioneus in the first book, that there is a certain place the Greeks call Hesperia, an ancient country, warlike and fruitful, once cultivated by the Oenotrians, and now called by the present inhabitants Italy ; and add that this is the proper place for them, the place whence Dardanus and Iasius came, and they would be obliged to him to bring them thither—information which calls forth the remark of Anchises that he had never heard the name either of Hesperia or a kingdom of Italy mentioned by anyone except Cassandra, whose ravings nobody minded. But as those then supposed ravings had since turned out to be oracles, he would recommend Phoebus's advice to be followed, and Hesperia searched for immediately.

Hesperia, therefore, neither at their setting out from Troy nor up to this time had so much as once entered into the minds of the Trojan fugitives ; and there can by no possibility be either comparison of it with Troy, or allusion of any sort to it in the word *DESERTAS*, which becomes therefore, and as a matter of course—not to speak of its being in the plural, and from that circumstance even alone more probably general and indefinite than particular—descriptive of exile, and *DESERTAS TERRAS* the logical predicate of *EXILIA*. But Aeneas was expressly told all about Hesperia by the shade of Creusa at the close of the first book, and just before leaving Troy ? No doubt ; but the conclusion to be thence deduced is **not** that *DESERTAS* refers to that Hesperia announced by Creusa to Aeneas—for that neither Hesperia nor other fixed goal is in his mind at all is placed beyond all doubt not only by the immediately subjoined

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but by the whole narrative of his wanderings—**but** the conclusion to be thence deduced is that the narrative of the third

book is inconsistent with and contradictory to the narrative of the second—an inconsistency and contradiction affording, along with some others of a like kind, a better ground than the incompleteness of a few individual verses, for the universal and, no doubt, correct opinion that the *Aeneid* is an unfinished poem, one which its author was prevented by a premature death from thoroughly reducing into order, and making harmonious with itself.

6-34.

ANTANDRO—AGRESTES

QUO FATA FERANT, theme ; UBI SISTERE DETUR, variation.

ANTANDRO.—Compare Thucyd. 4. 52 : *Αντανδρον . . . ναυς τε γαρ ευπορια ην ποιεισθαι αυτοθεν, ξυλων υπαρχοντων και της Ιδης επικειμενης*. See also Strabo, 13. 606 ; also Choiseul Gouffier, *V.P. 2. 79* : “Le village d’*Antandros* conserve encore son nom sans aucune alteration. Le port, appelé aujourd’hui *Lidja*, est excellent et met a l’abri de tous les vents. C’est là que les navires et les bateaux du pays viennent charger les produits de ces riches contrées, ainsi que les bois, que l’on tire du *Gargaro*.”

CUM RELINQUO (vs. 10).—I agree, though not without considerable hesitation, with Peerlkamp, Forbiger, and the older commentators, against Wagner (ed. Heyn.) and Conington, that not ET PATER but CUM RELINQUO is the apodosis to VIX PRIMA.

LITTORA CUM, &c., . . . UBI TROIA FUIT.—In the more trivial, no less than in the more important, features of his character, Aeneas is drawn after Jason : not only is he the daring adventurer, the intrepid navigator, the faithless seducer, but he leaves home weeping (Apollon. Rhod. 1. 534) :

. . . αυταρ Ιησων

δακρυοεις γαιης απο πατριδος ομματ’ ενεικεν.

See Rem. on *Aen. 4. 143* and *305*.

FUIT (vs. 11), *was* once, and *is* no longer. See Remm. on 1. 16, and 2. 325.

HOSPITIUM ANTIQUM TROIAE (vs. 15).—Compare Liv. 5. 28 (ed. Walker): “Hospitium cum eo senatusconsulto est factum.”

FATIS INGRESSUS INIQUIS (vs. 17), exactly as 10. 380: “fatis adductus iniquis.” In both places “iniquis” is, as so often elsewhere, *unfair*, i.e., treating him harshly or hardly.

ÆNEADASQUE, &c., . . . TAURUM (vss. 18-21).—Compare Aristoph. *Aves*, 810:

ΠΕΙΣΘ. . . . πρωτον ονομα τη πολει
θεσθαι τι μεγα και κλεινον, ειτα τοις θεοις
θυσαι μετα τουτο.

SACRA DIONAEAE MATRI DIVISQUE FEREBAM (vs. 19).—(*divae Veneri*, MATRI *meae*), *was sacrificing to my Dionaeae mother*, (DIVISQUE) *that being my duty to heaven: was performing my duty to heaven by sacrificing to my Dionaeae mother*. See Rem. on 8. 103. But why to his Dionaeae mother on this occasion specially? Because he was building a city on the seashore (verse 16, LITTORE CURVO MOENIA PRIMA LOCO), and all seashores were sacred to Venus—comp. Epigr. Gaetulici, *Anthol. Pal.* 5. 17:

Αγχιαλου ρηγμινος επισκοπε, σοι ταδε πεμπω
ψαιστια και λιτης δωρα θυηπολις·
αυριοι Ιονιου γαρ επι πλατυ κυμα περησω,
• σπενδων ημετερης κολπον ες Ειδοθεις·
ουριος αλλ' επιλαμψον εμω και ερωτι και ιστω,
δεσποτι και θαλαμων, Κυπρι, και ηϊωνων.

The association, therefore, of Venus with Jupiter on this occasion, as “auspex COEPTORUM OPERUM,” was peculiarly proper.

NITENTEM (vs. 20).—Here not *sleek*, but *shining white*. See preceding Rem.

NITENTEM CAELICOLUM REGI MACTABAM . . . TAURUM (vs. 21). It became a king to sacrifice a white bull to Jupiter, as it became a queen to sacrifice a white cow to Juno. See Julian, *Epist. to Libanius* (*Epistt. Mut. Gr.*): εθυσα τω Διι βασιλικωσ

ταυρον λευκον. *Aen.* 4. 60 :

“ ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima *Dido*
candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit.”

Seneca, *Med.* 56 :

“ ad regum thalamos numine prospero,
 qui caelum superi, quique regunt fretum,
 adsint, cum populis rite faventibus.
 primus sceptriferis colla Tonantibus
taurus celsa ferat *tergore candido*.
Lucinam nivei foemina corporis
 intentata iugo placet.”

Compare also Hom. *Il.* 2. 402 :

αυταρ ο βουν ιερειυσεν αναξ ανδρων Αγαμεμνων
 πιονα πενταετηρον υπερμενεϊ Κρονιω νι.

Juvenal, 8. 155 :

. . . “ dum lanatas, torvumque *iuvencum*
 more Numae caedit *Iovis* ante altaria.”

And above all, the petition of the white oxen to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, Ammian, 25. 4: οι λευκοι βοες Μαρκω τω Καισαρι. Αν συ νικησης, ημεις απωλομεθα.

NYMPHAS AGRESTES (vs. 34), the Hamadryads, who had the trees under their special protection ; see Ovid, *Met.* 8. 741, *et seqq.*, where we have an account of a prodigy similar to that in the text. The same story, scarcely even modernized, cuts a conspicuous figure in Tasso's collection of stolen goods, canto 13, st. 41.

36.

RITE SECUNDARENT VISUS OMENQUE LEVARENT

RITE SECUNDARENT VISUS OMENQUE LEVARENT.—Theme and variation: *make the phenomenon propitious* (i.e., to be of good omen) *and take away bad omen* (i.e., any bad omen there may have been in the phenomenon). The second clause is a variation, not a repetition, of the first, because, like as the two thoughts are, they are not exactly the same, differ from each other in the whole extent in which taking away bad differs from conferring good. Inasmuch as the taking away of bad is, in the nature of things, always more urgent and necessary than—usually even an indispensable preliminary step towards—the conferring of good, the second clause would, in the natural, logical, prosaic order, have been placed first. Our poet, however, here, as so often elsewhere, has thought proper to invert that order, and to place the ultimate object first, the preliminary step last, to the great embarrassment, if not to the total discomfiture, of his reader, unable to see before him in the Cacus smoke (see 8. 259) in which he finds himself suddenly enveloped, without resource, except to cry out: “*υστερον προτερον*, cart before horse!” for where are the Herculean arms to throw about Virgil’s neck and throttle him on the spot, or who, having such arms, would so use them? for who is the Hercules to leap on Virgil with arms and legs and squeeze him to death on the spot? or who, being the Hercules, would do so?

VISUS.—*The sight*, in the sense of apparition, manifestation, phenomenon, the *οψις* and the *φασμα* of the Greeks, as Herodot. 1. 38: *προς ων την οψιν ταυτην του τε γαμον του τουτον εσπενσα και επι τα παραλαμβανομενα ουκ αποπεμπω*. Aesch. *Pers.* 516 (ed. Schütz), Atossa speaking:

Ω νυκτος οψις εμφανης ενυπνιων,
 ως καρτα μοι σαφως εδηλωσας κακα.

Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 1584 (ed. Fix) :

. . . *απας δ' ἐπηχῆσε στρατος,
ἀελπτον εἰσίδοντες ἐκ θεῶν τινος
φασμ'.*

Servius ("pro *visa* ponit"), Heyne ("ostentum"), Voss ("die schau"), and Conington ("portent"), are right; while Ladewig ("meine augen, den blick") is altogether wrong. Compare 3. 173 :

"talibus attonitus *visis* et voce decorum;"

11. 271 :

"nunc etiam horribili *visu* portenta sequuntur;"

Lucan, 3. 38 :

"et quid," ait, "vani terre mur imagine *visus*?"

Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 84: "Iussa numinis, suos Ptolomaeique *visus*, ingruentia mala, exponit." And the "di *visa* secudent" of Lucan, and the "ut *visa* secudent" of Silius, quoted below.

SECUNDARENT = redderent secundos. Compare Lucan, 1. 635 :

. . . "di *visa* secudent,
et fibris sit nulla fides."

Sil. 8. 124: "ut *visa* secudent ora caelicolas." Sil. 8. 227: "nymphæ, decus generis, . . . felix oblata *secundes*." See Rem. on "secundo," 1. 160.

LEVARENT.—"Bonum ac leve facerent," Servius, Heyne, Voss ("mildern"), Conington ("the omen was apparently gravis, Aeneas asks to have it made levis"), Kappes ("erleichtern")—the latter defending Servius, and arguing at some length against the "*deflectere, avertere, abwenden, abhalten*" of my "Adversaria Virgiliana" and "Twelve Years' Voyage." Neither, however, the arguments of Kappes nor the weight of authority in his favour—except Süpfle alone, there is, so far as I know, no one in mine—have sufficed to shake, in the least, my opinion that Aeneas does not pray the gods to make the omen light or mild, or easy to be borne, but prays them to take it away, to undo it, to do away with it entirely. In no other sense does the variation harmonize with the theme, in no other

sense does OMEN LEVARENT fill up and give body and colour to the general sketch or outline, RITE SECUNDARENT VISUS; and in no other sense does the prayer agree in substance with the prayer usual on such occasions, which—inasmuch as no one who can help it compounds or compromises with evil, but always gets rid of it if he can altogether—is never to make the ill omen or omended ill light or easy to be borne, but always to avert it totally. Compare verse 265 :

“ di prohibete minas ; di talem avertite casum,
et placidi servate pios,”

where we have, as in our text, only in the inverse order, the good prayed for and the bad prayed against, “ placidi servate pios” corresponding to the RITE SECUNDARENT VISUS of our text, and “ prohibete minas,” “ talem avertite casum,” corresponding to the OMEN LEVARENT. Still more parallel—so parallel that words could not be more so—is Lucan, l. 635 :

. . . “ di visa secudent,
et fibris sit nulla fides,”

where we have—in the identical order, too—the identical prayers of our text : *make the manifestation propitious, and—not diminish or make light the bad omen, but—take it away entirely, let there be no truth in it at all, “ nulla fides.”*

Nor is this by any means an unusual sense of *levare*. It is its sense at (a), 2. 146 :

“ ipse viro primus manicas atque areta *levari*
vincla iubet Priamus,”

where that “ *levari*” is not *to be eased or loosened*, but *to be taken off entirely*, is placed beyond doubt by the immediately succeeding

“ sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas.”

(b), 10. 25 : “ nunquamne *levari* obsidione sines ?” [relieved from siege, *i. e.*, entirely freed and delivered from siege]. (c), *Ecl.* 9. 65 : “ ego hoc te fasce *levabo*” [I will relieve, *i. e.*, free you entirely of this bundle]. (d), Claud., 4. *Cons. Honor.* 60 :

“ ni pater illo tuus iamiam ruitura subisset
pondera; turbatamque ratem, certaue *levasset*
naufragium commune manu ”

[*not* lightened or diminished shipwreck, *but* hindered shipwreck].
(*e*), Hor. *Epod.* 13. 8 :

. . . "nunc et Achaemenia
perfundi nardo iuvat, et fide Cyllenea
levare diris pectora solitudinibus "

[relieve the breast of dire anxieties, *i. e.*, take dire anxieties entirely off the breast]. (*f*), Seneca, *Troad.* 179 :

"tum scissa vallis aperit immensos specus ;
et hiatus Erebi pervium ad superos iter
tellure fracta praebet, ac tumultum *levat* "

[*not* eases or makes light the tomb, *but* does away with the tomb, removes the tomb out of the way]. **And**, (*g*), Hor. *Od.* 2. 17. 27 :

"me truncus illapsus cerebro
sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
dextra *levasset* "

[*not* lightened or broke the blow, *but* warded off, parried the blow].

In like manner, *relieve*, our English derivative from this very word, means not only to assuage, to make light or tolerable, but to take away entirely; and our English *abate* generally means to make less, particularly in the phrase "abate the nuisance;" *i. e.*, to take away the nuisance entirely.

OMEN.—Whether omen is to be taken in a good sense or a bad being always to be determined by the context, and Aeneas here praying the gods "*levare OMEN*," there is no room for doubt that OMEN is here used in a bad sense. But the difficulty still remains, what bad omen is meant. Is it the particular sign, the VISUS already specified, to which the term OMEN is here applied in the bad sense of that word? No; it is not possible that Aeneas should in the words OMEN LEVARENT pray the gods to take away and remove the very thing which he has that moment, nay in the self-same breath, prayed them to render propitious or of good augury. What, then? what other sign is there? what else is to be removed, if not the VISUS? There is no other sign to be removed; there is only the possible bad import of that sign to be removed. OMEN expresses such possible bad import, and so

we have the prayer OMEN LEVARENT, remove omen, bad import, viz., from the VISUS. OMEN is thus not *the* omen or particular definite bad sign, but *omen, bad import*, in general. The two clauses of the sentence thus become not only perfectly consistent with each other, but each supplies and completes the other, the gods being prayed in the one to make the visus (a medium term as the grammarians call it, and capable of being either of good or bad import) good and lucky, and in the other to prevent the visus being of bad import, to take away from the visus whatever might be in it of sinister or unlucky.

37-46.

SED—ACUTIS

SED contrasts what actually happens with what Aeneas has expected. He has prayed the gods to take away sinister import from the phenomenon of the bleeding branch, and to make that phenomenon lucky. Instead of the gods doing so by sending him a new sign of undoubtedly lucky import, which according to the theomancy (*θεομαντεία*) of the times would determine in a favourable sense the previous doubtful sign (the visus) which has so much alarmed him, he has a new sign sent him, of the sinister import of which it is impossible to doubt. The force, therefore, of the objecting particle is: the gods, instead of doing that which he asked them to do, and (which he hoped and expected they would do) causing by means of a new sign their previous doubtful sign to have a happy import and to lose its threatening character, send a new sign which takes away whatever might have been favourably interpreted in the former, and establishes the former to be of most sinister augury. It is this persistence of the gods to present evil omens no less than the nature of the omens themselves which strikes him with the horror expressed at verses 47 and 48, TUM VERO, &c.

IAM PARCE SEPULTO.—Compare Eurip. *Fragn. Melanippe*, 19 :

τι τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ εἰς τεθνηκεναι,
καὶ τὰ ἔκχυθεντα συλλέγεις ἀλγημάτων;

EXTERNUM (vs. 43) refers to PIAS; as if he had said: “know that thou, so full of tenderness and pity, art at this moment doing a most ungentle act, violating the tomb of a fellow-countryman and relative.” The reference in the PIAS of our text to the sacredness (in the eyes of Aeneas) of the myrtle mound as the tomb of Polydorus is precisely of the same kind as the reference in the “pius” of verse 75 to the sacredness (in the eyes of Apollo) of the island of Delos as his own (Apollo’s) birth-place. See Rem. on “pietate,” 1. 14.

MANAT, Engl. *ooze*. See verse 175 and Rem.

NAM POLYDORUS EGO.—Compare Plautus *Mostel.* 2. 2. 65 :

“ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius ;
hic habito ; hæc mihi dedita est habitatio :
nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit,
quia præmature vita carco. per fidem
deceptus sum ; hospes hic me necavit, isque me
defodit insepultum clam ibidem in hisce aedibus,
scelestus, auri causa.* nunc tu hinc emigra
scelestæ hæc sunt aedes, impia est habitatio.

fuge, obsecro hercle !
. fuge atque operi caput ! †
quæ hic monstra fuint, anno vix possum eloqui. ‡
st, st ! concrepuit foris
. . . guttam haud habes sanguinis. §
ita me di amabunt, mortuum illum credidi
expostulare, quia percussisses fores.” ||

* QUID NON MORTALIA PECTORA COGIS,
AURI SACRA FAMES ?

† HEU, FUGE CRUDELES TERRAS, FUGE LITTUS AVARUM.

‡ HORRENDUM ET DICTU VIDEO MIRABILE MONSTRUM
.
MONSTRA DEUM REFERO.

§ HUIC ATRO LIQUUNTUR SANGUINE GUTTAE,
ET TERRAM TABO MACULANT, MIHI FRIGIDUS HORROR
MEMBRA QUATIT, GELIDUSQUE COIT FORMIDINE SANGUIS.

|| GEMITUS LACRYMABILIS INO
AUDITUR FUNULO, ET VOX REDDITA FERTUR AD AURES.

HIC CONFIXUM, &c., . . . ACUTIS.—Compare Claudian, *Cons. Honor.* 134 :

. . . “ præstringit aena
lux oculos, nudique *seges* Mavortia *ferri*
ingeminat splendore diem.”

Id., *Hystrix*, 10 (of the porcupine) :

. . . “ stat corpore toto
silva minax, *iaculisque* rigens in praelia *creseit*
picturata *seges*.”

Lactantius, in his riddle, *Ericius* (*Symp.* 28) :

“ incolumi dorso *telis confixis acutis* ;
sustinet armatas *segetes* habitator incermis.”

47—48.

TUM VERO ANCIPIITI MENTEM FORMIDINE PRESSUS

OBSTUPUI STETERUNTQUE COMAE ET VOX FAUCIBUS HÆSIT

TUM VERO.—The effect on Aeneas's mind is accurately proportioned to the cause—increases with the increase of the prodigy. The drops of blood fill him with horror—

MIHI FRIGIDUS HORROR

MEMBRA QUATIT, GELIDUSQUE COIT FORMIDINE SANGUIS —

but do not deter him from his purpose ; on the contrary, excite his curiosity, make him desire to probe the matter further. Not so the warning voice ; that produces the full effect—makes him not only desist from violating the tomb further, but makes him doubtful whether he ought not altogether to abandon his project of settling in Thrace. The emphatic words TUM VERO point to this complete effect. Compare *Aen.* 2. 228 :

“ tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
insinuat pavor,”

where see Rem. See also Remm. on 2. 105 ; 4. 396, 449, 571.

ANCIPITI.—“*Duplici* quod et sanguinem viderat, vel ANCIPITI FORMIDINE, una quod sepulcrum laeserat, altera quod metuere coeperat 1 . . . [laesum, *al.* letum] ipsum,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Von *zweifacher* furcht, veranlasst durch das gesehene blut und die vernommenen worte des Polydorus,” Ladewig. “ANCIPITI, *duplici*, nata et ex viso sanguine et ex auditis verbis Polydori,” Wagner (1861). I think not. There are no two fears pressing Aeneas. There is but one single fear pressing him, viz., that of the prodigy which at first, viz., with the first flow of blood from the tree, makes his blood run cold with fear (GELIDUS COIT FORMIDINE SANGUIS), sets him a-conjecturing (MULTA MOVENS ANIMO) and invoking the local deities (NYMPHAS VENERABAR AGRESTES GRADIVUMQUE PATREM, GETICIS QUI PRAESIDET ARVIS); and, finally (TUM VERO), with the warning voice from the tumulus makes his hair bristle, his voice stick in his throat, and overcomes and stupefies him, not as at first with mere fear, FORMIDINE (which only deters), but with ANCIPITI FORMIDINE, doubtful, distracting, perplexing fear, *i.e.*, with fear mixed with doubt what to do, what course to take, whether or not to obey the warning voice and give up his undertaking and leave the country. ANCIPITI FORMIDINE, then, is not double fear or two fears, one on each hand, but doubtful fear (*i.e.*, fear and doubt), distracting fear. Had Aeneas been oppressed only by double fear, fear occasioned on the one hand by the blood and on the other hand by the voice, he might have determined for himself, need not have applied to a council for instructions what to do under the circumstances; but the fear with which he was oppressed being “anceps,” *doubtful, mixed with doubt and embarrassment*, the advice of a council became necessary to determine him, and accordingly:

POSTQUAM PAVOR OSSA RELIQUIT

DELECTOS POPULI AD PROCERES PRIMUMQUE PARENTEM

MONSTRA DEUM REFERO, ET QUAE SIT SENTENTIA POSCO.

Compare, (■), Val. Flacc. 3. 43 :

“ut notis allapsa [puppis] vadis, dant aethere longo
signa tubae, vox et mediis emissa tenebris :
hostis habet portus, soliti rediere Pelasgi.

rupta quies : deus *ancipitem* lymphaverat urbem

at Minyas *anceps* fixit pavor : aegra virorum
corda labant, nec quae regio, aut discrimina, cernunt ;
cur galeae clipeique micent, num pervigil armis
hostis, et exciti dent obvia praelia Colchi,”

where, as “*ancipitem urbem*”—there being only one single city—cannot by any possibility be *the two cities* or *the double city*, can only be *the doubting, the distracted city*, so “*anceps pavor*”—there being only one fear, viz., the fear produced by the unexpected sight of the whole city in arms—cannot by any possibility be *the two fears* or *the double fear*, can only be *the fear producing doubt, the distracting fear*. (2), Silius, 3. 557 :

“ at Venus, *ancipiti* mentem labefacta timore,
affatur genitorem, et rumpit maesta querelas,”

where—Venus having, as appears from the context, but one single fear, viz., for the safety of Rome—“*ancipiti timore*” can only be *fear making her anceps, making her not know what to do, which of several courses to take, distracting fear*. (3), Petron. cap. 89 :

“ iam decuma maestos inter *ancipites* metus
Phrygas obsidebat messis, et vatis fides
Calchantis atro dubia pendebat metu.”

And, (4), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 6 :

“ *ancipites* trepidique ruunt quae causa quietos
exierit, tanto quae res agitanda tumultu.”

Not that ANCIPI TI FORMIDINE might not in a different context be *two different fears*, one pressing on the one side, and the other on the other [just as, (1), Liv. 21. 28 : “*Ancepsque terror* circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente, et ab tergo improvisa premente acie” (where “*anceps terror*” is *two different terrors*, viz., one that of the enemy landing from the ships, the other that of the enemy attacking in the rear). (2), Livy, 42. 65 : “*Anceps Romanos terror* circumstabat. Nam neque conferti pugnare, propter eos qui ascendere in tumultum conabantur, poterant : et ubi ordines procursando sol-

vissent, patebant iaculis sagittisve" (where "anceps terror" is *two different terrors*, viz., that occasioned by the enemy charging up the hill and that occasioned by javelin-throwers and archers in the plain). (3), Liv. 28. 31: "ad quorum discessum non respiravit modo Mago quum terra marique *ancipiti metu* urgere-tur, sed etiam," etc. (where "ancipiti metu" is *the double fear*—viz., one fear on the land side and the other on the side of the sea—with which Mago is urged). **And**, (4), Ammian. 29. 5: "agensque in oppido *solicitudine* diducebatur *ancipiti*, multa cum animo versans, qua via quibusve commentis per exustas caloribus terras pruinis adsuetum duceret militem, vel hostem caperet discursatorem et repentinum, insidiisque potius clandestinis quam praeliorum stabilitate confisum" (where "*solicitudine ancipiti*" is *two different solitudes*, one by what means the soldiers might be enabled to bear the heats to which they would be exposed on their march through the desert, the other how the attacks of the enemy might be baffled)], **but that** Aeneas's fear is according to the context only one and single, the fear, viz., with which he is struck by the prodigy of the blood and groans and warning voice, all operating in the one direction, viz., to deter him from settling in the country, and fill him with doubt and anxiety whether he should or should not immediately accept the warning and depart.

The correctness of this analysis is shown by the sequel, which informs us that Aeneas so soon as the fear has left his bones—POSTQUAM PAVOR OSSA RELIQUIT—refers the matter to a council who resolve his doubt by an unanimous decision to set sail and leave the land which had so violated the laws of hospitality.

56-68.

QUID NON—CIEMUS

QUID NON MORTALIA PECTORA COGIS, AURI SACRA FAMES?—The abrupt apostrophe and extraordinary strength of expression seem to justify the observation of Servius and Pomp. Sabinus, that these words have a special reference to Dido's own experience, 1. 353, &c. Dante, unaccountably mistaking the bitter reprehension of avarice for an eulogy of thrift, thus paraphrases this passage (*Purgat.* 22. 40) :

“ a che non reggi tu, o sacra fame
dell' oro, l'appetito de' mortali ? ”

i.e., *why, O sacred love of gold, moderatest thou not our appetite?* or, in other words, *Would that we had such a proper estimate of the value of money as might restrain the lavish expenditure attendant on the indulgence of sensual and luxurious appetites ; consequently—as might restrain the appetites themselves.* This gross misconception, not to say perversion, of his favourite author's meaning in one of his plainest and least mistakable passages—proving, as it does beyond all doubt, that Dante's, like our own Shakespeare's, knowledge of the Latin language, and therefore of classical literature generally, was wholly incommensurate with his poetical genius—affords a striking exemplification of the truth (so consolatory to the humble, and in these days so much despised, scholar and critic) “ non omnia possumus omnes.”

Metastasio—a poet whom it is the fashion now-a-days to underrate as much as it is the fashion now-a-days to overrate Dante—has at least not been guilty of like error, *Artas.* 1. 3 :

“ oh insana, o scellerata
sete di regno ! e qual pietà, qual santo
vincolo di natura è mai bastante
a frenar le tue furie ? ”

MONSTRA DEUM (vs. 59). I should like to know what Addi-

son thought was the meaning of these words, or whether he had noticed these words at all when he wrote the criticism we find at page 316 of vol. 3 of the quarto edition of his works: "If there be any instance in the *Aeneid* liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the third book, where *Aeneas* is represented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. This circumstance seems to have the marvellous without the probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes without the interposition of any god, or rather supernatural power capable of producing it."

INSTAURAMUS (vs. 62).—"Religioso vocabulo, pro *facimus*," Heyne. Doubly incorrect. *Instaurare* is neither specially a religious word, nor does it signify *facere*. It is **not** specially a religious word, for it is applied by Virgil himself to courage, 2. 451, "*Instaurati animi*;" to battles, 2. 679, "*sinite instaurata revisam praelia*;" 10. 543, "*instaurant acies*;" and even to such barbarous atrocities as the mutilation of Deiphobus, 6. 529, "*di, talia Graiis instaurate*." **Nor** need I tell anyone who has read either these or any other examples of its use whether by Virgil or other writer, that it is not *facere*. And I may add that the above quoted examples show equally that *instaurare* is not solenniter *facere*, *celebrare*, *εορταζειν*; and that Voss's translation "*feierlich ehren wir nun Polydorus leiche*" is no nearer the mark than Heyne's explanation.

The question then comes: what is *instaurare*? is it *restore*, *restaurare*? Pretty nearly, but far from exactly. The difference in the particles shows of itself that the meaning, however nearly allied, must still be different. *Restore*, *restaurare*, is *to put back into a former condition*, as, for instance, a decayed building. *Instaurare* is *to renew*, *to begin de novo*, *renovare*, *ανα νεοειν*, *ακα καινιζειν*. The *re* of *restaurare* points back to the former or original condition, the *in* of *instaurare* points to the present, to the newly infused life and vigour, to the fresh strength, to the new creation. Therefore "*instaurare praelia*," "*instaurare acies*," not *restore the battle* (viz., to its former condition) but *begin the battle de novo* with new strength and vigour, and not merely with such strength and vigour as at first (reno-

vare, *renew*) but, on account of the intensifying *in*, with greater strength and vigour than ever, or as if there had been no fighting at all. Therefore “*instaurati animi*,” neither *restored courage*, *restaurati animi*, nor even merely *renewed courage*, *renovati animi*, but *with more courage than ever*, *instaurati*. How much more courage than ever appears from the immediately subjoined :

. . . “*regis succurrere tectis
auxilioque levare viros, vimque addere victis.*”

The sight of the extremity in which their friends were inspired them with courage to attempt their rescue. It is no longer of dying bravely in arms they think—“*pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis*,” “*moriatur et in media arma ruamus*,” “*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.*” It is of relieving their sorely pressed friends.

In like manner, we have also, (*α*), “*instaurat diem donis*,” “makes the day new with gifts ;” not merely “restores the day to what it had been,” but “makes a new day of it” (*viz.*, by giving not such gifts as had been given previously, but far richer); “makes it a new day in the temple, so rich are her gifts,” and in other words, “not content with the gifts she has already given, fearing they may have been insufficient, begins again *de novo*, as if she had given none at all, and gives twice as many as before.” (*β*), “*instaurat choros*,” not “restores dancing and singing,” but “makes it such as it had not been previously, infuses new, unwonted, previously unknown, life and spirit into it, regenerates it.” (*γ*), “*talia Graiis instaurate*,” not, with Conington, “*repndite*,” but “‘*repndite*’ with all the freshness of a new beginning, a new institution,” *i.e.*, not with the languor with which an old thing is restored or a debt repaid; the prayer over-stepping the *lex talionis* in the ratio in which instauration is always more than original institution, is the original institution with newly infused life and vigour and the avoidance of whatever errors were in the original. (*δ*), 7. 146, “*certatim instaurant epulas*,” neither “celebrate the feast,” nor “repeat the feast,” but “re-institute the feast, begin the feast again from the beginning with new and increased alacrity ;”

with how greatly increased alacrity being shown by "laeti," and still more by "certatim," and the cause of the so greatly increased alacrity being set forth in "omine magno." **And,** (e), 5. 94 :

"hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,"

not "institutes honours," for the honours have been already instituted ("inceptos"), and he has already been libating both with milk and wine, and scattering flowers, but "re-institutes honours, begins them again from the beginning and as if none had yet been instituted;" that is, as we are told further down, he not merely libates, but sacrifices sheep, pigs, and oxen, while his companions bring oxen and load the altars with offerings; in other words, "instaurat diem donis," as Dido does in the fourth book.

Accordingly, in our text, INSTAURAMUS POLYDORO FUNUS is neither *celebrate the obsequies of Polydorus*, nor *repeat the obsequies of Polydorus*, but *give Polydorus new obsequies from the beginning and in regular form*, as, most correctly, La Cerda: "Renovantur funeralia et de novo constituuntur, ut bene et ex ritu condatur qui male et tumultuario opere conditus fuerat." The verses from ET INGENS to CIEMUS inform us how complete the instauration was, how nothing was omitted which belonged to a formal solemn funeral: neither the great tumultus, nor the ARÆ to the manes, nor the mourning "vittæ," nor the cypresses, nor the lamentations of the women with dishevelled hair, nor the libations of milk and blood, nor the loud and last farewell.

How entirely instaurare is *to begin de novo*, counting all that had been previously done as nothing, appears from the instauration of the Circenses recorded by Livy, 2. 36, and Macrob. *Saturn.* 1. 11. Discovery having been made on the night of the first day of a certain celebration of those games that the circus had been polluted in the morning, the games were "instaurati," commenced on another day, *de novo*, and as if no games had been performed at all. The effect of course was that the Circenses on that occasion were longer by one day, the "dies instauratitius," than they had ever been before, a length which, to make amends to and appease insulted Jupiter, was made, by decree of senate

and law of people, the normal length of the games in future—memorable example of that ancient collective piety, gravity, dignity, and wisdom, the reflex of which is so distinctly visible in the legislatures of the present day.

INGENS AGGERITUR TUMULO TELLUS.—Another instance of the ambiguity arising from the absence of the article in Latin. The grammatical structure allows us to interpret equally: *to the tumulus*, or *for a tumulus*. Wunderlich and Kappes, making use of this liberty, interpret: *for a tumulus*, the latter observing: “Liesse sich nicht auch ein dativ des zweckes statt des ortes annehmen? Aeneas lässt eine vollständige bestattungsfeier halten. Wird er dazu den durch die erschreckende wundererscheinung bezeichneten hügel wieder verwendet haben? Wird er die ‘hastae’ weggeräumt, oder auf sie die erde aufgeschichtet, zum hügel weitere erde beigeschafft haben?” Servius, on the other hand, followed by Heyne, Wagner (1861), and Conington, interprets *to the tumulus*, “ut ostenderet verum tumulum, ne forte aliquis alius illud errore violaret.” I agree entirely with Servius. The new earth is heaped up on the top of the old tumulus, myrtles and all, “ut ostenderetur verum esse tumulum.” A second tumulus, a cenotaph, beside the old tumulus and body, had been indeed an absurdity. The structure therefore is: ADGERITUR TUMULO (*antiquo*) INGENS TELLUS—an immense quantity of earth is heaped up on the old tumulus, and so a new and complete tumulus raised over the body, which is then “conditum sepulcro” with the usual honours.

STANT MANIBUS, &c., . . . LACTE (vv. 63-66).—In Africa “pultes, et panis, et merum” were brought to the tombs of the martyrs even in the times of St. Augustin and St. Ambrose. The custom was omitted by the latter, “quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima.” See St. August. *Confess.* 6. 2. Throughout continental Europe at the present day, the making of wreaths and garlands for tombs gives employment to a vast number of persons, those wreaths and garlands being periodically renewed during a long series of years by the affection of relatives or friends, or even of strangers.

The fresh wreath still hangs on the ancient monument of Abelard and Heloise in the cemetery of Père la Chaise at Paris.

CIRCUM (vs. 65), *i.e.*, CIRCUM ARAS. Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 4. 74: "Aram Clementiae, aram Amicitiae, effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere."

70-93.

LENIS—TERRAM

VAR. LECT.

LENIS ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Servius; Ven. 1470; Aldus (1511); P. Manut.
LENE ■■■ Wakef. (*ex cont.*)

VAR. LECT. (vs. 76).

GYARO CELSA MYCONOQUE ■ "Antiqui codd. plerique omnes." Pierius. ■■■
N. Heins. (1670, 1671); Pott.

MYCONO CELSA GYAROQUE ■■■ Lad.; Haupt.

GYARO E CELSO ■■■ N. Heins. (1704).

MYCONE CELSA GYAROQUE ■■ 1⁶7. ■■■ Brese.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.;
Philippe.

MYCONO EC CELSA GYAROQUE ■ *Pal. • Med.*

MICONOE CELSA GYAROQUE ■■ 1⁷7.

MYCONOE CELSAGYAROQUE ■■ 1²7.

MYCONO E CELSA GYAROQUE ■■ 1¹7. ■■■ Wagner (*L. V.*); Ribb.

MYCONE EX CELSA ■■ 1¹7.

MICONE E CELSA ■■ 1¹7.

O Rom.

LITTORA COMPLENT, sciz. navibus.—Compare Cic. *Dirin.* 1. 31:

"advenit, et fera velivolantibus
navibu' complexit manu' littora."

NEREIDUM MATRI ET NEPTUNO AEGAEQ.—“*Aegaeus* appellatur, ut opinor, Neptunus, quod magna veneratione Aegis, quod oppidum est Euboeae, coleretur,” Turneb., who quotes Hom. *Il.* 13. 20 (of Neptune):

. . . το δὲ τετραπὸν ἵκετο τεκμῶρ
 Αἰγᾶς, ἐνθαδὲ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βενθεσι λίμνης
 χρυσέα, μαρμαίροντα, τετενχάται, ἀφθίτα αἰεὶ.

PIUS ARCITENENS.—PIUS, *compassionate and affectionate* towards the island on account of its having been his own birth-place. See 1. 14 and Rem., and 3. 42 and Rem.

EGRESSI VENERAMUR APOLLINIS URBEM.—Venerari = προσκυβεῖν; see Nep. in *Conon*, 3. 3. The particular form of the adoration (which it will be observed is repeated on arriving at the temple itself, see vs. 84) is perhaps now not to be ascertained.

REX ANIUS, REX IDEM HOMINUM PHOEBIQUE SACERDOS.—Compare Prudent. praef. in *Psychomach.* :

“ Dei sacerdos, rex et idem praepotens,
 origo cuius, fonte inenarrabili
 secreta, nullum prodit auctorem sui,
 Melchizedec, qua stirpe, quis maioribus
 ignotus, uni cognitus tantum Deo.”

God only knows who Melchizedec was, God only knows who Anius was; each was a priest and a great king. The printer's devil, mocking and irreverent as usual, will have it they were one and the same.

TEMPLA DEI SAXO VENERABAR STRUCTA VETUSTO.—“Et quod VENERABAR ait, ostendit se precatum,” Servius. “VENERABAR includit notionem voc. *precabar, orabam*,” Forbiger. “The word has here the force of entreating, as in Hor. *Sat.* 2. 6. 8, and older Latin, so that the prayer naturally follows without further introduction,” Conington. But neither are prayers usually addressed to temples, nor on this occasion was the prayer addressed to the temple, but to the god (DA PROPRIAM, THYMBRAEE, DOMUM); and venerari, although sometimes meaning *to pray* or *intreat*, much more frequently means *to bow down before, to*

worship, Gr. *προσκυνειν*, as Nepos, *Conon*, *J. J.*: "Necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris, *venerari* te regem, quod *προσκυνειν* illi vocant." And such precisely is its meaning in the passage before us. Aeneas made his salaam to the temple; respectfully saluted it, by going down on one knee, bowing his head, and laying his hand on his breast, or by kissing his hand and turning round from left to right (Plin. *II. N.* 28. 5: "In adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus"), or by the performance of whatever other action or sign of honour, as *Aen. J.* 79: *EGRESSI VENERAMUR APOLLINIS URBEM* [certainly not *pray to the city*, but *respectfully salute it*, *προσκυνουμεν*]. Ovid, *Heroid.* 21. 91 (of the same Delos):

"protinus egressae superis, quibus insula sacra est,
flava *salutatis* thura merumque damus"

(the "*salutatis*" of which passage corresponds precisely to the *VENERAMUR* of verse 79 and the *VENERABAR* of our text). *Aen. J.* 697: "*iussi numina magna loci veneramus*" [*perform the customary act of reverence towards*]. *Aen. 12.* 219:

"adiuvat incessu tacito progressus, et aram
suppliciter *venerans* demisso lumine Turnus:
tabentesque genae, et iuvenali in corpore pallor"

[*pays his reverence or respectful salutation to the altar, and observe without saying a word, "incessu tacito"*]. *Venerari* came to mean *to bow down before, to worship*, in the same manner as it came to mean *to pray*; *bowing down before* and *praying to* being only two different means of exhibiting the feeling of *veneration*.

As in Latin the word *venerari* passed from the feeling to the external act indicative of the feeling, so in Italian the word *reverenza*, and in English both the words *reverence* and *courtesy*, have followed a similar course, and, primarily meaning the feeling, are now in common use to signify the conventional act expressive of the feeling. How entirely *προσκυνειν* (like *venerari*) was applied to the external form of worship appears in a remarkable manner from Plutarch, *περι Τυχης*, where speak-

ing of the elephant he says: *Ορχησταις μανθάνει, και χορείας, και προσκυνήσεις.* No wonder Æneas should make his reverence before the *venerable* temple of the Delian Apollo; even the Epidaurian serpent saluted the temple it was leaving, Ovid, *Met.* 15. 685:

“tūm gradibus nitidis delabitur, oraquē retro
flectit, et antiquas abiturus respicit aras;
assuetasque domos habitataque templa *salutat* ;”

and he himself by-and-by (verse 349) embraces the gate of Buthrotus, whose only title to such honour was its resemblance to the Scaean gate.

This word rightly understood, here and occasionally elsewhere, the narrative becomes not only more lively and graphic, but more conformable to oriental custom: genuflexions, bowings, prostrations (verse 93, *SUBMISSI PETIMUS TERRAM*) becoming more and more usual the farther we advance from these stiff-necked, stiff-backed climes of ours eastward. At the present day God's temple and Christ's cross are the objects of an external reverence which increases as you go eastward, and to withhold which and pass by with neck erect and covered head declares an amount of unbelief varying, according to the degree of irreverence shown, from English High-Churchism, Methodism, and Calvinism, through Arianism, Socinianism, and Quakerism, up to total infidelity.

ANIMIS ILLABERE NOSTRIS.—The very prayer of Saint Ambrose to the “*verus sol*,” *Hymn. Matut.* (Grimm, *Hymn. ceteris ecclesiae Interpretat. Theotisca*, Gottingae, 1830):

“*verusque sol illabere,
micans nitore perpeti,
iubarque Sancti Spiritus
infunde nostris sensibus.*”

TREMERE . . . MOVERI (vss. 90, 91).—“*Quia opinio est sub adventu deorum moveri templa*,” Servius (ed. Lion). “*Commune επιφανείας deorum*,” Heyne. To be sure, the gods signified their advent or presence by knocking, shaking, and all kinds of noise, exactly as the spirits called on by the spiritualists of the present day. See *Antiquity of Photography*. If all re-

mained still it was evidence in old times that the god did not hear, would not come, as it is now in our table-rapping meetings and societies. Nay, noise and shaking indicated then, as now, even more than mere presence and hearing; it indicated assent, was the aye! aye! of the god, as it is now of the spirit of the table; while dead silence indicated not merely that he would not come, but that he would not grant; exactly as it indicates now-a-days that the evoked spirit will not come, and says, no, no. See Ovid, *Met.* 8. 603:

. " *movit caput aequoreus rex,
concussitque suis omnes assensibus undas.*"

LAMINA DEI (vs. 91), corresponding to "foribus divae," l. 509, the *adytum* or shrine. See Rem. on l. 509. Compare also 3. 371: "meque ad tua limina, Phœbe, . . . ducit," where see Rem.

MUGIRE ADYTIS CORTINA RECLUSIS.—The shrine (the holy of holies) was thrown open and the CORTINA (bell-shaped cover of tripod; see in the *Museo Borbonico*, 9. 20, painting found in Pompeii) began to bellow (utter deep sounds like those of a bull), as Ovid, *Met.* 15. 635:

. " *cortinaque reddidit imo
hanc adyto vocem, pavefactaque pectora movit.*"

Let the curious about the oracular art generally, and the *cortina* in particular, read the account given by Ammian, 29. 1, of the construction and use at Antioch in the fourth century of a *tripos* or *mensula* imitating the *cortina* of Delphi. For myself, I must own that, little faith as I have ever had in oracles, whether ancient or modern, it did not occur to me to identify them with table-rapping, until I had read this account of Ammian's—an account, it will be observed, not only from a contemporary, unprejudiced, impartial, and veracious pen, but bearing on its face the stamp of truth—informing us that table-rapping was in so great vogue more than one thousand five hundred years ago as to be used as a means of determining during the life of Valens who was to succeed him in the imperial dignity, the table used on

this particular occasion being constructed on the model of the Delphic *cortina*.

SUBMISSI PETIMUS TERRAM.—SUBMISSI = *υποπιπτοντες*. In the ancient Christian church, and, no doubt, in the heathen temples, on the model of which the Christian church was built, there was a special locality in the beginning of the body of the church, a station, *στασις*, for this ceremony or devotional act. In the plan in Potter's ed. of Eusebius this *στασις των υποπιπτοντων* is delineated just inside the *ωραιαι πυλαι* (through which you pass out of the *ναρθηξ*, where was the baptistery and the *στασις των κατηχουμενων*, into the body of the church) before you arrive at the *αμβων* or pulpit, and at the distance of the length of the nave from the *αγιαι πυλαι* leading from the body of the church through the cancelli into the *βημα* or *sacrarium*.

111-136.

HINC—IUVENTUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 127).

CONCITA ■ *Val., Pal., Med.* "In codd. aliquot legi CONCITA REMIS . . . sed neque displicet TERRIS," Pierius (whose silence concerning CONSITA proves him to have been unaware of the existence of that reading). ■■ *z^o*; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Nonius; Serv. ("ut concitatoria sint maria vicinitate terrarum"); Isidor.; princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1486; Rom. 1473; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; R. Steph.; Heyn.; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Dorph.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Jacob (*Quaest. Ep.*, p. 163); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Kappes (*Progr.*)

* Pottier's statement that the Palatinè MS. reads CONSITA is incorrect; the reading of that MS. is very plainly CONCITA.

CONSITA ■■ π²₂ (viz., Mun. 523; Erlang. 859). ■■■ Albinus; H. Steph.: P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Ruæus; Burm.; Bask.; Jaeck; Weichert ("Nescio an non legendum sit consita ut post Cycladas designentur Sporades"); Peerlk.; Coningt.

CONSCITA ■■ π¹₂.

CORYBANTIAQUE AERA.—Compare Propert. 4. 7. 61:

"qua numerosa fides, quaque aera rotunda *Cybeles*,
mitratisque sonant Lydia plectra choris."

These round and sonorous "Corybantia aera" corresponded not to our modern gongs, but to our modern cymbals, because the sound was produced not by striking them with hammers, but, as appears from Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 183:

"ibunt semimares, et inania tympana tudent;
aeraque tinnitus aere repulsa dabunt,"

by striking them against each other.

MODO IUPITER ADSIT.—"Aut aer, ac si diceret: 'tantummodo sit serenum.' Aut revera Iupiter, qui praeest insulae Cretae. Aut quia ventos prosperos Iupiter praestat," Servius. "Quia is novam patriam ex fato assignavit Aeneae (ignotum illi adhuc, quam?), l. 261, sqq.; quare non patitur eum desiderare Karthagine, libro quarto; et infra vers. 171: 'Dictaea negat tibi Iupiter arva,'" Wagner (1861). Not one of all these explanations perfectly satisfies me, if it were only because not one of them is applicable to the same expression where it is used by Livy, 8. 7: "'Aderunt [consules] in tempore,' Manlius inquit, 'et cum illis *aderit Iupiter* ipse, foederum a vobis violatorum testis, qui plus potest polletque.'" The IUPITER ADSIT of our text, the "Iupiter aderit" of Livy, and the "Iupiter haec stat" of Virgil himself, 12. 565, are but expressions of the universal sentiment that the approbation of the Supreme Being, of him "qui plus potest polletque," is necessary to the success of every enterprise, the *sine qua non* of all prosperity—a sentiment which, even if it had not been his own, our author was under the necessity of every now and then ascribing to his per-

sonages, first, in order that those personages should have verisimilitude, and secondly in order that his poem should not have the fate of Lucretius' nobler, more dignified work, but be read and become popular, and its author himself after his death "volitaret vivus per ora virum." From whichever point of view regarded, whether as necessary to the perfection or as necessary to the popularity of the poem, the sentiment could with as little propriety be absent from the programme of Anchises setting out from Delos as at this day it could with propriety be absent from a queen's speech to parliament, a general's address to his soldiers, or even the humble newspaper advertisement of a prayer meeting. There is no passport like "Deo volente." If God is for us who can be against us?

There is, of course, a peculiar propriety in the invocation of Jupiter on the present occasion, Jupiter being not only the weather god, but especially the god of fine clear weather and a fair wind, as Hom. *Od.* 5. 176: *αγαλλομεναι Διός ουρω. Hymn. in Apollin.* 427: *αγαλλομενη Διός ουρω.* Lucan, 10. 207:

"sub *Iove temperies* et nunquam turbidus aer."

Compare also Propert. 4. 6:

"hinc Augusta ratis plenis *Iovis* omine velis"

[the sails full of the omen of Jove, *i. e.*, full of a wind so fair as to afford the omen that Jupiter is with the vessel, that Jupiter is on the side of Augustus, that "Jupiter hac stat"].

TERTIA LUX.—Compare *Il.* 9. 362:

Εἰ δὲ κεν εὐπλοίην δῶη κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,
ἤματι κεν τρίτατ' ὀφθῇ ἐριβώλον ἰκοίμην.

It is no little to the credit of those ancient mariners that they should be able to perform the voyage from Delos to Crete, or from Troy to Phthia, in almost as short a space of time as we with all our appliances of chart, compass, and steam, and all our superior help from heaven, can perform it in, at the present day.

HOSTE VACARE DOMOS (vs. 123).—See Rem. on verse 132.

SEDESQUE ASTARE RELICTAS (vs. 123).—The structure is not

SEDES ASTARE RELICTAS, nor the meaning, *the seats stand abandoned*, but the structure is SEDES RELICTAS ASTARE, and the meaning, *the seats abandoned* (seiz. by the enemy, as stated in the preceding clause) “*ad-stant*,” *stand ready for us—to our hand*. The passage being thus understood, (a) there is no tautology; (b) the two clauses perfectly correspond, the infinitive being in each the emphatic word; and (c) its proper meaning *to stand by*, or *ready*, or *at hand*, is preserved to the compound ASTARE. Compare 3. 194: “*caeruleus supra caput astitit imber*,” 2. 303: “*arrectis auribus asto*,” Tobias, 12. 15: “*ego sum Rafael, unus ex septem qui astamus ante Dominum*.”

VIRIDEMQUE DONUSAM.—Not green with green marble, as Servius and La Cerda think, but green with vegetation—unless Peuce and Melacnae were also green with green marble, Val. Flacc. 8. 292:

. “*ostia donec
Danubii viridemque vident ante ostia Peucen*.”

Stat. Theb. 12. 619:

“*Icarii Celeique domus, viridesque Melacnae*.”

CONSITA.—Wagner says: “Apparet CONCITA, ut lectionem difficiliorem, esse retinendum: nec, si CONSITA legas, commodè subiici vss. 128 et 129.” I do not, however, agree in this opinion. I think that the “*difficilior lectio*” is, generally speaking, quite as often incorrect as the “*facilis*” and “*vulgaris*,” and that verses 128 and 129 not only agree with the reading CONSITA, but (see below) go to confirm that reading, and agree much better with it than with the reading CONCITA. A better argument for CONCITA is derivable from the almost overpowering weight of MS. authority in favour of that reading. [See also Paulin. Epist. 33: “*primo ad urbem acta Romani portus Pharum vidit; deinde Campaniam longis tractibus legit, mutatisque turbinibus in Africae littora transvolavit; atque ab ipsis rursus abrepta Siciliam transeurrit, circa quam concita et verticosa crebris (ut ferunt) insulis freta, et periculosos etiam sub gubernatore navibus cursus, inter ambages et obices insularum, tam directo otiosus senex inoffensoque navigio praeterivit,*

ut," &c.】 Yet I venture here, as in one or two places elsewhere, and especially in the case of "nec debita funera mater produxi," *Aen.* 9. 486, and "limbo," *Aen.* 2. 616, to go counter to the weight of MS. authority in order to obtain a much better sense. The idea contained in the expression FRETA CONCITA TERRIS, *the seas violently stirred up, greatly excited, put into vehement commotion* (for such is the force of CON-CITA) *by the lands* (the moveable and moving by the fixed), seems to me so highly incorrect that I cannot persuade myself that the words are from the pen of Virgil; the more especially as in all the other instances in which Virgil uses this word, he applies it to the moving, not to the resisting, power; exactly as we find it applied by Ovid, *Heroid.* 2. 38: "*concita qui ventis aequora mulet;*" *Trist.* 1. 10. 11: "*iniquis concita ventis aequora,*" and *Ep.* 19. 21:

. . . "odioso *concita* vento
corripio verbis aequora paene tuis;"

with which compare Ovid, *Ep.* 7. 42:

"aspice ut eversas *conciat* Eurus aquas."

Assuming, what I think no one will deny, that the Ovidian phrase last quoted is correct, I cannot bring myself to believe that its opposite is correct also, and not rather a mere blunder of the scribes, confused between words sounding identically alike. On the contrary, the metaphor contained in the phrase CREBRIS CONSITA TERRIS not only is of the commonest (so common as to be used even by the wholly illiterate Ida Pfeiffer, "Visit to the Holy Land, Egypt, and Italy," ch. 2: "The Danube is now only broad for short distances at a time. It is, as it were, *sown* with islands"), but actually enters into the very name by which a considerable group of the islands spoken of was commonly known. Add to this that the words LEGIMUS and ALLABIMUR imply an easy, skimming, unobstructed motion, and would not have been employed by Virgil to express the motion of the vessels over CONCITA FRETA. The wind besides was fair, and Crete was reached, without difficulty or danger, on the third day. The picture which, I think, it has been Virgil's

intention to place before the reader has been thus beautifully painted by Avienus, *Descr. Orb. Terrar.* 710 :

“ hinc Sporades crebro producunt cespite sese ;
• densa serenato cœu splendent sidera cœlo.”

In answer to Heyne's objection (“denique non intelligo, quam poeticeum hoc sit, tam accurate Cycladas et Sporadas distinguere, quod vix in geographicis libellis fieri solet”) I beg to say, that no such distinction is intended by the poet, as clearly appears from the application of the term SPARSAS (characteristic of the Sporades : see the lexicographers, *in voc.* “Sporades,” and Mela, 2. 7) to the Cyclades, under which name are here comprehended all the islands of the Aegean ; precisely for the purpose of showing which meaning (*viz.*, that not merely one group of islands is intended, but the whole of the islands lying scattered like seed over the face of the Aegean) the supplementary ET CREBRIS LEGIMUS FRETA CONSITA TERRIS is, according to the poet's usual manner, subjoined. The poet is not singular in this general application of the term Cyclades ; for Suidas says : *Σποραδες νησοι, ας ενιοι Κυκλαδας λεγουσιν, αι εν τω Αιγαίω.*

NAUTICUS EXORITUR VARIO CERTAMINE CLAMOR.—The usual clamours and exertions of the sailors on leaving port ; “*celesuma*,” Serv. Compare *vss.* 290, 667 (where the exception proves the rule) ; 4. 411 ; 5. 778, &c. Val. Flacc. 2. 112 : “sonat aequore clamor.” Id. 1. 186 :

“ non clamor anhelis
nauticus, aut blandus testudine defuit Orpheus.”

Rutil. Num. *Itin.* 1 :

“ his mecum pigri solabar taedia venti,
dum resonat variis vile *celesuma* modis.”

These words, therefore, afford no argument in support of the reading *CONCITA*, and the opinion that the seas were rough. On the contrary, the very quietness of the sea is assigned by Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1153 as a reason for greater bustle among the crew. Compare also *Aen.* 7. 28 : “in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.” The less brisk the sea, the more brisk must be the sailors.

Neither are the three lines NAUTICUS . . . EUNTES in a wrong place, nor should they be removed in order to be placed after VOLAMUS. They are exactly where they were placed by Virgil, who follows on the train of thought suggested by LINQUIMUS, to tell you how they flew over the sea past Naxos, Donyssa, and the other islands* mentioned, before he tells you the minute particulars of the setting out contained in the lines NAUTICUS . . . EUNTES. According to his usual manner he gratifies the impatience and curiosity of his hearers first, and, this done, returns and particularizes at leisure. See Remm. on 1. 151; 5. 704; 2. 480. The poet's train of thought is: LINQUIMUS ORTYGIAE PORTUS PELAGOQUE VOLAMUS, BACCHATAMQUE IUGIS . . . TERRIS, NAUTICUS . . . EUNTES, ET TANDEM. The prosaic train is: LINQUIMUS ORTYGIAE PORTUS, NAUTICUS EXORITUR . . . EUNTES, PELAGOQUE VOLAMUS, BACCHATAMQUE IUGIS . . . TERRIS, ET TANDEM, and this is the train recommended for our adoption by Wagner—forgetful, as it would seem, that the verses which are to be set back will sin as much against the prosaic time-order when placed after VOLAMUS, as they do in the present position, and must, if we aspire to make them perfect prose, come in between PORTUS and PELAGO; nay, must come in in the middle of the clause LINQUIMUS PORTUS itself, being, as they are, the description of the bustle of the sailors in the very act of leaving port.

PROSEQUITUR SURGENS A PUPPI VENTUS EUNTES.—This line is rendered by Voss:

“ steigender wind vom steuer verfolgt die rüstige meerfahrt.”

This is incorrect. PROSEQUITUR is *προσπεμπει*, “*begleitet*,” *escorts*, *goes along with*, not as of the party, but as an inferior goes along with a superior for the sake of protection, or honour, or some such purpose. Compare *Aen.* 6. 897:

“ his ubi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis, portaque emittit eburna.”

Plaut. *Casin.* 4. 2. 3:

“ nam novum maritum et novam nuptam volo
rus *prosequi* (novi hominum mores maleficos)
ne quis eam abripiat.”

Val. Flacc. 2. 504: "*prosequitur lateri assultans.*" Id. 4. 628:

"ipse viros gradiens ad primi littoris undam
prosequitur Phineus."

The thought, therefore, is an improvement upon Homer's, which is that of mere companionship, *Od.* 11. 6:

ἡμῖν δ' αὖ κατοπισθε νεῶς κυανοπρωοῖο
ἰκμενον οὐρον ἰεὶ πλεμιστίον, ἐσθλὸν εἰς αἶρον.

No notice whatever has been taken of the word either by Caro or Dryden, most probably because neither of them understood it. Ruæus, more valiant, boldly sets it down, *propellit*.

OPTATAE (vs. 132).—"Unam ex urbibus desertis (123) *optat* sive legit, quam appellat Pergamum, eamque muris cingit additque ARCEM," Wagner (*Præst.*) But how does it happen that the town had neither walls nor arx ready built? These were prime necessities for a town in Crete as well as for towns elsewhere; and if the towns of Crete generally had such essential requisites, how does it happen that Aeneas pitched upon, selected, one without them? No, no. Aeneas went to Crete because he could get the ground for building and dwelling on without dispute, not in order to occupy like a pirate or bandit the deserted houses; and "*optata urbs*" is the city, the promised, fated city, they so much longed for, not the city selected from amongst others. Compare 1. 176:

"egressi *optata* potiuntur Troes arena."

3. 509:

"sternimur *optatae* gremio telluris ad undam."

Aeneas and his Trojans would have cut but a shabby figure, taking up their residence in an old cast off town, and the purport of HOSTE VACARE DOMOS, verse 123, is not that the houses were without occupiers and they might therefore go into them and occupy them, but that the dwellings are without an *enemy* in them, and they may therefore safely and freely build in Crete.

AMARE FOCOS (vs. 134).—Not merely *to love the domestic hearth*, but *to stay close beside it*. Compare *Aen.* 5. 163, and Remm.; also "*amatque ianua limen,*" Hor. *Carm.* 25. 4.

ARCEMQUE ATTOLLERE TECTIS.—“Arx attollatur, quae praesidium sit tectis. Deformant aliqui loci huius interpretationem, cum poeta nihil aliud dicat quam: ‘HORROR, ut domos construant, illisque ARCEM superimponant,’” La Cerda. That this criticism is entirely erroneous, and the modern interpretation (“TECTIS, sexto casu, *adtolli*, eadem ratione dictum qua supra vers. 46 ‘IACULIS increscere,’” Forbiger) correct, is placed beyond all doubt by Statius’s exactly parallel expression, *Achill.* 1. 428:

“iam natat omne nemus; caeduntur robora classi:
silva minor remis: ferrum laxatur ad usus
innumeros, quod rostra liget, quod muniat arma,
belligeros quod frenet equos, quod mille catenis
squalentes nectat tunicas, quod sanguine fumet,
vulneraque alta bibat, quod conspirante veneno
impellat mortes; tenuantque humentia saxa
attritu, et nigris addunt mucronibus iras.
nec modus, aut arcus lentare, aut fundere glandes,
aut torrere sudes, *galeasque attollere conis*,”

where the meaning can be no other than *increase the height of the helmets by the addition of cones, put cones on the helmets, manufacture helmets with cones*, i. e., the cone being always a part of the helmet, *manufacture helmets*. Accordingly, ARCEM ATTOLLERE TECTIS is *to raise the arx with buildings*, in other words, *build their arx*. A similar expression occurs at verse 185 of the second book:

“hanc tamen immensam Calchas *attollere* molem
roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit”

[*erect this immense bulk with carpentry*, i. e., *erect this immense bulk of carpentry*]. Compare Juvenal, 14. 86:

“dum sic ergo habitat Cetrionius, imminuit rem,
fregit opes, nec parva tamen mensura relictæ
partis erat; totam hanc turbavit filius amens
dum meliore novas *attollit marmore villas*”

[*builds villas with or of marble*, where “marmore” is the material of which the villas consist.] ATTOLLERE TECTIS is, therefore, a poetical equivalent for *build up high*, as “aggredior dictis”

is for *address*, “expediam dietis” for *explain*, &c.; see Rem. on *Aen.* 2. 199.

Wagner (*Praest.*) has: “exaltare ARCEM aedificiis, s. ARCEM, locum in urbe editum munitionibusque saeptum vel saepiendum, quasi celsiorem reddere inaedificando;” and Voss: “und die burg aufthürmen den häusern.”

Mr. Davies thinks the words ARCEM ATTOLLERE TECTIS certainly mean *to raise a citadel (as a protection) for their houses*.

CONNUBIIS ARVISQUE NOVIS OPERATA IUVENTUS.—One of the numerous verses which Peerlkamp thinks should be expunged as unworthy of Virgil. That critic’s argument on this occasion, if it does not edify, will at least surprise and amuse, the reader. See Rem. on 4. 551.

144-152.

VENIAM—FENESTRAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 151).

INSOMNIS ■■■ Bresc.; Heyne; Wakef.

IN SOMNIS ■■■ Mod.; R. Steph.; H. Steph.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Burm.; Brunck; Pott.; Jahn; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

IN STRATIS has been proposed by Peerlkamp.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 152).

INSERTAS ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■■ $\frac{2}{3}$. ■■■ Prine.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

INCERTAS ■■■ P. Manut.

VENIAMQUE PRECARI.—“VENIAM erroris Anchisæ qui oraculum male interpretatus est,” Serv. (ed. Lion). “VENIAM erroris ex male intellecto oraculo,” Wagner (1861). Not the meaning: *venia*, with Virgil at least, is always *grace*, *favour*, never *forgiveness*. Compare (1) 10. 903 :

. . . “per, si qua est victis *venia* hostibus, oro :
corpus humo patiari tegi”

(where it is not forgiveness which is asked, but the favour of burial). (2), 10. 625 :

. . . “sin altior istis
sub precibus *venia* ulla latet, totumque moveri
mutarive putas bellum, spes pascis inanes”

(where it is not forgiveness which is spoken of, but the favour that the whole course of the war might be changed). (3), 4. 429 :

. . . “extremum hoc miseræ det *munus* amanti :
expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentes.

tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori :
dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.
extremam hanc oro *veniam*”

(where “*munus*” and “*veniam*” explain each other, and the latter can be nothing else than *grace*, *favour*, *indulgence*, *obligation*). (4), 11. 101 :

“velati ramis oleæ, *veniamque* rogantes ;
corpora, per campos ferro quæ fusa iacebant,
redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terræ”[•]

(where the “*venia*,” the favour, the obligation, asked is “*corpora redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terræ*”). (5), 11. 358 :

“ipsum obtestemur, *veniamque* oremus ab ipso :
cedat, ius proprium regi patriæque remittat”

(where the “*venia*,” the favour sought, is that expressed in the second line). **And**, compare (6), Stat. *Theb.* 1. 205 :

. . . “nec protinus ausi
caelicolæ, *veniam* donec pater ipse sedendi
tranquilla iubet esse manu ;”

and precisely so in our text, the “*venia*” sought is not forgiveness for having mistaken the oracle, or any other forgiveness, but the favour of being told by Apollo

QUAM FESSIS FINEM REBUS FERAT; UNDE LABORUM
TENTARE AUXILIUM IUBEAT, QUO VERTERE CURSUS.

So much is this the case, so entirely is *venia* grace, favour, and so little forgiveness, that even where an error has been committed, and *venia* sought, as *Georg.* 4. 536 :

“namque dabunt *veniam* votis, irasque remittent,”

venia is not forgiveness, but the grace, the favour, of which forgiveness is the consequence and proof. The error of Lade-
wig is exactly half that of Servius and Wagner. Rightly understanding VENIAM to be grace, not pardon, he has yet not perceived that the precise “*venia*” meant is specified—has entirely missed the connexion, VENIAM :

QUAM FESSIS FINEM REBUS FERAT; UNDE LABORUM
TENTARE AUXILIUM IUBEAT, QUO VERTERE CURSUS.

His words are : “in der seuche sahen sie eine strafe des Phoebus für unwissentlich begangenes unrecht, daher *um gnade flehen*.” Heyne, as little understanding VENIAM as either Servius or Wagner, and perceiving nevertheless the connexion VENIAM : QUAM FESSIS, &c., mystifies his reader if not himself with the vague : “*placare deum ut ille vere edicat, QUAM FINEM*,” &c. Kappes has understood both the meaning of VENIAM and the connexion, and shows by numerous examples from other writers no less than from Virgil himself, that *gnade, grace, favour*, and not *pardon*, is the sense of the word. See Rem. on l. 522.

Confirmatory of the interpretation that EFFIGIES and PHRYGII PENATES (vs. 148) are spoken of the one object, viz., the gods Penates, is that passage of Ovid (*ex Ponto*, 2. 8. 57) where the poet describes himself as worshipping the imprints of Augustus’s family on coins sent to him from Rome, and where there is a similar hendiadys in the case of this same term *effigies* :

“felices illi, qui non simulacra, sed ipsos,
quique deum coram corpora vera vident.
quod quoniam nobis invidit inutile fatum,
quos dedit ars votis *effigiemque* colo.”

EFFIGIES SACRAE DIVUM PHRYGIIQUE PENATES. It was not the material statues, the earthen, metal, wooden, or ivory images, of the “divi,” which Aeneas dreamed he saw, but, as rightly explained by Heyne, the “divi” themselves *in propria persona*. Compare Lucan, 7. 9 :

“ nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere plebis.”

Culex, 205 :

“ cuius ut intravit levior per corpora somnus
effigies ad eum culicis devenit.”

IN SOMNIS.—Two different words are so frequently found written in the MS. as one word, and one word so frequently as two, that it is wholly impossible to determine from MS. authority the true reading in the case before us. I am decidedly in favour of IN SOMNIS by the strong resemblance to the other dreams of Aeneas, by the occurrence of the words “in somnis” in the narration of no less than two of those dreams (2. 270 ; 4. 557), and by the words NEC SOPOR ILLUD ERAT, verse 173, where see Rem.

IACENTIS IN SOMNIS, as “somno iacentem,” *Ecl.* 6. 14.

MULTO MANIFESTI LUMINE (vs. 151), referring not to the light of the moon, but to supernatural light, as is placed beyond doubt by “manifesto in lumine,” 4. 358, where there is no moon. The ancients laid especial stress on the clearness with which objects were seen in a vision. Compare Herod. 7. 47 : *Εἰ τοι ἡ οὐκίς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἴχες αὖ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γνῶμην.* Aesch. *Pers.* 179 :

ἀλλ' οὐ τι πῶ τοιοῦδ' ἐναργὲς εἶδομην
ὥς τῆς παροιθεῖν εὐφρονης.

See also Hom. *Od.* 4. 841. It was this distinctness which constituted the difference between an ordinary dream and a vision.

FENESTRAS (vs. 152), not as *Aen.* 9. 534, the mere openings or holes in the side of a building for the admission of air and light, but as Hor. *Carm.* 1. 25. 1 : “parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras,” the sashes, frames, or shutters inserted into those openings.

INSERTAS, viz., cardinibus. Ital. *gangherate*. INSERTAS FENESTRAS, the windows (*window-sashes* or *window-frames*) inserted (*hung*) on their hinges, the window-sashes in ancient times, and still in most parts of the continent of Europe, not being fixed permanently in the walls, like our modern English windows, but hung upon hinges so as to close and open like folding-doors, and to be easily lifted on and off. In some parts of Italy it is still usual to remove the window-sashes by day and only put them back in their places—inserere (cardinibus)—at night. See *Vocab. de la Crusca*, in voce “ganghero”: “Mettere in gangheri vale accomodare a’ gangheri la cosa che va gangherata; e si dice ancora così degli arpioni delle imposte delle fenestre, e degli usci, quando si mettono in opera, collocando nelle bandelle gli arpioni. Lat. *Cardinibus inserere, immittere.*” The picture represented in our text is, therefore, that of the moon shining into Aeneas’s chamber through the window-sashes or frames, which, having been removed during the day, were restored to their place at night. We are left, and must, I believe, ever remain, in ignorance whether these moveable window-sashes of Aeneas were glazed with any transparent material, or were mere shutters with holes in them for the transmission of air and light. If, however, we regard FENESTRAS as openings simply, it will be possible to take INSERTAS FENESTRAS as meaning, not windows (*i. e.*, openings) inserted into something (viz., the wall), but windows or openings into which something was inserted; and what something? specularia no doubt, or panes either of glass or of some more or less transparent substance, *ex. gr.*, tale or alabaster, such as are to be seen at the present day in certain windows of the church of San Miniato in Florence, and the cathedrals of Orvieto and Siena. Compare Plin. *Ep.* 2. 17 (of certain porticos in his Laurentian villas): “egregium hoc adversum tempestates receptaculum, nam specularibus, ac multo magis imminentibus tectis muniantur,” where see Pietro Marquez *delle ville di Plinio*, Rome, 1796, pp. 43 and 81; compare also Seneca, *Epist.* 90. The word specularibus has been omitted by our author partly in order to avoid a particularization unsuitable to poetry, and partly as

unnecessary, inasmuch as the inserted window openings through which the moon shone could only be window openings inserted with specularia, specularia being not only the proper insertion for window openings, but the only insertion which, while it excluded the night air, permitted the entrance of the moonlight.

AS INSERTAS FENESTRAS, according to this latter interpretation, are windows which are not mere openings in the wall, but windows into which something is inserted, so “cavas fenestras” (*Aen.* 9. 534) are windows into which nothing has been inserted, mere openings in the wall, and through which, therefore, it was easy for the Trojans to discharge their missiles.

173-182.

NEC—FATIS

NEC SOPOR ILLUD ERAT.—*Nor was that sleep ; i. e., that was not the effect of sleep, a mere dream, fiction, or imagination in sleep.* Compare *Aen.* 8. 42: “ne vana putes haec fingere somnum.” Also *Stat. Theb.* 5. 135:

. . . “nudo stabat Venus ense ; videri
clara mihi, *somnosque super*”

[i. e., *more clear and plain than mere sleep could present her to me*]. *Hom. Od.* 19. 547: οὐκ οὐαρ ἀλλ’ ὑπαρ εἰσθλον [“*non somnium hoc est, inquit dea ad somniantem, sed res vera bona,*” *Damm, in voce υπαρ*]. *Stat. Theb.* 10. 205:

. . . “vanæ nec monstra *quietis,*
nec somno comperta loquor.”

And *Sil. Ital.* 3. 198:

. . . “neque enim *sopor* ille, nec altae
vis aderat noctis ; virgaque fugante tenebras
miscuerat lucem somno deus.”

See *Rem.* on “*iacentis in somnis,*” verse 150.

Strange that St. Jerome, in the description which he has given us of his having been snatched up into heaven, and there, before the judgment seat of God, flogged with stripes on account of his addiction to the vain literature of the heathen, should, at the very moment that he relates his solemn renunciation of that literature in the actual visible presence of the Almighty, not only use this heathen argument of Aeneas, but even Aeneas's very words, to prove that what he saw and heard on that occasion was not a mere idle dream, but a veritable heavenly vision. The following is the passage, full of interest and instruction not only for those who do, but for those who do not, believe that it is inconsistent with the Christian character and profession to study with delight those ancient heathen authors whose sayings and admonitions even St. Paul himself did not disdain to mix up with his own in his Epistles to the Christian Churches: "Interim parantur exequiae, et vitalis animae calor, toto frigesciente iam corpore, in solo tantum tepente pectusculo palpitabat; quum subito, raptus in spiritu, ad tribunal Iudicis pertrahor . . . Interrogatus de conditione, Christianum me esse respondi. Et ille qui praesidebat, 'Mentiris', ait; 'Ciceronianus es, non Christianus; ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi cor tuum'. Illico obmutui, et inter verbera (nam caedi me iusserat) conscientiae magis igne torquebar . . . Clamare autem coepi, et eiulans dicere, 'Miserere mei, Domine, miserere mei.' Haec vox inter flagolla resonabat. Tandem ad Praesidentis genua provoluti qui astiterant, precabantur ut veniam tribueret adolescentiae . . . exacturus deinde cruciatum, si gentilium litterarum libros aliquando legissem. Ego, qui in tanto constrictus articulo vellem etiam maiora promittere, deierare coepi, et nomen eius obtestans dicere, 'Domine, si unquam habuero codices seculares, si legero, te negavi.' In haec sacramenti verba dimissus, revertor ad superos; et, mirantibus cunctis, oculos aperio, tanto lacrymarum imbre perfusus, ut etiam incredulis fidem facerem ex dolore. *Nec vero sopor ille fuerat, aut vana somnia, quibus saepe deludimur.* Testis est tribunal illud, ante quod iacui; testis iudicium triste quod timui; ita mihi nunquam contingat in talem incidere quaestionem; liventes

habuisse scapulas, plagas sensisse post somnum, et tanto dehinc studio divina legisse, quanto non antea mortalia legeram." Hieron. *Epist.* 18 (ad Eustochium). See concluding Rem. on *Aen.* 4.

MANABAT (vs. 175).—"Fluebat," Servius. No; fluere is to flow, to run as a liquid, manare is to flow out of, to ooze out of—as blood out of a wound (when it does not come in a jet) or as sweat out of the skin, or as a spring out of the ground; and compare Quint. Curt. 8. 36: "multa hедера vitisque toto gignitur monte; multae perennes aquae manant." Id. 3. 11: "ravis, qui ex radicibus montium manant." See also above, verse 43.

SEQUE NOVO VETERUM DECEPTUM ERRORE LOCORUM (vs. 181).—"Pulchra est antithesis: de re vetero recens fuit Anchisae error," La Cerda, Voss. "Novo. Solito more post *vetus* ornatus causa adiectum," Heyne, Wagner, the latter of whom adds "nec desiderarentur talia magnopere, si abessent." "Ornatum in poeta lubens agnosco, sed non ineptum: pro novo scribamus *suo*," Peerlkamp. "Prae nimio studio proferendi antitheti scripsit novo, nullo opinor sensu; novo enim veterum respondet, sed nihil sententiae addit; imo puerilibus illam ingeniis quam virilibus aptiorem efficit," Pearce, ad Longin. *de Sublim.* "Novo seems best explained by Gossrau of the surprise of Anchises when informed of his mistake . . . a mere verbal antithesis," Conington. Virgil's well-deserved reputation should have screened him from the imputation. Virgil never makes mere verbal antitheses, never writes either nonsense or puerilities. Here, as so often elsewhere, it is the commentators who have mistaken Virgil's meaning, not Virgil who has not known how to write.

Let us assign the right meaning first to novo and then to veterum, and we shall perceive at once that the antithesis novo veterum, so far from being a mere rhetorical flourish, conveys a most appropriate, nay, an almost necessary and indispensable sense. And first, with respect to novo: novo is not recenti, or new in point of time, but insolito or new in point of frequency. Compare Propert. 1. 13. 33:

“ tu vero, quoniam semel es periturus amore,
urere ; non alio lumine dignus eras.
quæ tibi sit felix, quoniam *novus* incidit *error*,
et quodeunque voles, una sit ista tibi ”

(where we have, as in our text, both “ *novus* ” and “ *error*,” and where the meaning is: “ this, for you, new and unusual error,” viz., of falling seriously and really and truly in love, not making an amour or piece of gallantry). *Georg.* 4. 357 :

“ huic percussa *nova* mentem formidine mater ”

[“ a, for her, new and unusual apprehension ”]. Ovid, *Met.* 3. 467 :

“ O ! utinam a nostro secedere corpore possem !
votum in amante *novum* ; vellem quod amamus abesset ”

[“ a new, *i. e.*, strange and unusual, wish for a lover to make ”]. See Remm. on “ *nova forma viri*,” 3. 191 ; “ *furor novus*,” 5. 760 ; “ *novus pavor*,” 2. 228.

Accordingly *NOVO ERRORE* in our text means a new, *i. e.*, strange and unusual, error for Anchises to make. Compare the not very dissimilar use made by the Greeks of *νεωτερος*, Herodot. 5. 19 : *ω παι, σχεδον γαρ σευ ανακαιομενου συνιημι τους λογους, οτι εθελεις εμε εκπεμψας ποιειν τι νεωτερον* ; *εγω ων σευ χρηζω μηδεν νεοχμωσαι κατ’ ανδρας τουτους*. And see Valckn. ad Herodot. 362 ; also Heindorf ad Plat. *Protag.*, p. 461.

Novo so understood is the opposite of *inveterato*, and, added to *ERRORE*, apologizes for the error in the same proportion as *inveterato* had aggravated it. It is as if Anchises had said : “ you will pardon an error such as I have never been guilty of before—my first mistake.” But why is this *novo* put into so immediate contact with *VETERUM* ? Why the undeniable antithesis : *NOVO VETERUM* ? Plainly because the “ *veteres loci*,” the places which were not new to Anchises, but concerning which he had heard and thought much, should have been better understood by him, should not have been the subject of any mistake. *NOVO VETERUM* is, therefore, not a mere rhetorical antithesis, but, while an antithesis, is at the same time an apology not less

fit, proper, and becoming than required and even necessary for an error into which he, the Nestor of the expedition by whose advice and direction every step was taken (3. 9 :

“ et pater *Anchises* dare fatis vela iubebat.”

3. 472 :

“ interea classem velis aptare iubebat
Anchises”),

should least of all have fallen, and for which, lest this excuse should not be sufficient, the further excuse is added that he was deceived by it—*SEQUE NOVO VETERUM DECEPTUM ERRORE LOCORUM*—an error such as he was not accustomed to make about places so familiar to his mind, but which was so plausible it was hardly possible not to be deceived by it. How common among the Romans, even in everyday life, was the antithesis of *novus* to *vetus* appears from Plaut. *Mercat.* 5. 4. 15 : “*novus* amator, *vetus* puer.” *Amphitr.* prol. 118 :

“ *vetere*m atque antiquam rem *novam* ad vos proferam.”

Festus, in voce *Meditrinalia* : “ Mos erat Latinis populis, quo die quis primum gustaret mustum, dicere ominis gratia : ‘*vetus novum* vinum bibo, *veteri novo* morbo medeor.’” Varro, *de L. L.* 6. 21 : “*novum vetus* vinum bibo, *novo veteri* vino morbo medeor.” Sidon. *Apoll. Carm.* 2. 83 :

. . . “itur in æquor
molibus, et *veteres* tellus *nova* contrahit undas.”

As well might it be objected to any one of these examples of this so familiar antithesis, or to Massinger’s “A New Way to Pay Old Debts,” or to Shakespeare’s most touching passage in *King Lear*, act 1, sc. 2 :

“ thus Kent, O princes, bids you all adieu,
he ’ll shape his *old* course in a country *new*,”

that it is absurd or puerile, **as** to our author’s staid, dignified and very much required

SEQUE NOVO VETERUM DECEPTUM ERRORE LOCORUM.

I have to express my regret that my own former *error* (“Twelve Years’ Voyage”) concerning the meaning of this

passage, and which I am sorry to say I cannot excuse as Anchises has so well excused his error concerning Crete, has had the evil consequence of leading Forbiger, and I am afraid others, into the ill-founded belief that Anchises in the word *NOVO* acknowledges his present error to have been a second one.

NOVO DECEPTUM ERRORE, exactly as “*pravo deciperentur errore*,” Animian, 28. 2 : “*Qui flexis poplitibus supplicabant, ne Romani securitatis improvidi, quorum fortunam sempiterna fides caelo contiguam fecit, pravo deciperentur errore, pactisque calcatis rem adorerentur indignam.*”

ILIACIS EXERCITE FATIS.—The epithet *EXERCITE* is here peculiarly proper, Aeneas’s troubles and embarrassments having just been twice unnecessarily increased by two so considerable errors of Anchises ; see Remark on verse 181. Compare Anchises’ application of the same term to Aeneas when he addresses him on the occasion of the new and unexpected trouble of the burning of his ships by the women, *Aen. 5. 725*.

195-207.

NOCTEM—INSURGIMUS

HIEMEM, *heavy rain*. Compare Claud. in *Entrop. 1. 1* :

“*semiferos partus, metuendaque pignora matri,
moenibus in mediis auditum nocte luporum
murmur, et attonito pecudes pastore locutas,
et lapidum diras hiemes*”

[*showers of stones*].

INGEMINANT ABRUPTIS NUBIBUS IGNES.—Wakefield reads *ABRUPTI*, quoting Lucretius, 2. 214 :

“*nunc heic, nunc illic, abrupti nubibus ignes
concursant,*”

and observes : “*ABRUPTI*, sciz. *se abruptentes*, exquisitius multis vicibus est et doctius.” I hold this criticism to be erroneous,

and adhere to the received reading—(1), because numerous examples, some of them cited even by Wakefield himself, show that the picture intended to be presented is not that of the lightnings “se abruptentes,” breaking from the clouds or out of the clouds, but of the lightnings coming from the offside of the clouds, from the sky above and beyond the clouds, which are broken to let them through. Compare Sil. Ital. 1. 135 :

. . . “*ruptoque polo micat igneus aether.*”

Id. 3. 196 :

“*congeminat sonitus rupti violentia caeli,
imbriferamque hiemem permixta grandine torquet.*”

Id. 6. 606 :

“*contorsit dextra fulmen, quo tota reluxit
Maeonidum tellus, atramque per aethera volvens
abrupto fregit caelo super agmina nubem.*”

Id. 8. 653 :

. . . “*raptusque fragore
horrisono potus, et vultus patuere Tonantis.*”

Id. 17. 252 :

“*hinc rupti rebecare poli, atque hinc crebra micare
fulmina.*”

Hor. Od. 1. 34 :

. . . “*namque Diespiter,
igni corusco nubila dividens,
plerumque per purum sonantes
egit equos celeremque currum;*”

and Stat. Theb. 1. 353 :

. . . “*abrupta tremiscunt
fulgura; et attritus subita face rumpitur aether,*”

where the disruption of the aether, broken by the lightnings as they traverse it, is described as plainly as words can describe anything. (2), because in that very passage of Lucretius which Wakefield relies on as proof that we should read ABRUPTI, not ABRUPTIS, in our text, Macrobius read ABRUPTIS, not (as Wakefield and Lachmann choose to read) ABRUPTI. And (3), because the greatly preponderating weight of MS. authority is in favour of ABRUPTIS.

FUMUM (vs. 206), the smoke of the habitations. Compare Hom. *Od.* 1. 58 :

ιεμενος και καπνον αποθρωσκοντα νοησαι
της γαιης,

and *Ibid.* 10. 99 :

καπνον δ' οιον ορωμεν απο χθονος αισσοντα.

VELA CADUNT.—“Demittuntur,” Heyne, Voss, Peerlkamp, Thiel, Jal (*Virg. Naut.*, p. 379). This is not the meaning. Cadere is here used of the sails in the sense in which it is used of the winds, as Ovid, *Met.* 8. 2 :

. . . “*cadit* Eurus, et humida surgunt
nubila.”

Liv. 26. 39 : “Venti vis omnis *cecidit*.” Virg. *Georg.* 1. 354 : “Quo signo *cadherent* austri.” The sails are no longer in action, but collapse (“*detumescunt*,” De la Rue), viz., for want of wind, the wind ceasing to blow as the ships near the shore. That this is the meaning is placed beyond doubt by the exactly corresponding passage of Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 585 :

“*vela cadunt* primo, et dubia librantur ab aura,
‘*findite remigio,*’ navita dixit, ‘*aquas,*’
dumque parant torto subducere carbasia lino,
percutitur rapido puppis adunca Noto,”

where the sails first “*cadunt*,” then flap, and then, being not only useless but dangerous, are taken in by the sailors. As in the Ovidian parallel, the boatman, on the sails hanging lax (*cadere*) in the calm, calls out “*findite remigio aquas*,” so in the words of Aeneas the Trojans on the same occurrence rise to their oars, REMIS INSURGIMUS.

The expression VELA CADUNT rightly understood, the opposition between the two short and pithy clauses, VELA CADUNT and REMIS INSURGIMUS, comes into view.

220-241.

LAETA—VOLUCRES

LAETA BOUM . . . PER HERBAS (vv. 220-221). Compare Livy, 24. 3: "Lucus ibi, frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus septus, laeta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deae [Lacinae Iunoni sciz.] pascabatur pecus sine ullo pastore; separatimque egressi cuiusque generis greges nocte remeabant ad stabula, nunquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum." Suet. *Jul. Cæs.* 81: "Proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in traiciendo Rubicone flumine consecrarat ac vagos et sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere." Animals thus emancipated from work, and never to be touched by butcher's knife because they were sacred, were called ζῶα ἀφετα, as Synes. *Epist.* 57: καὶ ἐζῶν μετ' ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων, ὡσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ περιβόλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ζῶον ἀφετον, ἀνεμεινον, εὐχῇ καὶ βίβλῳ καὶ θήρᾳ μερίζων τὸν βίον.

AT SUBITAE HORRIFICO LAPSU DE MONTIBUS ADSUNT HARPYIAE, &c.—Compare Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 1671, vol. 1, p. 581: "Nous y demeurâmes [à Damiette] trois ou quatre jours; nous allions ordinairement après le repas nous asseoir sur le haut de la maison, ou nous y promener, car elles sont toutes plattes, et nous prenions plaisir à jeter devant nous quelques restes de nôtre repas que nous avions apportez, et que nous voyions incontinent enlever par les faucons dont il y a grande quantité. Je n'ay jamais vû d'oiseaux si hardis, puis qu' ils venoient fondre au milieu de nous avec leurs serres, et s' envoloient ensuite avec leur proie sur la maison voisine ou ils alloient manger à leur aise ce qu' ils avoient pris, et dès qu' ils l'avoient devoré ils revenoient voir s'il n'y avoit plus rien à prendre."

IN SECESSU LONGO (vs. 229).—See Rem. on these words, l. 163.

FOEDARE (vs. 241).—"Fatendum ubi de foedis volucris agitur, parum accommodatam videri vocem," Heyne. "FOEDARE, puta sanguine, quod adiicitur interdum, igitur eruentare, Ovid, *Met.* 7. 845: 'foedantem sanguine vestes,'" Wagn. (ed. Heyn.). Wagner's observation is erroneous, for if foedare sufficiently expressed foedare sanguine, why did Ovid think it necessary to add the "sanguine"? No, no; foedare is general, expresses only *offence, spoiling*, therefore has the instrument of offence added; in the Ovidian example, "sanguine," in the Virgilian, FERRO, *spoiled with blood, spoiled with the sword*, exactly as 12. 99, "foedare in pulvere," *spoiled in (i.e. with) dust*; 4. 673, "unguibus foedans," *spoiled with the nails*; *ibid.* "pugnis foedans," *spoiled with the fists*; 2. 539, "foedasti funere," *spoiled (morally) with the death, i.e. shocked or offended with the death*. From the accidental circumstance that the instrument which foedat is frequently of a filthy nature, the mistake has arisen that the foedare itself is properly *to make filthy, to make dirty* ("polluere, inquinare," Gesner), and that where the word is applied as in the present instance to an instrument which yet does not dirty, it is so applied because the instrument produces something intermediate (in the present instance, blood) which dirties. From this, as it seems to me, false view of the strict and proper meaning of the term, has arisen not merely Wagner's bungling gloss, "FOEDARE, puta sanguine" (though our author expressly informs us that the FOEDARE was with FERRO), but Heyne's "parum accommodatam videri vocem," a presumption which has drawn down upon him the scarcely in this case too severe castigation of unmerciful Voss: "Wie kann ein bescheidener sich ein solches urtheil in einer fremden sprache erlauben? und über Virgil!" Compare further, 2. 55: "ferro Argolicas foedare latebras;" 4. 195: "dea foeda" [not *dirty* or *filthy*, but *ugly*, both physically ("monstrum horrendum ingens cui," &c.) and morally ("infecta canebat")]; and Plaut. *Amphitr.* 90 (ed. Bothe):

"foedant et proterunt hostiam copias
iure iniustas."

250-275.

ACCIPITE—APOLLO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 250).

[*punct.*] ERGO ANIMIS · ATQUE ■ *Med.* (Foggini). ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; Brunck; Wakefield.

[*punct.*] ERGO · ANIMIS ATQUE ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne.

[*punct.*] ERGO ANIMIS ATQUE ■■■ D. Heins.; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Voss; Ladewig; Ribbeck.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 268).

FUGIMUS ■ ^{ER} ^R *Pal.* FUGIMUS (Ribbeck); *Med.* (Foggini). ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); La Cerda; Voss; Ladewig; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Ribbeck.

FERIMUR ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakefield; “fortasse melius,” Ribbeck.

I prefer the reading FERIMUR. First, in order to avoid the cacophony—MUS—BUS—DIS. Secondly, because FUGIMUS is less dignified than FERIMUR. Thirdly, because the speed is sufficiently expressed by the context without the help of FUGIMUS. Fourthly, because FUGIMUS may very easily have been borrowed by a scribe from EFFUGIMUS, verse 272.

ANIMIS belongs, not to FIGITE, but to ACCIPITE; first, on account of the better cadence; secondly, on account of the parallel, 5. 304:

“accipite haec animis, laetasque advertite mentes.”

NEC IAM AMPLIUS ARMIS SED VOTIS PRECIBUSQUE IUBENT EXPOSCERE PACEM.—“ARMIS *quaerere* PACEM; hoc *quaerere* repetis ex verbo EXPOSCERE,” Wagner (*Praest.*).

. . . “nicht länger mit kriegswehr,
nein, mit flehn und gelübd' ermahnen sie frieden zu fodern.” (Voss).

“The ‘pax’ which they sought by arms was liberty to feed unmolested; that which they seek by prayer is freedom from further annoyance if the Harpies are merely monsters; deliverance from divine vengeance, if they are goddesses,” Conington.

This is certainly not the meaning. The alternatives are not peace obtained by fighting and peace obtained by vows and prayers, but the alternative is, war or peace. On the one hand stands NEC IAM AMPLIUS ARMIS; on the other, PACEM EXPOSCERE VOTIS PRECIBUSQUE. ARMIS is entirely independent not only of EXPOSCERE but of any verb suggested by EXPOSCERE, and depends altogether on its own verb understood, viz., *contendere*, *dimicare*, or some such verb.

PROHIBETE MINAS (vs. 265), theme; TALEM AVERTITE CASUM, variation.

APERITUR (vs. 275), *is exposed to view*, viz., on the fleet's rounding the promontory which had hid it. We have the converse exposure to view, viz., that of the approaching fleet, in Liv. 22. 19: "nondum aperientibus classem promontoriis."

286-297.

AERE—MARITO

The AERE CAVO, &c., of vv. 286-288 is tit-for-tat for the

Τροίαν ελοντες δηποτ' Αργειων στολος
θεοις λαφυρα ταυτα τοις καθ' Ελλαδα
δομοις επασσαλευσαν αρχαιον γανος,

of Aesch. *Agam.* 577 (the herald speaking).

CAVO.—It appears from the following passage of Ammian (24. 6) that shields were sometimes so hollowed out, *i.e.*, adapted to protect the body not only in front but on the sides, that they could on an emergency be used somewhat in the manner of boats: "Et miratur historia Rhodanum arma et loricam retinente Sertorio transnatatum; cum eo momento turbati quidam milites, veritique ne remanerent post signum erectum, *scutis, quae patula sunt et incurva*, proni firmiter adhaerentes, eaque licet imperite regendo, per voraginosum amnem velocitatem comitati sunt navium."

REM CARMINE SIGNO.—“CARMINE autem epigrammate; et sciendum carmen dici quicquid pedibus continetur; nam et hic unum versum carmen dixit, et in *Bucolicis* (5. 43) duo,” Servius. No; CARMINE does not necessarily imply that the words were in verse. See the numerous examples adduced by Gesner (*in voce*) of the application of the term to prose formulae. In our text the word is used in the sense in which the Germans use *spruch*, and the English *motto*. Virgil had to put the inscription into verse in order to fit it into his poem, but in the words CARMINE SIGNO Aeneas means not that he put the following verse or line of poetry on the shield, but that he put the following *inscription* or *motto* on it.

That the words REM CARMINE SIGNO do not clearly and unmistakeably convey to the modern reader the meaning which Aeneas no doubt intended to express, viz., that he put the inscription on the shield itself, is probably owing to the circumstance that there is not in the modern mind the same connexion between shields and inscriptions as there was in the ancient. See Hildebrand ad Apul. *Met.* 6. 3, and compare Pausan. 1. 13: *Τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδωνῇ Διὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπιγεγραπταὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦταις· Αἰδεε ποτ', &c.* Sil. 15. 494:

“Pyrenes tumulo *clypeum* cum *carmine* figunt:

‘Hasdrubalis spoliū Gradivo Scipio victor.’”

In conclusion, may we not ask, is there not a peculiar propriety in Aeneas's representing this act as done, not by Achates or any other of his companions in arms, but by himself personally, viz., in his pontifical character? Compare Macrob. *Saturn.* 3. 2: “Pontificibus enim permissa est potestas memoriam rerum gestarum in tabulas conferendi; et hos annales appellant equidem maximos, quasi a pontificibus maximis factos; unde ex persona Aeneae ait:

“et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum.”

AERIAS ARCES (vs. 291).—Compare Hom. *Il.* 3. 305: *ἰλιον-νημοεσσαν*, and the German *luftig*.

ET PATRIO ANDROMACHIEN ITERUM CESSISSE MARITO (vs. 297).—Cessisse, as used here, does not at all involve the idea of

submission or inferiority; is simply equivalent to *passed to, fell to, became the property of*; compare “cedat Lavinia,” *Aen.* 12. 17: *let Lavinia pass to him, become his*; “morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit pars Heleno,” vs. 332, *passed to Helenus, became Helenus's*; “uti tum dividua pars dotis posteriori filio, reliqua prioribus, cederet,” *Apul. de Magia*, 97.

305-318.

ET GEMINAS—REVISIT

CAUSAM LACRYMIS, as we would say, *to weep beside*, i. e., *to which she might come and weep*. The precise phrase is repeated by Petronius, 117. 6: “Ne . . . sepulchrum quotidie, *causam lacrymarum*, cerneret.” *Causam lacrymis*, or *causam lacrymarum*, *to cause tears*, as Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 547, “*causas sonni*,” *to cause sleep*:

“abstinet alma Ceres, *somnique papavera causas*
dat tibi cum tepido lacte bibenda, puer;”

of Ceres giving poppy-juice to Triptolemus to cause sleep, to put him asleep, just as in our text Andromache builds the altars to cause her to weep, i. e., to which she may come in order to enjoy the luxury of tears. Compare Hom. *Il.* 24. 742, where this same Andromache laments that Hector has left her no memorial, not even a *πυκινον επος*, over which she might weep:

Εκτορ, εμοι δε μαλιστα λελειψεται αλγεα λυγρα,
ου γαρ μοι θνησκων λεχεων εκ χειρας ορεξας
ουτε τι μοι ειπες πυκινον επος, ουτε κεν αιει
μεμνημην νυκτας τε και ηματα δακρυχεουσα

referring to which lament, Plutarch (*de Consolat. ad Apoll.*) observes: *Εαν αφωνος [τις αποθανη] μηδεν προσειπων περι μηδενος, κλαιοντες λεγουσιν*

οὐδε τι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὔτε κεν αἰεὶ
μεμνημην.

εάν προσομιλήσας τι, τούτ' αἰεὶ προχείρον εἰχουσι ὥσπερ ὑπεκκαύμα της λυπης· where ὑπεκκαύμα της λυπης (English, *incentive to grief*) corresponds exactly to Virgil's CAUSAM LACRYMIS. Compare also Seneca, *Troades*, 77:

“ ut nulla dies moerore caret,
sed nova fletus causa ministrat.”

Ovid, *Med. Fac.* 48:

“ et veniet *rugis* altera *causa* dolor ”

[*grief which, as well as age, occasions wrinkles*]. Sil. 3. 330 (ed. Ruperti):

“ nec vitam sine Marte pati : quippe omnis in armis
lucis causa sita, et damnatum vivere paci ”

[*reason for living, reason why they should live*].*

VERUS NUNTIVS (vs. 310).—Compare Hom. *Il.* 22. 438:
ετητυμος αγγελος.

RARIS TURBATUS VOCIBUS HISCO.—Compare Dante, *Parad.* 3. 35:

. . . “ cominciai
quasi com' uom cui troppa voglia smaga.”

NE DUBITA, NAM VERA VIDES (vs. 316): “ I am a real person, not an imagined appearance.” Compare Dante, *Parad.* 3. 29:

“ vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi.”

QUIS TE CASUS, &c.—Aeneas has heard and believes, but is not yet perfectly sure (vs. 294), that Andromache, after her terrible reverse, has had the good fortune to become the wife of

* Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 19: “ Intumuerē statim superbia ferociāque, et pretium itineris, donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut assequerentur, sed *causam seditioni*” [*excuse for sedition*] is more parallel than the passages cited in the remark, inasmuch as “ *seditioni*,” like LACRYMIS, is in the dative case. Compare also Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 64: “ Enimvero audita mutatione principis, immittere latronum globos, exseindere castella, *causas bello*” [*provocatives to war*].

her deceased husband's brother, now king of Chaonia; and on his meeting Andromache inquires of herself, is the good news true. Afraid, however, that it might not be true, and aware that too warm congratulations would, in case it were not true, only wound Andromache, he commences with sympathy for Andromache's misfortunes—*HEU ! QUISTE CASUS DEIECTAM CONIUGE TANTO EXCIPIIT*—but proceeds immediately to refer to the report that she was no longer the wife of Pyrrhus, but Helenus's queen: *QUAE SATIS DIGNA FORTUNA REVISIT ?* "Is it true that you have at last met a return of good fortune?" The separate questions contained in the two distinct clauses are thus reducible to the single one: "In what condition, whether bad or good, do I find Hector's Andromache?"—the bad condition alluded to being that of being still as she had been at first (*CASUS EXCIPIIT DEIECTAM*) the concubine of Pyrrhus; the good condition alluded to (*DIGNA FORTUNA REVISIT*) being her present condition (as he had heard) of queen to Helenus. The single question thus substantially contained in the two separated clauses is then repeated in the three words, *PYRRHIN' CONNUBIA SERVAS ?* the answer to which would tell whether her present condition was one of good or bad fortune. The answer is what Aeneas hoped and expected—"my present fortune is as good as the fortune of one who was once the wife of Hector can be; Pyrrhus is dead, and I am the wife of Hector's brother, the king of this country."

HEU is entirely retrospective, refers generally to the common misfortune of Aeneas and Andromache, viz., to their loss of and expulsion from their country, and particularly to Andromache's loss of Hector (*DEIECTAM CONIUGE TANTO*), not at all either to Andromache's present circumstances, or to the chances (*CASUS, FORTUNA*) which befel her since she left Troy, and of which, having as yet only heard rumours, Aeneas now inquires the particulars.

TE, thus coming before its verb, is emphatic; places the inquiry which Aeneas makes respecting the condition of Andromache in opposition to the inquiry which Andromache has made respecting Aeneas. Andromache having inquired of Aeneas

whether it was really himself she saw, or only his spectre, Aeneas first answers her question, and then asks her about herself: "It is really Aeneas, unfortunate Aeneas, you see before you; tell me now of yourself [TE] what has been or is now *your* fate?"

CONIUGE TANTO refers back directly to Andromache's question about Hector: HECTOR UBI EST? Had Andromache not mentioned Hector by name Aeneas would no doubt have used some different form of expression.

The so nearly related persons and so similar fates, not to speak of the general resemblance between the two passages, and the commencement of each with the self-same word, may well justify a conjecture that Virgil may have been here thinking of Euripides' *Hecuba*, 55:

φευ. ω μητερ, ητις εκ τυραννικων δομων
δουλειον ημαρ ειδες, ως πρασσεις κακως,
ουπονπερ ευ ποτ'· αντισηκωσας δε σε
φθειρει θεων τις της παροιθ' ευπραξιας.

318-319.

REVISIT

HECTORIS ANDROMACHE PYRRHIN CONNUBIA SERVAS

VAR. LECT.

ANDROMACHE ■ *Vat.*,* *Pal.*, *Med.** ■■ $\frac{5}{6}\frac{5}{6}$. ■■■ Priscian (*Inst. Gram.* 16. 12); ed. princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475, 1492; Brese.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1676); Phil.; Bask.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Haupt; Ribb.

ANDROMACHEN ■■ $\frac{8}{6}\frac{8}{6}$. ■■■ Lad.; Coningt.

ANDROMACHAE ■■ $\frac{3}{6}\frac{3}{6}$.

* There are dots after REVISIT and ANDROMACHE in *Vat.* and *Med.*

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] HECTORIS ANDROMACHE PYRRHIN' [OF PYRRHIN] CONNUBIA SERVAS?

■■■ Pierius; P. Manut.;* D. Heins.;* N. Heins. (1670) * Heyne;* Brunck;* Haupt; Wagner (ed. Heyn.,* *Var. Lect.*, and ed. 1861).*

[*punct.*] HECTORIS, ANDROMACHE, PYRRHIN' CONNUBIA SERVAS? ■■■

Baskerville; Alfieri.

[*punct.*] REVISIT? HECTORIS ANDROMACHE, PYRRHIN' CONNUBIA SERVAS?

■■■ Wakef.

[*punct.*] REVISIT, HECTORIS ANDROMACHE? PYRRHIN CONUBIA SERVAS?

■■■ Ribb.

[*punct.*] REVISIT HECTORIS ANDROMACHEN? PYRRHIN CONNUBIA SERVAS?

■■■ "Twelve Years' Voyage;" Ladewig; Conington.

"Si ANDROMACHE, sequentibus iunge; si ANDROMACHEN, superioribus," Servius. Of course, if we read ANDROMACHEN, we are to join ANDROMACHEN with the preceding REVISIT. But we are not to read ANDROMACHEN but ANDROMACHE, ANDROMACHE being the reading of all the first-class MSS., and a great majority of the second; and this ANDROMACHE is to be joined, not with what follows, but with what precedes: first, because it is usual when a person is addressed by name, that the name should have its place somewhere in the first sentence of the address; and secondly, because there is on the present occasion a special reason why the name should not be omitted in the first sentence in order to be placed in the second, viz., because on the present occasion, so placed, it brings Andromache's first husband, whose name forms part of the title by which she is addressed (HECTORIS ANDROMACHE), and Andromache's first and most happy marriage into pointed and invidious contrast with her second husband and second most unhappy marriage, the sole and entire subject of the second sentence. It is impossible such sharp and intentional contraposition should not have offended Andromache, whom yet it is quite plain it was the intention of Aeneas not to offend, but to sympathize with and conciliate. The same objections apply, and even more strongly, to that

* The editors and editions marked with * read REVISIT?

arrangement of the passage by which HECTORIS is made to depend not on ANDROMACHE but on CONNUBIA, viz., HECTORIS, ANDROMACHE, PYRRHIN' CONNUBIA SERVAS? the arrangement of the Baskerville, followed, according to his invariable custom, by Alfieri, who thus translates "Di Ettóre ancora, o di Pirro, sei tu?" a question itself amounting to: "To which of the two, Hector whom I know to be dead, or Pyrrhus who I have heard is dead, do you belong?" "I belong neither to the one nor the other, but to a third." The passage therefore should stand thus:

HÆC ! QUIS TE CASUS DELECTAM CONIUGE TANTO
 EXCIPIT, AUT QUAE DIGNA SATIS FORTUNA REVISTIT,
 HECTORIS ANDROMACHE ? PYRRHIN' CONNUBIA SERVAS ?

an arrangement according to which the mention of Andromache's lamented first husband not only is not placed in jarring collision with the mention of her hated second, but is placed exactly where it is needed to complete and explain the reference to that lamented first husband which is contained in the words CONIUGE TANTO and DIGNA SATIS FORTUNA. In other words, Hector's name, as part of the first sentence, informs us according to Virgil's usual manner, of something hitherto omitted, and yet necessary for the information of the reader, viz., who was the so great spouse just spoken of, and what the high fortune from which Andromache had fallen, while, as part of the second sentence, its sole effect is to jar offensively with the name of Pyrrhus. Still further, the tenderness of the relationship between Hector and Andromache, expressed by the terms HECTORIS ANDROMACHE ("Hector's own Andromache")—so much more endearing an expression than *coniux Hectoris Andromache*—is as appropriate in connexion with the sentence in which Andromache's happiness as Hector's spouse, and Andromache's irreparable loss in Hector's death, is dwelt on, as it is out of place and improper in connexion with the name of the man who, having sacked Troy and slain with his own hand Hector's aged father, Andromache's kind friend, protector, and sovereign, possessed the bereaved widow by the sole right of conquest. And further still, the words HECTORIS AN-

ANDROMACHE, regarded as belonging to the first sentence, have that strong emphasis which belongs to words which at the same time conclude a sentence and commence a line, an emphasis wholly wanting to them when regarded as at one and the same time the beginning of the line and the beginning of the sentence. See Rem. on 2. 246, and compare, only eight lines previously:

VERANE TE FACIES, VERUS MIHI NUNTIVS AFFERS,
NATE DEA?

Also, 1. 330:

“ nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
o, quam te memorem? virgo.”

SERVAS.—“In Pyrrhi, et hostis et multo deterioris viri, matrimonium venisti!” Wagner. On the contrary, I think the question is, conformably to the peculiar force of the word *servare*, “art thou still the wife of Pyrrhus?” Aeneas had heard, and it was generally believed, that Andromache had become Pyrrhus’s concubine, and what he asks is not whether she has become Pyrrhus’s, but whether she continues to be Pyrrhus’s, he expecting the answer which he receives, viz., that the news heard is true, and that she is now the wife of Helenus.

PYRRHIN’ CONNUBIA SERVAS? *i. e.*, SERVASNE CONNUBIA PYRRHI?—PYRRHI not being emphatic, and *NE* belonging in the sense not to the word to which it is appended, but to the verb *SERVAS*, exactly as 2. 738: “fatone crepta Creusa substitit?” and 10. 668: “tanton’ me crimine dignum duxisti?” in both which places the interrogative particle belongs not to the word to which it is appended, but to the verb.

321-332.

O FELIX—ARAS

O FELIX, &c., . . . CUBILE (vv. 321-324).—Exactly as the same Andromache says of the same Polyxena, Eurip. *Troad.* 631:

ολωλεν ως ολωλεν’ ἀλλ’ ὁμως ἐμου
ζωσῆς γ’ ολωλεν εὐτυχέστω ποτμῶ’

and exactly as the same *Andromache*, Seneca, *Troad.* 980, of *Cassandra* :

“ *Cassandra felix, quam furor sorte eximit
Phœbusque.* ”

O FELIX UNA ANTE ALIAS PRIAMEIA VIRGO!—In English :
“ O happiest of all the daughters of Priam ! ”

VICTORIS HERI TETIGIT CAPTIVA CUBILE.—Compare *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner), 9. 70 :

Ἰππείους οὐ θεμιτῶν ἀψάμενα λεχέων.

IUSSA MORI.—Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 12. 14 : “ Atque ille non propinquum, neque Arsacis de gente, sed alienigenam et Romanum increpans, auribus decisis *vivere iubet*, ostentui clementiae suae, et in nos dehonestamento.”

STIRPIS ACHILLEAE (vs. 326), “ *i.e.* gentis Achilleae, nempe Myrmidonum : nam repetitio tam inhonesta politissimo ingenio prorsus indigna est. Haesit Servius, qui suggerit, ‘ idem bis dixit,’ ” Wakefield, *Silv. Critic.* On the contrary, there is no repetition, and the passage is according to our author’s usual manner. STIRPIS ACHILLEAE is equivalent to “ filii Achillis,” and the whole sentence tantamount to “ FASTUS illius iuvenis superbi, filii Achillis.” STIRPIS ACHILLEAE at the beginning of the verse is emphatic (see Rem. on 2. 247), *the breed of Achilles*, and is rendered more emphatic by the aggravating words at the end of the verse, IUVENEMQUE SUPERBUM. In English we would of course reverse the order, and say, “ that proud youth, the breed of Achilles.” To understand STIRPIS ACHILLEAE of the Myrmidons, and only IUVENEM SUPERBUM of Pyrrhus, is to make the ill-treatment *Andromache* received from Pyrrhus secondary to and of no moment in comparison with that received from the Myrmidons, which is absurd. Compare 7. 50 :

“ *plius huic fato divum prolesque virilis
nulla fuit.* ”

6. 623 :

“ *hic thalamum invasit natae, retitosque hymenaeos.* ”

SERVITIO ENIXAE (vs. 327).—“ *Eniea, subiugata* ; Virg. *Aen.* lib. 3 : SERVITIO ENIXAE TULIMUS,” Nonius, who in another place thus repeats the gloss : “ *Enieas non in partu*

solum possumus dicere, sed etiam omni labore exercitas, auctore Virg. *Aen.* lib. tertio :

STIRPIS ACHILLEAE FASTUS IUVENEMQUE SUPERBUM
SERVITIO ENIXAE TULIMUS."

I know not which of the two facts most amazes me : that Nonius so interpreted the passage, or that George Fabricius, J. H. Voss, and Jahn accepted the interpretation. Yet so it is : Nonius so interpreted the passage not merely once, but twice, and those three eminent scholars unhesitatingly accepted the interpretation, the inevitable effect of such interpretation being to dislocate Andromache's answer to Aeneas in the very middle, and to render NOS . . . STIRPIS ACHILLEAE FASTUS IUVENEMQUE SUPERBUM SERVITIO ENIXAE TULIMUS utterly unfit to follow as apodosis the protasis O FELIX IUSSA MORI QUAE SORTITUS NON PERTULIT ULLOS NEC VICTORIS HERI TETIGIT CAPTIVA CUBILE. The protasis, *Happy Polyxena, saved by death from slavery and concubinage !* requires at least the apodosis, *Miserable me, who have lived to be both slave and concubine !* The interpretation of Nonius—altogether excluding concubinage from the apodosis—must therefore give way to that of Servius (ed. Lion) : "SERVITIO ENIXAE TULIMUS, hoc est, 'pertulimus, donec in servitio positae eniteremur,'" which not only supplies the indispensable concubinage, but tenfold aggravates its misery by the birth of a slave child [compare Tacit. *Annal.* 1. 59 : "Arminium, super insitam violentiam, rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus, vecordem agebant . . . Neque probris temperabat : 'Egregium patrem ! magnum imperatorem ! fortem exercitum ! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos, procubuisse. Non enim se prodicione, neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare.'" *Ibid.* 1. 57 : "Inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens"]. The objection that ENIXAE requires an object expressed has not a foot to stand on in face of Tacitus, *Annal.* 5. 1 : "Exin Caesar cupidine formae aufert [Liviam Drusillam] marito, incertum an invitam, adeo

properus, ut ne spatio quidem ad *enitendum* dato penatibus suis gravidam induxerit."

ME FAMULO FAMULAMQUE HELENO TRANSMISIT HABENDAM.—

According to ancient manners the master had absolute authority over his slave. It was, therefore, no slur on the moral character of Andromache, that she, who had been formerly the wife of Hector, and afterwards the slave and concubine of Pyrrhus, was now the wife of Helenus. Andromache could no more resist, except by suicide, the marriage with Helenus commanded to her by Pyrrhus, than she could resist being made slave and concubine by Pyrrhus. It had been a different case if, cast off and left to her own government by Pyrrhus, she had then of her own choice married Helenus. It might then be said with truth that the wife of Hector, enslaved and made a concubine by Pyrrhus, should, when cast off by Pyrrhus, have lived single for the remainder of her life. But being given, handed over (TRANSMISIT HABENDAM), by Pyrrhus, she had no choice but to obey. A remarkable parallel in Roman married life, and singularly demonstrative how nearly equal to the authority of a master over his slave was the authority of the Roman husband over his wife, is afforded by the "transmisit habendam" by the second Cato to Hortensius of his innocent and blameless wife Marcia. Hear the unhappy woman's own account of the transaction, as given by Lucan, and compare it with the account in our text of the treatment of Andromache by Pyrrhus. After the death of Hortensius, and having had several children by him, Marcia thus supplicates her lord and master to take her back even nominally, that it might be inscribed on her tomb that she died the wife of Cato, and that posterity might not confound her temporary tradition ("tradita," almost the very word of Andromache) with divorce (Lucan, 2. 338):

"dum sanguis inerat, dum vis materna, peregi
iussa, Cato, et geminos excepi foeta maritos.
visceribus lassis, partuque exhausta, revertor
iam nulli tradenda viro. da foedera prisce
illibata tori; da tantum nomen inano
connubii; liceat tumulto scripsisso 'Catonis
Marcia;' nec dubium longo quaeratur in ævo,
mutarini primas expulsa an *tradita* lædas."

FAMULO FAMULAMQUE.—A rather roundabout way of expressing the complex idea which is so briefly yet so fully expressed by the Greek *συνδουλος*, Eurip. *Androm.* 65.

TRANSMISIT HABENDAM, as “transmittit habere,” Stat. *Silv.* *J. J.* 76 :

“præcipuos sed enim merito subrexit in actus
nondum stelligerum senior demissus in axem
Claudius, et longo *transmittit habere* nepoti,”

and “donat habere,” *Aen.* 5. 263.

AST ILLUM, &c., . . . ARAS (vv. 330-332). — Two causes, operating together, impel Orestes to kill Pyrrhus. First, he is in a suitable frame of mind, in consequence of the effect produced on him by his previous murder of his mother (SCELERUM FURIIS AGITATUS); and next, he is specially provoked to the act by the carrying off by Pyrrhus of his beloved spouse (EREPTAE MAGNO INFLAMMATUS AMORE CONIUGIS). That this is the precise meaning is declared by Ausonius, *Epitaph. Heroum*, 9 :

“impius ante aras quem fraude peremit Orestes,
quid mirum? caesa iam genetrice furens.”

FURIIS (vs. 331), not *the persons, the Furies*, but (as l. 45 : “furias Aiæcis Oilei” [*the madness of Ajax*]; 10. 68 : “Cassandrae impulsus furii” [*the madness of Cassandra*]; 8. 494 : “furiis surrexit Etruria iustis” [*a justified madness*]) *the furious, raging or mad state of Orestes's mind* : first, because such sense is more in conformity with the depressed, humiliated, unexcited tone in which Andromache speaks; secondly, because SCELERUM harmonizes better with FURIIS understood to mean *madness*, than with FURIIS understood to mean *the persons, the Furies*; and thirdly, because Ausonius, in his manifest reference to the passage (see above), not only makes no mention of the Furies, but very explicitly mentions the madness :

“quid mirum? caesa iam genetrice furens.”

FURIIS AGITATUS, as Stat. *Silv.* *J. J.* 69 (of Caligula) :

“nec proximus heres,
inmitis quanquam et *furiis agitatus*, abegit.”

as if he had said, *the savage, mad Caligula*.

SCELERUM FURIIS, the madness arising from his murder of his mother.

INCAUTUM (vs. 332), sciz., because he was PATRIAS AD ARAS, in other words, *in penetralibus suis*, or more simply *domi suae*, at home. Compare Sallust, *Catil.* 28: "Domi suae imparatum confodere" [Ciceronem, sciz.]. So *Aen.* 1. 353, "ante aras," i. e., κατ' ἐξοχην, *ante aras patrias, in penetralibus*, where also 'incautum' is applied in the same manner, and for the same reason, as in our text.

339-364.

SUPERAT—REPOSTAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 340).

QUEM ■ *Vat.*, *Med.** ■■ †; Pierius (whose silence concerning QUAE shows that he was unaware of the existence of that reading). ■■■ Venice, 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Lad. (enclosing the words from QUEM . . . PARENTIS between brackets); Claudius Sacerdos, proleg., p. 211.

QUAE ■■■ Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Haupt; Ribb.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 341).

ECQUA TAMEN ■ *Vat.* ■■ Pierius ("Codd. nonnulli veteres legunt ET QUAE IAM. In nonnullis etiam pervetustis scriptum observavi ECQUA TAMEN").

■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, and *Praest.*); Voss; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

ET QUAE TAMEN ■ *Med.* ■■ ½ (*Vat.* 1570). ■■■ Brunck.

ECQUAE IAM ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Philippe.

ET QUAM TAMEN ■■ ½ (Vienna, 115).

ECQUAE NAM ■■■ Venice, 1470 (in which ed. this verse precedes the verse QUEM TIBI IAM TROIA, etc.)

ECQUAM TAMEN ■■■ Pott.

O *Rom.*

* Ribbeck's statement that the Medicean reads QUAE is incorrect.

SUPERATNE ET VESCITUR AURA?—VESCITUR AURA, not *breathe*, but *see the light*. See Rem. on l. 550. Here, as in the story of Polydorus, in “*nee cedit honori*,” and in the opening of the fourth book, Virgil has Euripides before his eyes (*Hecub.* 934) :

πρωτον μεν ειπε παιδ', ον εξ εμης χερος,
Πολυδωρον, εκ τε πατρος, εν δομοις εχεις.,
ει ζη'
ει της τεκουσης τησδε μεμνηται τι μου.

ÆQUA TAMEN PUERO EST AMISSAE CURA PARENTIS?—Has not the Sophoclean (*Trachin.* 54) :

ανδρος κατα ζητησιν ου πεμπεις τινα,
μαλιστα δ' ουπερ εικος, ἄλλον, ει πατρος
νεμοι τιν' ωραν του καλως πρασσειν δοκειν :

suggested this verse? the subject of the Sophoclean passage being *Hyllus* the son of Hercules and Dejanira, and the subject of the Virgilian, *Iulus* son of Aeneas and Creusa; and Aeneas being modelled, *mutatis mutandis* (see Rem. on “*adire labores*,” l. 14b) after Hercules.

ILLOS PORTICIBUS REX ACCIPIEBAT IN AMPLIS (vs. 353), *i. e.*, *hospitio* ACCIPIEBAT, Gr. *εξειρισσε*, as Hom. *Il.* 3. 207:

τους δ' εγω εξεινισσα, και εν μεγαροισι φιλησα.

Compare also Plaut. *Amphitr.* 129 (ed. Bothe), Merc. speaking :

“ego pol te istis tuis pro dictis et malefactis, furcifer,
accipiam ! modo sis veni huc : invenies infortunium”

[*will receive you*, *i. e.*, *entertain you*, *treat you*], and verse 140, where Sosia says :

“certe advenientem hic me *hospitio* pugno *accepturus* est.”

PRAEPETIS OMINA PENNAE (vs. 361).—Query, is *praepes* the Greek *θουριος*, Aesch. *Agam.* 109 :

οπως Αχαιων διθρονον κρατος, Ελλαδος ηβας
ξυμφρονα ταγαν,
πεμπει συν δορι και χερι πρακτορι θουριος ορνις
Τευκριδ' επ' αιαν.

REPOSTAS (vs. 364).—“*Longe positas, remotas*,” Servius, Heyne, Conington. I think not. A thing may be *repostum*

which is not far off. Reponere is merely *to put aside, put away, put up*, and generally, though not always, with a view to future use. It bears the same relation to removere as abdere bears to condere. Compare 1. 30: “manet alta mente repostum” [laid up in her mind]. 6. 655: “tellure repostos” [laid up in the earth]. 11. 594:

. . . “corpus et arma
inspoliata feram tumulo, patriaque *reponam*.”

Sil. 12. 23:

“ac ne nocte quidem clipeive ensesve *reposti*”

[not even by night laid by or aside]. So also in Italian, Metast. *La Strada della Gloria*:

“alla voce, alla vista un gel mi scorse
dal capo al piè le più *riposte* vene”

[*not* the most remote veins, *but* the most inmost, the most difficult to get at]. Petrar. *Son.* 239:

“ne giammai vidi valle aver sì spessi
luoghi da sospirar *riposti*, e fidi”

[*not* remote, *but* secret, hidden, out of the public gangway].

ITALIAM PETERE, ET TERRAS TENTARE REPOSTAS.—ITALIAM PETERE is the theme, and TERRAS TENTARE REPOSTAS the variation, Italy being the “*terrae repostae*” or land laid up in store for future use. A thing may be at one and the same time *repostum* and *remotum*, both put by for future use and remote. To Æneas leaving Troy, Italy was so; but this remoteness is by no means expressed by REPOSTAS in our text. When it is intended to express this remoteness some adjunct is necessary, as 6. 59:

“tot maria intravi, duce te, *penitusque repostas*
Massylum gentes.”

371-375.

LIMINA—AUSPICIIS

LIMINA, the *adytum*, or shrine. Compare 3. 91 : “limina laurusque dei,” where see Rem. ; and 1. 509 : “foribus divae,” where also see Rem.

SUSPENSUM (vs. 372), *in suspense*. Compare Plin. *Epist.* 7. 21 : “licet etiam utrumque in partem, ut soles, disputes : ex altera tamen fortius, ne me *suspensum* incertumque dimittas, cum mihi consulendi causa fuerit, ut dubitare desinerem.” It is a metaphor taken from the balanced position of an object which hangs by its own weight, which hangs suspended (*suspensum*) and is swayed by the slightest impulse either forward or backward. This and nothing else is the moral *suspensus* of the Romans, as this and nothing else is the moral *suspense* of the English. As the two directions, the two “airs,” between which the thing physically suspended (*suspensus*) sways to and fro are right and left, north and south, or east and west, so the two directions between which the mind is morally suspended (*suspensus*) are hope and fear, the expectation of good and the expectation of evil. Aeneas is “*suspensus*” (*in suspense*) between hope of good and fear of evil ; he is “*suspensus NUMINE*,” being in the presence of a divine will and pleasure about to announce to him definitively either the one or the other ; and he is “*suspensus MULTO NUMINE*,” because (see below) the divine will and pleasure, in the presence of which he feels himself, is of no common kind, is that of the vaticinating god *par excellence*. While in this state of suspense, the priest takes him by the hand, leads him on, and utters the oracle. Nothing can be more appropriate than the action thus added to the words, the action resolving and putting an end to the physical suspense of Aeneas, to his hesitation to approach nearer to the awful presence, while the words put an end to his moral suspense, his uncertainty

whether he was to fear from the god a confirmation of the evil with which he had been threatened by Celaeno :

SOLE NOVUM DICTUQUE NEFAS HARPYIA CELAENO
 PRODIGIUM CANIT ET TRISTES DENUNCIAT IRAS
 OBSCOENAMQUE FAMEM,

or a ratification of the encouragement he had received from other no less inspired sources to proceed fearlessly in search of the promised land :

OMNEM CURSUM MIHI PROSPERA DIXIT
 RELIGIO, ET CUNCTI SUASERUNT NUMINE DIVI
 ITALIAM PETERE ET TERRAS TENTARE REPOSTAS.

That Servius wholly misunderstood the term is proved **not** indeed by his gloss “*sollicitum et attentum*,” because, as I have frequently had occasion to observe already, Servius’s glosses are seldom so correctly couched as accurately to express his intended meaning, and nothing is more usual for him than, in common with all illogical writers, to use the corollary instead of the thesis, **but** by his hesitation between *SUSPENSUS* and *SUSPENSUM* : “*si SUSPENSUS, ipse numinis plenus ; si SUSPENSUM, me sollicitum et attentum.*” Had he understood the term, he could not but have perceived that it was not Helenus the seer who was about to answer the questions to clear up the doubts, but the inquirer who had put the questions, and was awaiting the answer, who was “*suspensus.*” Heyne, Wagner, and Forbiger always expressing themselves with precision, there can be no doubt of their misapprehension of the term, and that they have really understood the *SUSPENSUM* of our text to mean precisely as they say : “*perturbatum, percussum, turbatum horrore*” (“*plenum horroris nati ex efficacissima vi (MULTO NUMINE) praesentis dei,*” *Praest.*)—a meaning as little warranted by the etymology of the word as by the use made of it, whether by Virgil himself elsewhere or by other writers. Compare (*α*), 2. 114 :

“*suspensi* Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi
 mittimus,”

where the same word is applied to inquirers, not struck with

horror, but merely in suspense about the meaning of the prodigy, and who are struck with horror only when their suspense is turned into horror by the answer they receive :

. . . “ vulgi quae vox ut venit ad aures,
obstupere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
ossa tremor.”

So also (**b**), 4. 9 :

. . . “ quae me *suspensum* insomnia terrent ? ”

[*not* horrified, *but* in suspense; hung between hope and fear, and therefore applying to her sister for advice]. (**c**), 2. 728 :

“ nunc omnes terrent auras, sonus excitat omnis
suspensum et pariter comitique ouerique timentem ”

[in suspense, hung between hope and fear, and consequently irresolute whether to go or to stop]. (**d**), (Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 3. 260 :

“ haeret adhuc *suspensa* Ceres, et singula demens
ecce nondum transacta timet; mox lumina torquens
ultro in caelicolas furiato pectore ferri ”

(where the state of suspense is contrasted with that of certainty). (**e**), Propert. 4. 1 :

“ nulli cura fuit externos quaerere divos
cum tremet patrio *pendula* turba sacro ”

[hanging on the rite, and anxiously awaiting the *dénoûment*, uncertain whether it would be favourable or unfavourable].

And—similar to the last example—(**f**), *Aen.* 4. 79 : “ *pendet* que iterum narrantis ab ore ” [hangs from his lips (“on his lips,” as we say) awaiting the *dénoûment*, anxious, and attending to nothing else, and swayed by every word he utters]. The active participle is used in the active phase of the same sense by Suetonius, *Tib.* 25 : “ precantem senatum, et procumbentem sibi ad genua, ambiguis responsis et callida cunctatione *suspendens* ” [keeping them in suspense, suspending them, between hope and fear, between yea and nay]. See Remm. on 2. 114, and 729 ; 4. 9.

NUMINE (vs. 372).—“ Numen, maiestas, vis manifesta dei

quae horrorem ac reverentiam facit," Heyne. "NUMINE, dei praesentis maiestate et potentia," Gossrau. Than these glosses there could be no better example of the inveterate confounding by commentators of the distinct and independent attribute numen with the distinct and independent attribute maiestas. See Rem. on "numine laeso," 1. 12. Aeneas is struck with no horror, bowed down with no reverence, but—led by the hand by the high priest himself into the temple, and about to hear from the high priest's own lips the "numen" or voluntas of the god—hangs uncertain (SUSPENSUM) between hope and fear. Still more unfortunate, if possible, is the commentator's intensification of "suspensus" by multum: "iam MULTO NUMINE suspensus valebit: multum, i. e. vehementer, NUMINE suspensus," Wagner (1832). On the contrary, Aeneas is "suspensus," merely "suspensus," hangs in suspense, on account of the "multum numen" of the god, who is no other than Apollo himself, the vaticinating god, "augur Apollo," "vates Apollo." Compare the "multo numine" of Statius, *Theb.* 10. 672:

"sic ait [dea Virtus], et magna cunctantis [Menoecei] pectora dextra
permulsit tacite, seseque in corde reliquit.
fulminis haud citius radiis afflata cupressus
combibit infestas et stirpe et vertice flammās,
quam iuvenis multo possessus numine pectus
crexit sensus, letique invasit amorem,"

where the meaning is not: "his breast much possessed by the will and pleasure of the goddess," but: "his breast possessed by the great will and pleasure of the goddess."

MAIORIBUS AUSPICIIS (vss. 374-5).—"Quam vulgo hominibus contingere solent; sunt simpliciter magna, h. e., magnarum rerum et eventorum; adeoque magna fata," Heyne. No, no; there was a difference in kind, certain auspicia being technically called maiora, and others minora. See Cicero, *de Republ.* 2. 14: "idemque Pompilius, et auspiciis maioribus inventis, ad pristinum numerum duos augures addidit." Aul. Gell. 13. 15: "patriciorum auspicia in duas sunt potestates divisa; maxima sunt consulum, praetorum, censorum . . . reliquorum magistratuum minora sunt auspicia." Liv. 4. 2:

“colluvionem gentium, perturbationem *auspiorum publicorum privatorumque* alferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit.” Valer. Maxim. 2. 1 : “apud antiquos non solum *publice* sed etiam *privatim* nihil gerebatur nisi *auspicio* prius sumpto.” As there were both great auspices and small auspices, so also there were great fates and small fates, as Lucan, 6. 604 :

“impia vulgatæ lætatur nomine famæ
Thessalis, et contra : ‘si *fata minora* moveres,
promum erat, o juvenis, quos velles,’ inquit, ‘in actus
invitos præbere deos. Conceditur arti,
unam cum radiis presserunt sidera mortem,
inseruisse moras ; et, quamvis fecerit omnis
stella senem, medios herbis abrumpimus annos.
At simul a prima descendit origine mundi
causarum series, atque omnia fata laborant :
si quidquam mutare velis, unoque sub ietu
stat genus humanum, tunc Thessala turba fatemur,
plus fortuna potest.’ ”

377-380.

QUO TUTIOR HOSPITA LUSTRES
AEQUORA ET AUSONIO POSSIS CONSIDERE PORTU
EXPEDIAM DICTIS PROHIBENT NAM CETERA PARCAE
SCIRE HELENUM FARIQUE VETAT SATURNIA IUNO

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] SCIRE • HELENUM FARIQUE ■■■ Servius ; La Cerda ; Heyne ;
Brunck ; Wakefield.

[*punct.*] SCIRE HELENUM • FARIQUE ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins.
(1670).

[*punct.*] SCIRE HELENUM FARIQUE ■■■ Wagner (1832 and 1861) ; Ladewig ;
Ribbeck.

QUO TUTIOR HOSPITA LUSTRES AEQUORA.—HOSPITA, always the cruel crux of commentators. “Vicina,” says Servius, “nihil enim nobis hospitio esse vicinius constat,” than which never, perhaps, more *remote*, less-to-be-expected meaning, or more *remote*, less-to-be-expected justification of little-to-be-expected meaning, fell to the lot of any word, at the hands of any commentator. To this (no less than to Heyne’s “maria navigantibus amica, quae navigantes tutos ac salvos transmittant,” and to Voss’s “in gegensatz des unsichern (‘inhospitae’) wegs um Unter-Italien”) Peerlkamp—substituting as usual not only his own thought, but his own word, for Virgil’s—thus replies: “HOSPITA pro *vicina* vix dici possunt, nisi particula Heleno *vicina*. Aeneae nullum ex omnibus aequoribus erat *hospitum*. Quare pro HOSPITA scribendum censeo ASPERA.” Next, and if possible still more opposed than Peerlkamp’s both to Servius’s and Heyne’s comes the opinion of Gossrau (adopted by Wagner, 1861): “HOSPITA AEQUORA sunt ignota, *fremde meere*.” And last, the opinion expressed by myself (“Twelve Years’ Voyage,” 1853), and approved by Conington (1863), viz., that however hospitus may, as placed beyond doubt by its opposite inhospitus, sometimes be *hospitable* (Heyne’s “amicus,” and perhaps Servius’s “vicinus”), and at other times “ignotus” (Gossrau’s *fremd*); yet both those merely secondary and incidental meanings are unsuitable here, and no meaning suitable except the strict, original, and proper meaning of the term, viz., *receiving as a resident receives a stranger or traveller*—the question whether well or ill receives being wholly untouched. The seas spoken of, whether they receive Aeneas well or ill, are still HOSPITA, because they receive Aeneas on his passage to Italy, because Aeneas during his passage to Italy stands to those seas in the relation of hospes (*guest*), as Propert. 3. 21. 17

“ergo ego nunc rudis Adriaci vehar aequoris *hospes*,
cogor et undisonos nunc prece adire deos?”

and those seas to Aeneas in the relation of hospes (*host*), as Stat. *Silv.* 5. 1. 252 :

. . . “vehit ille [Charon] merentes
protenus, et manes placidos locat *hospite* [friendly] ripa,”

and Stat. *Theb.* 9. 228 :

“ stupet *hospita* belli
unda viros, claraque armorum incenditur umbra ”

[the water which stands to the war in the relation of host].
Compare also (a), *Aen.* 3. 539 : “ bellum, o terra *hospita*, portas ” “ O host-land (*i. e.*, hostel land), thou bringest war ”].
(b), Ovid, *Trist.* 4. 4. 55 :

“ frigida me cohibent Euxini littora Ponti,
dictus ab antiquis Axenus ille fuit ;
nam neque iactantur moderatis aequora ventis,
nec placidos portus *hospita* navis habet.
sunt circa gentes quae praedam sanguine quaerunt,
nec minus infida terra timetur aqua ”

[guest-ship, ship which stands to the sea in the relation of guest]. (c), Sil. 13. 277 :

“ aedibus in mediis consurgens ilice multa
extruitur rogos, *hospitium* commune peremptis ”

[common receptacle]. (d), Dante, *Purg.* 6. 76 :

“ ah, serva Italia, di dolore ostello ! ”

(e), Coleridge :

“ I thought of times when pain would be thy *guest*,
lord of thy house and hospitality,
and grief, uneasy lover, never rest
unless he sate within the touch of thee.”

And, (f), the recent application in helminthology of the term *host* (*hospite*, *hospte*, *hoste*, *host*) to the person in whom that very unwelcome and troublesome guest, the taenia, is lodged.

CONSIDERE PORTU.—CON-SIDERE, not merely with Voss “ ruhen,” but settle finally and completely. Compare Val. Flacc. 1. 4 (of the *Argo*) : “ flammifero tandem consedit Olympo.”

PROHIBENT NAM CETERA PARCAE SCIRE HELENUM, PARIQUE VETAT SATURNIA IUNO.—“ Quomodo VETAT IUNO dicere si fata SCIRE PROHIBENT, nullus enim vetatur loqui quod nescit ? ”

says Servius, and, anxious to defend his author against the charge of absurdity, informs us that it is not Helenus but Æneas whom the fates PROHIBENT SCIRE, and that the comma should therefore be placed not after but before HELENUM, so as completely to separate that word from SCIRE and throw it to FARIQUE VETAT—an ingenious evasion, but in so bad taste, so entirely destructive both of the cadence and symmetry of the verse, as to be no less generally than deservedly rejected by editors. Wagner, with more prudence than Servius, leaves the pausation, and with the pausation the cadence and symmetry of the verse, as he found it; but no less unwilling than Servius that a veto should be put on Helenus's disclosing a secret which Helenus himself does not know, insists that it is not on Helenus but on the Parcae themselves the veto is put: "vetat Parcas ea fari Heleno" (1861); and so with an ingenuity second only to Servius's relieves his author of his embarrassment at the cost of the Parcae **whom**—represented not only by all Greek and Roman writers but uniformly by his author himself elsewhere as the supreme arbiters of affairs [Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 410 (Ceres complaining) :

. . . "sic numina fati
volvitur, et nullo Lachesis discrimine sævit."

Æn. 1. 22: "si qua fata sinant." *Æn.* 1. 26: "sic volvere Parcas." *Æn.* 5. 798 (Venus to Neptune) :

"si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae."

Æn. 12. 147 (Juno herself to Juturna) :

"qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant
cedere res Latii, Turnum et tua moenia texi"]

and as such regarded with reverential awe not by Juno alone but all the deities of heaven—**he takes** upon him to represent as Juno's most obedient humble servants, and so subverts and overturns from its foundation not alone the whole theological structure of the *Æneid*, but the whole system of Greek and Roman theology.

How, then, in what other way, is the patent incongruity to be got rid of? I reply, by paying less attention to the grammar—to concord, government, and connecting particles—and more attention to the sense required and made necessary by the context. The verbal form, indeed, is: *the fates forbid to know, and Juno, to tell*; but is this verbal form to be taken *ad literam*? Is the meaning which suggests itself to the parsing schoolboy the meaning in the mind of the author before he begins to construct his sentence? his sentence, do I say? nay—ten times more difficult to construct than any mere sentence—his verse. The meaning in the mind of the author, before he begins his construction, is: *I don't know and can't tell* (*neither know nor can make known*) (Ovid, *Mét.* 13. 671 :

. . . “nec qua ratione figuram
perdiderint potui scire, aut nunc dicere possim.”

Liv. *Præf.*: “nec satis scio; nec, si sciam, dicere ausim.”
Aesch. *Agam.* 247 (ed. Davies), Chorus speaking :

τα δ' ἐνθεν οὐτ' εἶδον οὐτ' ἐννεπω.

[“I neither saw what ensued nor relate”]), but language so plain, so little ornamented, had been ill calculated to inspire respect either for the *vates* or the god. In order to impress with sufficient awe either Aeneas or the reader, the simple thought *don't know, can't tell*, must be amplified so as to fill more clauses than one, at the very least two clauses, each of which shall have its actor, verb of action, and object; or, if separate object be not possible, share at least of object common to both. First and foremost of all actors are the supreme, unchangeable, everlasting *μοῖραι*, but the *μοῖραι* never act immediately and directly, always through an instrument; and what higher instrument than the queen of heaven herself? The *μοῖραι*, therefore, are the actors in the first clause, and their instrument or agent, royal Juno, the actor in the second; the actions of both (PROHIBENT, VETAT) being identical (see below), and the objects of the actions of both (SCIRE, FARI), if not absolutely identical, at least as nearly identical as versification and poetry (which has a

horror of identity, and even of monotony) allow (see below); and so, precisely, Hom. *Il.* 18. 117 :

ουδε γαρ ουδε βιη Ηρακληος φυγε κηρα

αλλα ε μοιρ' εδαμασσε και αργαλειος χολος Ηρης·

Fate and angry Juno, as, in our text, the Parcae and (angry) Juno.

If this diving into the secret heart of the poet has not been entirely unsuccessful and in vain, the second clause *FARIQUE VETAT SATURNIA IUNO* is to be regarded as a mere variety of the first, *PROHIBENT CETERA PARCAE SCIRE HELENUM*, and **as** little meaning that Juno forbids Helenus to tell the secret which he himself does not know **as** “*subiectisque urere flammis*” (2. 37) means that Capys exhorts the Trojans to burn the wooden horse besides throwing it into the sea; or **as** “*primaque oriens crepta iuventa est*” (7. 51) means that the male offspring of Latinus, just declared to have been none at all (“*nulla fuit*”), died young; or **as** in the immediately preceding verse “*filius prolesque virilis*” means both a son and male offspring, *i.e.*, male offspring besides a son. Compare, (**a**), further on in this very address of Helenus :

FATA VIAM INVENIENT ADERITQUE VOCATUS APOLLO,

where Apollo is the instrument or agent, at least the interpreter, of the fates, as here Juno. Also, (**b**), 8. 333 :

“*me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem*

Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum

his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda

Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo,”

where not only “*fatum*” but even “*Fortuna*” has its agents and interpreters, one of whom is the same Apollo. (**c**), 1. 301 :

“*haec ait, et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,*

ut terrae, utque novae pateant Carthaginiis arces

hospitio Teucris, ne sati nescia Dido

finibus arceret,”

where Jupiter himself, having declared the fates—

. . . “*fabor enim, quando hæc te cura remordet,
longius, et volvens fatorum arcana movebo*”—

and so become himself their primary instrument or agent, sends down his under-agent, Mercury, from heaven, for the sole purpose of more immediately and effectually carrying out their decree. (*d*), 8. 498 :

. . . “*retinet longaevus haruspex,
fata canens : ‘o Maconiae delecta inventus,
nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem :
externos optate duces.
Tum Etrusca resedit
hoc acies campo, monitis exterrita divum,*”

where the aged “haruspex” announces the prohibition of the fates which has been communicated to him by some god not particularized, exactly as in our text Helenus announces the prohibition of the fates, conveyed to him by Juno. (*e*), 6. 713 :

. . . “*animæ, quibus altera fata
corpora debentur, Lethaci ad fluminis undam
securus latices et longa oblivia potant.
has omnes ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethacum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno ;
scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant
rursus, et incipiant in corpora velle reverti,*”

where again the decreeing fate and ministering god, no doubt Mercury. (*f*), 2. 121 :

. . . “*cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo,*”

where again the decreeing fates and the instrumental, executing god. (*g*), 4. 438 :

. . . “*sed nullis ille movetur
fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.
fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit aures,*”

again the will of the fates, and a god giving effect to that will, the god being, no doubt, the same whom we have seen (1. 301)

giving effect to the will of the same supreme, impassive, inexorable, irresponsible authority. (**h**), 7. 81 :

‘at rex sollicitus monstris, oracula *Fatui*,
fatidici genitoris, adit, lucosque sub alta
consulit Albunea.”

again the ordinary fates, and the expounding, ministering god. (**i**), 7. 110 :

. . . “sic *Iupiter* ille monebat.

continuo ; salve *fatibus* mihi debita tellus,
. genitor mihi talia (namque
nunc repeto) *Æneides* *fatum* arcana reliquit,”

again the ordinary fates, and ministering god. (**j**), 9. 133 :

. . . “nil me *fatalia* terrent,
si qua Phryges præ se iactant *responsa* *deorum*,”

again the ordinary fates, and the answering, interpreting, announcing gods. (**k**), 10. 67 :

“*Italiam* *fatibus* petiit auctoribus ; esto :
Cassandrae impulsus furiis. Num linquere castra
hortati sumus, aut vitam committere ventis ?

quis *deus* in fraudem, quæ dura potentia nostri
egit ? ubi hic *Iuno*, demissæ nubilus *Iris* ?”

“By the authority of the fates he sought Italy ? Aye, but who was the expounder to him of the fates’ will ? Mad Cassandra, forsooth ! Where is the god by whom the fates declared themselves ? Was it I they sent to him, or did I send Iris ? The fates don’t announce themselves except through a medium. Here there was none, unless you call mad Cassandra a medium.” (**l**), 3. 337 :

“sed tibi qui cursum *venti*, quæ *fata* dedere,
aut quisnam ignarum nostris *deus* appulit oris ?”

where we have not only the ordinary fates and the ministering or instrumental god, but even the subministering winds. (**m**), 3. 375 :

SIC FATA DEUM REX
SORTITUR, VOLVITQUE VICES, IS VERTITUR ORDO,

where this same Helenus, just before he presents us in our text with Juno putting into operation the decree of the fates in the particular instance before us, has already presented us with Jupiter himself arranging, distributing, and disposing of the decrees of this mysterious, irresponsible, invisible, unapproachable, self-constituted, court of courts, sole source of all law and equity, all right and wrong, all revolutions no less than all constitutions, all power whether human or divine, yet in itself and of itself, and without an agent, absolutely helpless and unable to effect any thing, an empty 0 without head, heart, feet or hands. (**m**), 4. 340 :

“ me si *fata* meis paterentur ducere vitam
auspiciis, et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Troianam primum dulcesque meorum
reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
et recidiva manu posuisssem Pergama victis.
sed nunc Italiam magnam Grynacus *Apollo*,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere *sortes*,”

where we have again the ordaining “*fata*,” and Apollo and his Lycian “*sortes*” carrying out the ordinances. (**o**), 4. 651 :

“ dulces exuviae, dum *fata deusque* sinebant,”

the fates who had ordained, and the god who had made known and carried into effect their ordinances. (**p**), 6. 45 :

“ ventum erat ad limen, quum virgo ‘poscere *fata*
tempus,’ ait; ‘*deus*, ecce, *deus*,’ ”

the fates (*i. e.*, the ordinances of the *μοιραι*), and the god who is to reveal them. (**q**), 6. 69 :

“ tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templa
instituum, festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.
te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.
hic ego namque tuas *sortes*, arcanaque *fata*
dicta meae genti, ponam, lectosque sacrobo,
alma, viros,”

temple in which shall be deposited, and *rates* who shall explain the ordinances of the *μοιραι* concerning the house of Aeneas. (**r**), 6. 870 :

“ostendent terris hunc tantum *fata*, neque ultra
esse sinent. Nimum vobis Romana propago
visa potens, *superi*, propria hæc si dona fuissent,”

again the fates and the gods, the former to ordain, the latter to execute. (s), 7. 254 :

. “veteris *Fauni* volvit sub pectore *sortem* :
hunc illum *fatis* externa ab sede profectum
portendi generum
est mihi nata viro gentis quam iungere nostræ
non patrio ex adyto *sortes*, non plurima *cæclo*
monstra sinunt
. hunc illum poscere *fata*
et reor, et, si quid veri mens augurat, opto,”

ordinances of the fates, declared out of the “adytum” of Faunus by “*sortes*,” out of heaven by prodigies. (t), 8. 398 :

“nec *pater omnipotens* Troiam nec *fata* vetabant
stare, decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos,”

again the ordaining fates, their minister, the—how ill-named!—father omnipotent. (u), 10. 417 :

“*fata* canens silvis genitor celarat Halaesum ;
ut senior leto canentia lumina solvit,
iniecere manum *Parcae*, telisque sacrarunt
Evandri.”

The father of Halaesus, having learned that it was the ordinance of the fates that his son should perish in the war, takes the precaution to hide him. But the ordinance of the fates is never to be evaded ; so, no sooner has the father died, and the son come out of his place of concealment, than the fates pounce on him and devote him to the weapons of Evander—“*iniecere manum*” being *as* little to be taken literally, or *as* signifying that the fates actually laid hands on him themselves, and not through a medium or instrument, *as* “*telisque sacrarunt Evandri*” is to be taken literally, or *as* signifying “devoted him,” or *as* “*telis Evandri*” is to be taken literally, or *as* signifying weapons of Evander, and not weapons of Pallas. (v), 8. 511 :

. “tu cuius et annis
et generi *fata* indulgent, quem *numina* poscunt,”

whose age and lineage the fates favour, and whom the gods, ministers and interpreters of the fates, demand in the name of the fates, declare to be the chosen man. (*œ*), 7. 572 :

“ at vos, o *superi*, et divum tu maxime rector
Jupiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis,
 et patrias audite preces : si *namina* vestra
 incolumem Pallanta mihi, si *fata* reservant,”

where the **gods**, with Jupiter at their head, being of an exorable nature, and having as executive of the fates much in their power (comp. 3. 375 : SIC FATA DEUM REX SORTITUR, VOLVITQUE VICES), are prayed to and implored ; the **fates**, who are inexorable and immutable, and to pray to whom had been a mere waste of breath, are not addressed at all, only spoken of in the third person. (*æ*), 9. 94 :

“ o *genetrix*, quo *fata* vocas ? aut quid petis istis ?
 mortaline manu factae immortale carinae
 fas habeant, certusque incerta pericula lustret
 Aeneas ? cui tanta deo permissa potestas ? ”

“ You ask me in my capacity of agent and minister of the fates, to exercise an undue, unallowable influence on their decrees ; decrees to be carried out not, perhaps, to the very letter, but at least in their spirit. The nature of things as decreed by the fates is not to be changed by me or any other god, minister of the fates, only to be modified in unessential particulars, *i. e.*, adapted to time, place, and circumstance.” (*ŷ*), 9. 133 : “ nil me *fatalia* terrent . . . *responsa deorum*,” the answers or oracles of the gods revealing (as this of Helenus’s in the temple of Apollo) the will of the fates. (*z*), 10. 34 :

“ cur nunc *tua* quisquam
 vertere *inssa* potest ? aut cur *nova* condere *fata*,”

“ reverse your commands, and so, your commands being but the expression or enunciation of the fates, make new fates.” (*œ*), 10. 112 :

“ rex *Jupiter* omnibus idem.
fata viam invenient.”

“ The fates shall have it all their own way.” In seeing their de-

crees carried out, I will not exercise any of that influence which as their minister I am privileged to exercise.” (*B*²), 10. 436 :

. . . “ipsos concurrere passus
haud tamen inter se *magni reguator Olympi*.
mox illos sua *fata* manent maiore sub hoste.”

The ruler of Olympus did not allow them to meet because as chief minister of the fates he knew it was appointed that each should die by a greater hand. (*C*²), 10. 464 :

“audiit *Alceides* iuvenem, magnumque sub imo
corde premit gemitum, lacrymasque effundit inanes.
tum *genitor* natum dictis affatur amicis :
‘stat sua cuique dies ; breve et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitae : sed famam extendere factis,
hoc virtutis opus. Troiae sub moenibus altis
tot nati cecidere denum ; quin occidit una
Sarpedon, mea progenies. Etiam sua Turnum
fata vocant, metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.’”

where we have again the despotic, commanding, inexorable fates, and the two gods their ministers powerless to add a single day, the one to the life of the only son of the man to whom he owed a debt of gratitude, the other to the life of his own son: an omnipotence of the fates and a good-for-nothingness of the gods returned to and treated of not only with more power and more pathos, but with more truth, in the episode of Marcellus in the sixth book. The question whence our author drew the lore, whether from Homer (more especially *Il.* 16. 433, Jupiter speaking :

ω μοι εἶπὼν ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,
μοιρ’ ὑπο Πατροκλῆϊο Μενoitιαδαο δαμῆναι),

or from Lucretius, or from Augustus and his courtiers, or from all these sources together, let us leave where we found it, viz., among the *non liquets*. (*A*²), 10. 740 :

. . . “te quoque *fata*
prospectant paria, atque eadem mox arva tenebis.’
ad quem subridens mixta Mezentius ira :
‘nunc morere. ast de me *divum pater atque hominum rex*
viderit.’”

"I leave my fate in the hands of the great executor of the decrees of the fates." (*e*²), 12. 676 :

" iam iam *fata*, soror, superant ; absiste morari :
quo *deus* et quo dura vocat *Fortuna* sequamur,"

where again the fates (and therefore Fortuna, the good or bad luck or fortune ordained by the fates), and the ministering god. (*f*²), 12. 725 :

" *Jupiter* ipse duas aequato examine lances
sustinet, et *fata* imponit diversa duorum :
quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere letum."

Again the same ordaining, legislating court, and Jupiter, weighing its decrees respecting the two contending rivals, in order to see which of the two it was his duty, as its first minister, to favour. (*g*²), 5. 706 :

. . . " vel quae portenderet ira
magna *deum*, vel quae *fatorum* posceret ordo."

The gods, although ministers and executors of the supreme court of the fates, might act—as what ministers of any authority may not?—within certain limits, according to their own feelings and impulses ; such liberty of action being inseparable from the very notion not merely of a god but of a being subject to feeling and impulse, and not a mere puppet. (*h*²), 4. 223 :

" vade age, nate, voca zephyros et labere pennis,
Dardaniumque ducem Tyria Carthagine qui nunc
expectat, *fatisque* datas non respicit urbes,
alloquere, et celeres defer mea [*Jovis*] dicta per auras."

Again the appointing, ordaining fates, and Jupiter their chief minister employing his sub-agent Mercury to carry their commands into effect. (*i*²), 5. 784 :

" nec *Jovis* imperio *fatisque* infracta quiescit,"

keeps quiet, having her spirit broken by the overruling of Jove, prime agent of the fates. (*j*²), 6. 65 :

. . . " tuque, o sanctissima *vates*,
praescia venturi, da, non indebita posco
regna meis *fatis*, Latio considerare Teuceros,"

again the ordaining fates, and the foreseeing, foretelling, and thereby ministering prophetess. (*k*³), 12. 794 (Jupiter to Juno):

“indigetem Aenean scis ipsa, et scire fateris,
deberi caelo, *fatisque* ad sidera tolli,”

again the ordaining fates and ministering god. (*l*²), 5. 796:

. . . “oro liceat dare tuta per undas
vela tibi [*Neptuno*]; liceat Laurentem attingere Tybrim;
si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia *Pareae*.”

And, finally (*m*³), Hor. *Od.* 4. 2. 37:

“quo nihil maius meliusve teris
fata donavere bonique *dici*,”

the fates, through their ministers the gods.

SCIRE, FARI.—In the ultimate analysis one and the same thing, exactly as in English we say indifferently: “I don’t know” and “I can’t tell.”

PROHIBENT and VETAT in the ultimate analysis mean alike, and except for the necessities of the verse might, *mutatis mutandis*, have occupied each the position of the other. Have we not elsewhere, even in Virgil himself and without going beyond the sacred precincts, both *dii prohibentes* (3. 265) and *fata retantia* (1. 43; 8. 398)? nay, have we not elsewhere in Virgil himself, and without going beyond the sacred precincts, *prohibere* and *retare* actually convertible with each other (1. 544:

. . . “hospitio *prohibemur* arenæ,
bella cient primaque *retant* consistere terra”),

and that, too, in a passage formed so entirely on the model of our text as not merely to consist of ten words answering to the eleven of our text, but often words so placed as to occupy, like the eleven of our text, the latter half of one verse and the whole of the next, and so arranged as to present to the ear, with only one single exception, viz. (in the half verse) the same alternate succession of dactyl and spondee, and in the whole verse even the same caesurae? Compare Liv. 30. 31: “vim Fortunae *reputo*, et omnia quaecunque agimus subiecta esse mille casibus *scio*,” where the second clause is but a repetition of the senti-

ment expressed in the first, adds no particle whatever to the sense; and where in point of elegance “scio” (the very SCIRE of our text) is but an encumbrance, and were better absent altogether, thus: “vim Fortunae reputo, et omnia quaecunque agimus subiecta esse mille casibus,” exactly as in our text SCIRE, necessary only for the measure, had better, so far as the sense goes, have been absent, thus: NAM CETERA FARI HELENUM PROHIBENT PARCAE *et* SATURNIA IUNO.

PARCAE, SATURNIA IUNO.—In the ultimate analysis, not two different actors, but one, exactly as Sil. 1. 137 :

. “venientia fata
scire ultra vetuit *Iuno*, *fibræque* repente
continere,”

where the “fibræ” are the mere instrument of Juno, as in our text Juno is the mere instrument of the Parcae. Nor is it only in cases in which the fates prohibit that a repeating, confirming, emphasizing formula is used; a double formula, not very dissimilar, is used with a similar effect even in cases in which they consent, as 5. 798 :

“si concessa peto, si dent ea moenia Parcae.” ▲

Having thus laid before my reader as fairly as I could the alternatives—irrational meaning correctly expressed, and rational meaning expressed incorrectly for the sake of rhetorical effect and to meet the exigencies of the verse—I leave him to choose for himself; leave him, too, to pity the poet, with one proportion of heaven’s blessed rain should his choice agree with mine, with two, should it not. What? not content to let me go yet? Oh! I understand. You want to know the reason of this reticence of Juno and the Parcae, why they allow Helenus to tell only the PAUCA, and keep concealed the vast CETERA till Cumæ. Well, though I do not pretend that either the Parcae or Juno have let me into the secret one bit more than they let Helenus and Aeneas, I have an opinion of my own on the subject which you are perfectly welcome to. The PAUCA could not be deferred. Aeneas and his companions, albeit heroes, nay, mainly because heroes, and therefore of exquisite sensibility in respect of every

phenomenon beyond the limits of the most circumscribed physical knowledge, had been terrified almost out of their very wits by the Harpies, and could only recover equanimity by a counter demonstration of heaven in their favour. Buthrotus was the first place at which they arrived from the Strophades, and the old family soothsayer is conveniently on the spot, and exercising as of old his vocation. He reassures them; the city they were in search of, the Sion of their aspirations, though still far off, is before them, and though they shall have to eat their very tables, they need not despair, a way will be found of managing even that, and they may rely upon it, his god will not desert them :

FATA VIAM INVENIENT, ADERITQUE VOCATUS APOLLO.

This is one part, which could not be deferred, of the PAUCA; the other part, no less pressing, and as little to be put off until Cumæ, is instruction as to the route from Buthrotus, not alone to the *terra incognita* of their hopes, but to the remotest fate-appointed shore of that *terra incognita*. Now on the one hand there were no marine charts in those days, and on the other hand gods no longer guided in person; for although his mother Venus had, not very long previously, taken Æneas by the hand and led him safe through fire and sword for the length of a street or two in Troy, gods had so long ceased to subject themselves to personal trouble and inconvenience, not to say danger, even for the most favoured mortals, that all enlistment of one of them in the service of Æneas, similar to that of Minerva in the service of Telemachus—still more, all engagement of one of them for a journey not unlikely to last for years—was out of the question. Worse still, Æneas had not even had the thoughtfulness of Jason, had not so much as brought with him from Troy a special soothsayer for himself; and, the days of vocal ships having passed by, no less than those of *valet* gods, was at the mercy of the first terror chance should throw in his way. No luck, therefore, could be greater, no salvation more unexpected, than that of falling in with the old, familiar, tried prophet, just at the moment he had reached the extreme limit of the only world of which he knew anything, and was on the point of launching

into the vast unknown. Never, perhaps, were the *PAUCA*, however *pauca*, of a prophet, more seasonable, more indispensable. Nevertheless, they should still be *PAUCA*. On the one hand, Aeneas's memory should not be burthened with information of no use till after Cumae, and on the other hand, neither was Buthrotus a place of so much importance, nor Helenus a prophet of so high caste, as to be allowed, like a second Patmos and a second John, to monopolize the divine revelations; a fair share should be kept for Cumae and the Sibyl, the Euboean cave should have wherewith to bellow through its hundred doors. To the Euboean cave and the Sibyl, therefore, Helenus refers the inquirer for the *CETERA* which he himself was not allowed to tell or even so much as to know. Not even, however, in the Euboean cave or from the Sibyl's mouth is the whole of the so much desired *CETERA* to be had. There still remains the "*omne genus tuum, et quae dentur moenia*," only to be learned in Hades, and to Hades the indefatigable inquirer, led and accompanied by the Sibyl herself, goes in quest of it.

For *PROHIBENT PARCAE* we may compare Hor. *Od.* 2. 6: "*unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae*." *RERE* (vs. 384) is not merely *think*, but *are certain, set down as sure and undoubted*.

384.

ANTE ET TRINACRIA LENTANDUS REMUS IN UNDA

LENTANDUS, "*flectendus*," Servius, Heyne. No; as *lentus* is not *flexus*, but *quod flecti potest*, so *lentare* is not *flectere*, but *reddere flexibilem*. Let us follow the two words in their several uses: "*lentum vimen*," (3. 31) the pliable withe, the withe which is not stiff or brittle, but yields or bends; "*lento argento*" (7. 634), pliable, *i. e.* ductile, silver; "*lento marmore*" (7. 28),

the pliable, *i. e.*, dull, languid, inert (*pigrum*), sea, the sea in a calm, the sea which has no action in itself, therefore does not help the ship on—therefore “*luctantur tonsae*,” “*lentus in umbra*” (*Ecl. 1. 4*), pliable in the shade, *i. e.*, lounging in the shade; “*lentus spectator*” (*Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 178*), the pliable, *i. e.*, listless, inattentive, dull, languid, looker-on—the opposite of *gespannt*; “*lentos remos*” (*Catull. Epith. Pel. et Thet. 183*), the pliant oars, *i. e.*, which are not stiff and brittle, do not break when they are tugged, but bend. From this root comes, (1) *lentescere*, to grow pliant, as “*picis in morem lentescit habendo*” (*Georg. 2. 250*); and, (2), *lentare*, to make pliant, as “*confri- cati oleo, lentati*” (*Enn. quoted by Serv.*), rubbed with oil and so made pliant, *i. e.*, supple: “*arcus lentare*” (*Stat. Achill. 1. 436; Theb. 3. 587*), not by any means, with the lexicographers, *flectere arcus*, but *supple the bows, render them pliant and fit for use*, either (*a*) by frequently bending (“*lunando*,” *Ovid, Amor. 1. 1. 23*) and discharging the bow in its own proper direction (shooting at a mark), or (*b*) by frequently bending it backward, *i. e.*, in that contrary direction in which ancient *bas-reliefs* and statues so often represent Cupid and other personages as bending it—see *Mus. Capitolin. 3. 4*; also *Clarac, Musée de Sculpture*, tom. 3 tabb. 281, 282. In order to perform this act, the bow (previously unstrung) is held firmly in the left hand by the middle, with the convexity toward the person; one horn of the bow is then caught with the right hand and drawn forcibly backwards towards the person; the bow having been thus rendered nearly straight, the right hand is gradually relaxed and the bow allowed to return to its bowed condition. By the frequent repetition of this manoeuvre the bow *lenta- tur*, is made supple, and fit for use. *Lentare arcum* and *flectere arcum*, therefore, so far from being, as supposed by the commentators and lexicographers, synonymous terms, or both expressive of the act of bending the bow, are terms diametrically opposed to each other; *flectere arcum* being to strain the bow in the direction of its curve, to shoot with the bow; *lentare arcum*, to strain the bow in the opposite direction, *i. e.*, against its curve, and then allow it to return by its natural spring

to its bent position ; the effect of the frequent repetition of such manoeuvre being to supple the bow. But nothing makes so pliant, so fit for use, as actual use, and accordingly *lentare arcum* comes still further to mean *to make much use of the bow, practise the bow, ply the bow*, as Stat. *Theb.* 1. 703 :

“ tela tibi, longeque feros *lentandus* in hostes ”

By a similar process of thought *lentare remum*—primarily *to supple the oar, make the oar pliant*—comes secondarily to signify *make much use of the oar, practise the oar, ply the oar*. TRINACRIA REMUS LENTANDUS IN UNDA is, therefore, neither “ your oar is to be bent in the Trinacrian wave,” nor yet “ your oar is to be supplied in the Trinacrian wave,” but simply, “ your oar is to be practised, much used, much and frequently pulled in the Trinacrian wave.” Our corresponding English word *ply* we **use** not only in the same manner (as Dryden :

“ the wearied Trojans *ply* their shattered oars,”)

but with a much wider extension (as Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 1, fol. 279 (ed. Steven) : “ when we wore a seaboard the barre wind scanted upon us, and was at east south south-east, inso-much that we stopped the ebbs, and *plyed* all the floods to the windewardes, and made our way east north-east.” Milton, *Par. Lost*, 2. 640 :

“ . . . they on the trading flood
through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
ply, stemming nightly toward the pole ”)

of any act—such use of any instrument as at least has the effect of rendering the hand of the performer supple, and the act easy. If it be said that it is little matter whether we understand LENTANDUS in our text to mean *to be plied* (i. e., *used*), or *to be bent*, the oar being always bent when it is used, I reply that there is this essential difference : “ your oar is to be *bent* in the Trinacrian waves ” would signify a single action, and would be equally applicable to a voyage across a ferry or a strait ; whereas “ your oar is to be *plied* in the Trinacrian waves ” means that

the act is to be repeated over and over again, and is equivalent to saying: "you have a long voyage before you round all Sicily." Compare *Mall. Theod.* 42:

"ac velut expertus *lentandis* navita *lonsis*
præficitur lateri custos."

384 (*aliter**).

LENTANDUS.—"Aut *lente tibi navigandum est*, nam totam Siciliam circumiit; aut *LENTANDUS tibi REMUS est*, i. e., *flectendus est*," Servius. "Quoniam lenta quae sunt facile flecti possunt, hinc lentus pro *flexilis*, et lentare, *flectere*," Heyne. On the contrary, neither is lentus *flexilis*, nor lentare *flectere*. Lentus is *passive*, that has no action of its own, but takes the direction impressed on it. Compare, (1), 3. 31:

"rursus et alterius *lentum* convellere vimen
insequor"

[to pull up with all my might the passive withe, the withe which, not being stiff or hard, opposed only resistance of its toughness to my efforts]. (2), 7. 634:

"aut leves ocreas *lento* ducunt argento"

["draw the greaves out of the heavy, dull, inelastic silver, which allowed itself to be beaten or drawn out," therefore ductile—the ductility or dull yielding of the metal being expressed by the slow spondaic movement of the verse: "*lento ducunt argento*"]. (3), 11. 650:

"et nunc *lenta* manu spargens hastilia denset"

[*not, surely*, flexible, pliant; javelins, *but* tough javelins, javelins which do not easily bend or break, and to make which the

* When different interpretations of the same word or passage appear in this work the reader will understand that Dr. Henry either doubted which was the true one, or else did not record in writing his final opinion.—J. F. D.

toughest kinds of woods were chosen—ash, cornel, myrtle, &c.] (4), 12. 772 :

. . . “huc impetus illum
detulerat, fixum et *lento* in radice tenebat”

[the dull root, the root which held the spear not by an active, elastic gripe, but as it would be held by a dead substance, or with a *vis inertiae*, as, for instance, the foot would stick in pitch, wax, or any inelastic substance]. (5), *Georg.* 4. 170 :

“ac veluti *lentis* Cyclopes fulmina massis
cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras
accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
aera lacu ; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna ;
illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt
in numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum”

[the inert masses of metal, the masses of metal to overcome whose dead inertia (*lento*) all the manipulations enumerated in the five following lines are necessary]. (6), 7. 28 :

. . . “et in *lento* luctantur marmore tonsae”

[the dull, listless, inert sea (*Senec. Agam.* 161 : “maria pigro fixa languore”) : therefore the oars “luctantur,” struggle in it, labour in it, get through it with difficulty]. (7), 11. 828 :

. . . “tum frigida toto
paullatim exsolvit se corpore, *lentoque* colla
et captum leto posuit caput”

[the passive neck, the neck which allowed the head to fall backward or forward, or to either side, according to its gravity]. **And** so, we have, (8), *Catull. Epith. Pel. et Thet.* 183 : “*lentos incurvans gurgite remos*,” not the pliant or flexible oars, but the tough oars—not pliancy or flexibility, but toughness, being the fittest property of an oar ; and hence “*lentos incurvans*,” pulling the oars so hard as to make them bend although “*lentos*,” or not easily bent.

As *lento* is yielding slowly and with difficulty, *lentescere* is to become *lento*, to acquire the property of yielding slowly

and with difficulty, to become γλισχρος, sticky (as we say), like wax or pitch or glue, as *Georg.* 2. 248 :

“pinguis item quæ sit tellus hoc denique pacto
discimus: haud unquam manibus iactata fatiscit,
sed *piris* in morem ad digitos *lentescit* habendo.”

From this primary signification of *lentus* flows its nearly related signification of *slow, dull, with a slow, dull, languid motion, as if moving against one's will*, as *Ovid, Art. Amat.* 1. 67 :

“tu modo Pompeia *lentus* spatiare sub umbra
cum sol Herculei terga leonis adit.”

Id. Amor. 1. 13. 39 :

“at si quem manibus Cephala complexa teneres,
clamares, ‘*Lente* currite, noctis equi.’”

And from *lentus* in this sense, *lentare* (*α*) *to make slow, to dull, to diminish the speed or velocity with which anything is moving*, as *Sil.* 8. 11 (of Fabius Cunctator) :

“*lentando* fervida bello
dictator, cum multa adeo, tum miles egenus
cunctarum ut rerum Tyrius foret, arte sedendi
egerat.”

Treb. Pollio, Dirus Claudius, 6 : “ut videantur fata Romana boni principis occupatione *lentata*.” And (*β*), by means of a slow, regulated, gradual exertion *to make a resisting object yield slowly and gradually, i. e., to pull or draw slowly and forcibly, to tug*, as *Stat. Achill.* 1. 436 :

“nec modus, aut arcus *lentare*, aut fundere glandes,
aut torrere sudas, galeasque attollere conis.”

Stat. Theb. 1. 703 :

“tela tibi, longeque feros *lentandus* in hostes
arcus,”

in both which passages *lentare* is not *to bend or curve*, but *to draw forcibly and slowly*, and so as gradually to overcome the resistance offered by the toughness of the wood, *to pull the bow*, the bending being the accidental consequence and not at all

entering into the notion of the word. And so, finally, *lentare remum*, not *to bend the oar*, but *to pull, strain, or tug the oar*, as Claud. *de Cons. Mall. Theod.* 42 :

“ ac velut expertus *lentandis* navita *tonsis*
præficitur lateri custos.”

Senece. *Agam.* 437 :

“ properat inventus omnis adductos simul
lentare remos : adiuvat ventos manu,
et valida nisu brachia alterno movet.”

And the LENTANDUS REMUS of our text is not “your oar is to be *bent*,” but “your oar is to be *tugged* ;” and such, perhaps, is the meaning assigned to it in Servius’s second interpretation, “*flectendus est*,” Servius not intending those words to be understood strictly and literally, but in the looser sense of *being used*, viz., as oars are commonly used, in which common use oars are naturally and as a matter of course more or less bent. Such, however, is the inaccuracy of Servius’s expressions, here as so often elsewhere, it is impossible now to know whether he may not have partaken of the common error, viz., that LENTANDUS is equivalent to *flectendus*, which, as I think I have satisfactorily shown, it is not in any way or degree.

From physical toughness, or difficulty of being moved or bent, the transition is natural to moral or mental toughness, or difficulty of being bent, moved, or excited, *i.e.*, apathy. Therefore, we have Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 178 :

“ exanimat *lentus* spectator, sedulus inflat”

[the apathetic spectator]. Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 4 : “tu, Tityre, *lentus* in umbra” [not, with Servius, “otiosus, sive securus,” but *apathetic*, not interested or concerned in what is happening to your less fortunate neighbours]. *Aen.* 12. 236 :

“ nos, patria amissa, dominis parere superbis
cogemur, qui nunc *lenti* consedimus arvis”

Apathetic, unmoved by the danger to which we see Turnus exposed]. Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 59 :

“ ille habet et silices, et vivum in pectore ferrum,
qui tenero lacrymas *lentos* in ore videt ”

[without being moved, without growing soft, without *re-lenting*].
Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 19. 51 :

“ *lentos* es, et pateris nulli patienda marito ”

(where the sense is the same). *Rime di Petrarca*, part I, sonetto 97 :

“ e per *lento* i sensi,
gli umani affetti non son meno intensi,”

“ and notwithstanding the senses are dulled (*i. e.*, rendered less lively, less easy to be moved) the feelings are not less intense ”
—where Tassoni : “ *lentare per allentarsi*, come *muovere per muoversi*, e *rompere per rompersi*, e *cangiar per cangiarsi*, ed altri tali che usa il poeta.”

393-402.

IS—MURO

IS LOCUS URBIS ERIT.—The oracle appoints the place where the white sow is found as the site of Æneas's new city (*viz.*, his second Troy), because the Latin word *troia* (Ital. *troja*, Fr. *truie*, signified *a sow*. See Cynth. Cenet. ad l. 153 : “ sed quae arma posuit Antenor ? Messala sic scribit ad Valerianum : ‘ Antenor sic fixit in templo arma, quae erant scrofa, quae in Latio *troia* appellatur.’ ” Compare also, *Aen.* 7. 112, *et seqq.*, the similarly trivial solution of the oracle referred to in the very next words of Helenus : NEC TU, &c. [On such puerilities turned, and—alas, that I should have to say it!—still turn oracles.] Hence an explanation of the historical fact that a sow was in later times the emblem, or, if I may so say, the armorial bearing of the Roman empire, Euseb. *Chronic.* lib. 1 : “ Rebus Iudaeorum penitus oppressis, Aelia condita, et in fronte eius portae, qua a

Bethlehem egredimur, *sus* sculptus in marmore prominens, significans Romanæ potestati subiacere Iudæos."

VIAM (vs. 395), "*i.e.*, rationem; et non dicit quam, quia etiam profutura est *farnes*," Servius. "Rationem et exitum oraculi," Heyne. "Rationem expediendi illius oraculi," Wagner (1861). "Rationem aliquam, qua exitum habeat, inveniat oraculum," Forbiger. This is not the meaning. The meaning is: the fates will find a way, not for the solution of the oracle, but for their own fulfilment; the fates shall not be obstructed. Helenus had just been expounding the fates (*viz.*, the Trojan fates) to Aeneas, these fates being that he should after certain gyrations reach Italy (TUTA URBEM COMPONERE TERRA), and, settling definitively on the banks of the Tiber, there build his city—

IS LOCUS URBIS ERIT, REQUES EA CERTA LABORUM.

In the middle of this narration, remembering what was uppermost and freshest in Aeneas's mind,

SOLA NOVUM DICTUQUE NEFAS HARPYIA CELAENO
PRODIGIUM CANIT, ET TRISTES DENUNCIAT IRAS
OBSCOENAMQUE FAMEM—QUAE PRIMA PERICULA VITO?
QUIDVE SEQUENS TANTOS POSSIM SUPERARE LABORES?

he stops short and interposes the parenthesis NECTU . . . APOLLO:
"nor let the Harpy's prophecy alarm you; the fates are not to be stopped in their course, and Apollo [observe, not the fates] will be propitious." Compare, (*a*), 10. 113, where there is no oracle to be resolved, and where Jupiter puts an end to the altercation between Juno and Venus with these very words, "*fata viam invenient*," the fates will find a way, *viz.*, to accomplish their purpose, will find a way to their fulfilment. In both places the words are but the enunciation of the dogma which lies at the bottom of the whole pagan superstructure; what is fated, nothing can prevent. Compare also, (*b*), Lucan, l. 33:

"quod si non aliam venturo *fata* Neroni
invenere viam, magnoque æterna parantur
regna deis, cælumque suo servire Tonanti
non nisi saevorum potuit post bella gigantum,"

where again there is no oracle, and the meaning is the same, viz.: the fates will find a way to effect their purpose, no matter what may be the obstructions. (c), Stat. *Silv.* 5. 1. 145 :

“ *invenere viam liventia fata, piumque
intravit vis saeva larem,*”

where the meaning is still the same: the fates found a way; viz., to effect their purpose. **And**, (d), Cic. *Sonn. Scip.*: “sed eius temporis ancipitem video quasi *fatorum viam*,” where, as in all the preceding cases, the way of the fates which is spoken of is not the way they will take to evade an oracle, but the way they will follow, the way they will take to effect their purpose, to arrive at their object.

ADERITQUE VOCATUS APOLLO.—“Apollo will be propitious, will not insist upon the fulfilment of Celaeno’s oracle to your ruin and discomfiture.” The addition of the words was necessary in order that there might be no collision between the fates, who must have their way, and Apollo, who, as the god of oracles, knew, of course, what that way would be.

PARVA PHILOCTETAE SUBNIXA PETILIA MURO.—“‘Cincta muro modico.’ Alii, quia imposita est excelso muro, ut Coelius historicus ait,” Servius. “A Philoctete, Herculis comite, condita (hoc enim est SUBNIXA MURO),” Heyne. No; the reference is to the *great* strength of the *little* city: the *little Petilia*—SUBNIXA, *relying on the strong wall by which it was able to defend itself against all assaults*. Compare Liv. 23. 30: “Petilia, aliquot post mensibus quam coepta oppugnari erat, ab Himilcone, praefecto Hannibalis, expugnata est. Multo sanguine ac vulneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit; nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit . . . Nec antequam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma deerant expugnati sunt.” Our text is a passing compliment to this gallant defence made by the *little* city.

SUBNIXA, *relying on*; compare Sil. Ital. 2. 397: “galeamque coruscis *subnixam* cristis;” and Id. 8. 245:

“ *subnixus* raptō plebeii muneris ostro
sacvit iam rostris Varro;”

and—precisely parallel to our text—Stat. *Theb.* 7. 345: “et Hyampolin acri *subnicam* scopulo.” For an exactly similar use of *niti* see Avienus, *Descript. Orb. Terrar.* 3:

“per terras qua priscis inelyta *moris*
oppida *nituntur*.” *

PETILIA.—As we should say in English, *Littleton* or *Littleton*. See Turnebus, *Advers.* 28. 28: “Petilia a *petilo*, quod exile et parvum est [*petit*, Fr.; qu. ?], ut a *rutilo*, Rutilius.” See also Vossius, *Etyim.* in voce.

PARVA.—In this instance, as in numerous others, the character of the place as expressed by its proper name is repeated by Virgil in his descriptive adjective. Compare 3. 693: “Plemmyrium undosum;” 3. 698: “stagnantis Helori;” 7. 713:

“qui *Tetricae* horrentis rupes montemque *severum*,”

where “*severum*” is not, as supposed by Forbiger (“mons, alibi non commemoratus”), and by Wagner, who no less than Forbiger prints “*severum*” with a capital S, the proper name of a mountain, but an adjective agreeing with “montem,” and explanatory or descriptive of the scenery of *Tetrica*, the structure being: “horrentis rupes montemque *severum Tetricae*”—the expression “montemque *severum Tetricae*” having exact parallels in *Georg.* 3. 37, “amnemque *severum Coccyti*.” *Aen.* 6. 274: “amnemque *severum Eumenidum*,” and especially 6. 638, “Curibus *severis*.” In like manner Lucan 1. 214, “*punicens Rubicon*.” Sil. 3. 243:

“tum, quae Sicano praecinxit littora muro,
in *clipei* speciem curvatis turribus, *Aspis*,”

Stat. *Silv.* 3. 1. 93 (of Naples): “*iurenemque* replesti Parthenopen.” And our own Rogers, of the flamingo:

“what clarion winds along the yellow strands?
far in the deep the giant fisher stands
folding his wings of *flame*.”

* On the contrary, Sil. 10. 393: “*subnicae* lictore *securae*” may be adduced in support of the interpretation of Servius, inasmuch as the axes cannot be said to have confidence in the lictors who carry them, but only to be supported by them.

Sir W. Scott, *Muchduff's Cross* :

. . . "yonder to the east
Dundee, the gift of *God*, and fair *Montrose*."

Also Milton, *Par. Lost*, 3. 352 (of the amaranth) :

"their crowns inwove with amaranth and gold :
immortal amaranth, a flower which once
in Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
began to bloom ; but soon for man's offence
to heaven removed, where first it grew, there grows,
and flowers aloft, shading the fount of life :
and where the river of bliss through midst of heaven
rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream ;
with these that *never fade*, the spirits elect
bind their resplendent locks inwreathed with beams,"

and *ibid.* 7. 577 (of the galaxy) :

"a broad and ample road whose dust is gold,
and pavement, stars, as stars to thee appear,
seen in the *galaxy*, that *milky way*
which nightly as a circling zone thou seest
powdered with stars,"

and 10. 525 (of the cerastes), "*cerastes horned*." And I, at least, do not doubt that the "*malifera Abella*," *Æn.* 7. 740, had its name from its apples, *i.e.*, from the word from which the Germano-English *apple* is derived.

410-419.

AST—ÆSTU

RARESCENT (vs. 411).—As *rarus* (the English *thin* and the opposite of *densus*) properly expresses the state of a body whose particles lie not closely compacted, but at some distance from each other, the expression UBI RARESCENT CLAUSTRA PELORI

means, when the barriers of Pelorus after having appeared to you for some time (viz., so long as they were seen sideways and not in front, or from directly opposite) to be dense or close together shall begin to grow rare, i. e., to show that they stand at some distance from each other, or that there is an interval between them: or, in other words, when you shall have proceeded so far round Italy as to be able to see that it is not continuous with Sicily, but separated by a strait. See, (♠), Justin. 4. 1: "Ea est enim procul insipientibus natura loci [sc. claustrorum Pelori], ut sinum maris, non transitum, putes; quo cum accesseris, *discedere ac scindi* promontoria, quae antea iuncta fuerant, arbitrere." With which compare (♠), Valerius Flaccus's description of the Dardanelles (1. 284):

. . . "dirimique procul non aequore visa
cooperat a gemina *discedere* Sestus Abydo."

Hardly could more precise description be given of the point at which Aeneas was to turn southward. Compare also, (♠), Val. Flacc. 2. 628:

"*rarior* hinc tellus, atque ingens undique caelum
rursus, et incipiens alium prospectus in orbem" ♠

[the lands more thinly (widely) scattered: more sea between them]. (♠), Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 186: "cum pluviis *rarescunt* nubila." (♠), Sil. 17. 422 (ed. Rup.):

"*rarescit* multo laxatus vulnere miles."

(♠), Prop. 4. 4. 77 (ed. Hertzsb.):

"cumque super *raros* foeni flammantis acervos
traiecit immundos ebria turba pedes."

(♠), Lucret. 6. 840 (ed. Lachm.):

"frigidior porro in puteis aestate fit humor,
rarescit quia terra calore, et semina si quae
forte vaporis habet, propere dimittit in auras"

[the component particles of the soil grow looser, more separate from each other, where "*rarescit*" corresponds to "*putrem*," Aen. 8. 596]. (♠), Aen. 1. 122: "*rari* nantes." (♠), Aen.

J. 314: “*raris vocibus*” [not *few*, but *at intervals from each other*; or, as in the text, *showing intervals between*]. (*J*), Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 769:

. . . “referat mihi cascus æra,
dentque viam liquido vimina *rara* sero”

(where “*vimina rara*” is withes or rods between which are large interstices). (*K*), Newton: “Gold is so *rare* as very readily and without the least opposition to transmit the magnetic effluvia, and easily to admit quicksilver into its pores and to let water pass through it.” **And**, (*L*), Milton, *Par. Lost*, 2. 947:

. . . “so eagerly the fiend
o’er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or *rare*,
with head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way.”

CLAUSTRA.—Not the straits or actual passage, but (literally) the closers, shutters, or barriers, *i. e.*, the approximating headlands between which the very narrow passage, channel, or gut, technically called “strait,” is left. See Rem. on “*claustra*,” *Aen.* 1. 60, and compare Claud. *Bell. Get.* 188 (ed. Burm.):

. . . “vallata mari Scironia rupes,
et duo continuo connectens æquora muro
isthmus, et angusti patuerunt *claustra* Lechæi,”

where “*angusti Lechæi*” is the narrow part of the isthmus at Lechæum, and “*claustra*” is the wall or barrier across the isthmus at that part, across that part of the isthmus. Compare also *ibid.* 220 (ed. Burm.):

“ipsa etiam diffusa brevi Trinacria ponto,
si rerum natura sinat, discedere longe
optat, et Ionium refugio laxare Peloro,”

where Claudian’s “*Ionium refugio laxare Peloro*” is the exact equivalent of Virgil’s *ANGUSTI RARESCENT CLAUSTRA PELORI*, the “*claustra Pelori*” of both being the barrier presented by the mountain Pelorus to communication between Tyrrhene and Ionian seas, a barrier which Virgil represents as appearing to open or leave a space between the opposite shores (*RARESCENT*), and which Claudian represents as retreating (“*refugio*”

Peloro") so as to leave the communication between the two seas free.

HAEC LOCA VI QUONDAM, &c.—In this and the following verses there seems to be an allusion to the origin of the name Rhegium, as in PARVA, verse 402, there is to the name PETILIA. See Strabo, lib. 6, and Diod. Sicul. 4. 85. .

ÆVI VETUSTAS (vs. 415), age, continuation of time in the forward direction, the opposite of antiquity, or time considered in the backward direction; the forward face of Janus, not the face with which he looks behind him. This is always the sense of *vetustas* with Virgil, as 10. 792 :

“ si qua fidem tanto est operi latura *vetustas* ;”

12. 685 :

. . . “ seu turbidus imber
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa *vetustas* ;”

and sometimes with other poets, as Ovid, *Met.* 7. 446 :

“ quae iactata diu fertur durasse *vetustas*
in scopulos.”

The same meaning will be found to belong also to the adjectival form of the word, as 3. 84, “ saxo *vetusto*” [*not* ancient stone, *but* stone which has lasted from ancient or remote time down to the present—long-lived stone, as we might say]. 9. 284, “ Priami de gente *vetusta*” [*not* equivalent to “ Priami de gente *antiqua*” (for the term *antiqua* might be applied to a family which had existed but for a short time), *but* the family of Priam, which had lasted through so many generations].

LITTORE DIDUCTAS.—“ Mari iam disiunctas,” Heyne. “ Mari irrumpente disiunctas,” Forbiger. By no possibility can *littore* be equivalent to *mari*; and the disjunction by the sea is sufficiently expressed by *ANGUSTO INTERLUIT ÆSTU*. *LITTORE DIDUCTAS* is *separated* or *parted in shore*, i. e., with respect to shore—in other words, *standing each on its own shore*, and so, only too diffidently, Conington : “ Heyne’s explanation of *LITTORE DIDUCTAS* as equivalent to *mari diductas*, ‘ ubi enim littus, ibi mare,’ seems rather harsh. Perhaps it would

be better to interpret the words *separated in respect of coast*, the ground on which they stood being no longer continuous, but disconnected." And so exactly, Sil. 1. 198 (ed. Rup.) :

" at qua diversas clementior aspicit Aretos,
Herculeo dirimente freto, diducta propinquis
Europes videt arva ingis : ultra obsidet aequor,
nec patitur nomen proferri longius Atlas "

[lands separated with chains of mountains near to each other, *i.e.*, lands separated from each other (*viz.*, by the sea), although still near to each other, *i.e.*, their mountain chains were not far removed from each other]. Compare also the same author's closely imitated account of the identical convulsion, 14. 11 (ed. Rup.) :

" Ausoniae pars magna iacet Trinaeria tellus,
ut semel expugnante Noto et vastantibus undis
accepit freta, caeruleo propulsa tridente.
namque per occultum caeca vi turbinis olim
impactum pelagus laceratae viscera terrae
discidit, et, medio perrumpens arva profundo,
cum populis pariter convulsas transtulit urbes."

There is, therefore, no occasion for the alteration of the text proposed by the anonymous correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1764, p. 464), *viz.*: "LITTORA, *h.e.*, 'quoad LITTORA,'" the words having already the better sense, *in respect* (not of *shores*, but) *of shore*.

433-434.

PRAETEREA SI QUA EST HELENO PRUDENTIA VATI
SI QUA FIDES ANIMUM SI VERIS IMPLET APOLLO

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] PRUDENTIA VATI SI QUA FIDES · ANIMUM ■ *Med.* (Fogg.)

[*punct.*] PRUDENTIA VATI, SI QUA FIDES, ANIMUM ■■■ P. Manut. ; Voss.

[*punct.*] PRUDENTIA, VATI SI QUA FIDES, ANIMUM ■■■ “HELENO PRUDENTIA, in homine enim prudentia est, in vatibus fides,” Servius (Cod. Dresd.); La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861) ; Lad. ; Ribb., which last, having quoted Servius’s “in homine enim *prudentia* est, in vatibus *fides*,” observes “unde apparet et ipsum VATI cum sequentibus coniunxisse.” Ribbeck, however, while thus citing the words of Servius in support of the punctuation adopted by himself in his text (*viz.*, PRUDENTIA, VATI), has entirely omitted to state that Servius himself, as represented in his editions, *ex. gr.*, Colon. Allobr. 1610 (after the codd. of Daniel), Lion, Gott. 1826, punctuates : HELENO PRUDENTIA VATI. Having myself personally examined the Dresden codex of Servius, I am enabled to state that the reading of that codex is not HELENO PRUDENTIA VATI, but HELENO PRUDENTIA, without any VATI, and that, therefore, Ribbeck’s reading, which is that of all the commentators and editors as cited above from La Cerda down, has the support, such as it is, not only of Servius’s words, but, according to the Dresden codex, of Servius’s citation of the passage itself.

QUA PRUDENTIA . . . QUA FIDES, any foresight at all, any reliance at all ; any even the smallest reliance. See Rem. on “*Anthea si quem*,” l. 185.

La Cerda says : “vide ut interpunxi verum, ut PRUDENTIA ad Helenum, FIDES ad vatem referatur,” an interpunctuation in which (see *Var. Lect.*) the old commentator has been followed by the modern commentators, with the perhaps single exception of Voss, most erroneously as I think—(■), because there is no such thing to be found in antiquity as a special ascription of

prudētia to an uninspired man, and a special ascription of fides to an inspired prophet; on the contrary, prudētia no less than fides, and fides no less than prudētia, are indiscriminately applied to mere man and inspired prophet—Cic. *ad Fam.* 6. 6: “ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, sic ego *prudens* et sciens ad pestem ante oculos positum sum profectus,” being an example of such indiscriminate application of prudētia, while of a similar indiscriminate application of fides the examples are so abundant that quotation were mere supererogation. (2), because the distinction not only does not occur in ancient writers, but is in itself a bad, incorrect distinction, there being no reason why prudētia (*foresight*) should not be ascribed to the vates Helenus as well as to the man Helenus, nor any reason why fides (*truth, reliability*) should not be applied to the man Helenus as well as to Helenus the vates. (3), because such distinction, even if it were both correct and to be found elsewhere, was yet of too minute a kind to be used by so grave and dignified a writer as Virgil, especially on so solemn an occasion; was more suitable for a lighter writer, such as Ovid. And, (4), because there is no trace, no inkling, of any such distinction made elsewhere by Virgil, who on the contrary attributes fides to or has fides claimed by the most heterogeneous variety of characters—4. 12, Anna; 2. 309, Hector’s ghost; 9. 260, Ascanius; 2. 541, Priam; 2. 161, Troy; 10. 71, the Tuscan nation; 11. 511, scouts sent out to observe the enemy; 3. 69, the sea; 5. 604, Fortune; *Georg.* 4. 213, bees. If in the actual practice of our author fides has been ascribed to each individual character of this motley assemblage; if it has been ascribed by Horace, *Od.* 3. 16. 30, to his crop, by Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 814, to birds; if “proh deum hominumque fidem!” was an exclamation in everybody’s mouth; if “Punica fides” and “Graeca fides” were common bywords, where is the propriety of the FIDES of our text belonging only to VATI and not to HELENO VATI? No, no; there is no such propriety, and Virgil has made no such distinction. The structure is SI QUA EST PRUDENTIA VATI HELENO, SI QUA [*est*] FIDES [*vati Heleno*]; the meaning is: “if the prophet Helenus knows anything, and deserves your confidence, may be

relied on ;” ANIMUM SI VERIS IMPLET APOLLO is the variation of the single theme SI QUA EST HELENO PRUDENTIA VATI, SI QUA FIDES. ANIMUM is the ANIMUM neither of Helenus alone, nor of “vates” alone, but of “Helenus vates ;” and in verse 712 it is neither “vates” nor Helenus which we have separately, but “vates” and Helenus together, *the prophet Helenus*. Nor let “Helenus . . . sacerdos” (verse 369) be quoted as an objection to the preceding argument. “Sacerdos” does not, indeed, here stand apart from “Helenus,” but it is not for the purpose of something being predicated of it which cannot be with equal propriety predicated of “Helenus,” or of something being predicated of “Helenus” which cannot be with equal propriety predicated of “sacerdos ;” on the contrary, the predications of “Helenus” and of “sacerdos” all belong to one category, and “sacerdos” is reserved and removed to some distance, only in order to round the sentence, fill up the measure, and avoid the weakness of structure which would be evinced by leaving “canit” to depend on so remote a subject as “Helenus”—the reservation and separation of such a co-ordinate nominative for such obvious purpose being of most frequent and ordinary occurrence throughout the poem, *ex. gr.*, l. 199 :

“vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat *Aeestes*
littore Trinaerio dederatque abeuntibus *heros*.”

l. 415 :

“at *Venus* obscuro gradientes aere sepsit,
et multo nebulae circum *dea* fudit amictu.”

446-457.

DIGERIT—CANAT.

VAR. LECT.

[*punct.*] POSCAS IPSA CANAT ■■■ Wakef., comparing 8. 506 ; 11. 513 ; 12. 585.

[*punct.*] POSCAS ; IPSA ■■■ P. Manut.

O Rom.

IN NUMERUM.—“In ordinem,” Servius, Heyne, Wagner. I think, however, that something much more precise is meant. Numerus was a term applied in Roman military tactics to a company or number of soldiers disposed *rank and file* as we say, *i.e.*, so many in one row, abreast ; behind these an equal number also abreast, and behind these again an equal number ; and so on, until the whole number was disposed of. The soldiers so disposed in order, rank and file, formed a numerus. See 11. 597 :

“at manus interea muris Troiana propinquit
Etrusque duces, equitumque exercitus omnis,
compositi *numero* in turmas. Fremit aequore toto
insultans sonipes, et pressis pugnat habenis
huc obversus et huc : tum late ferreus hastis
horret ager, campique armis sublimibus ardent,”

where the description is undoubtedly that of an army marching rank and file, and where yet there is no statement to that effect, if the force of *rank and file* be denied to “*numero* ;” where further “*numero*” if this sense be denied to it performs no useful part, is a mere expletive and had better been absent.

It is in this sense the sibyl is said in our text to digest IN NUMERUM QUÆCUNQUE IN FOLIIS DESCRIPSIT CARMINA, that is to say, she placed them rank and file precisely in the order which they would have occupied if they had been written on a sheet

of paper, or parchment, precisely in that order in which words are usually written in order to be easily read. She made a page, or, as the printers say, a “*form*,” out of her leaf-written verses, and left them so, but on the first opening of the door the wind came and scattered about in every direction the fugitive elements of which her page was composed, and she would not take the trouble of re-making her page so as a second time to connect the scattered fragments into continuous sense,

NEC REVOCARE SITUS AUT IUNGERE CARMINA CURAT

(where SITUS is the respective positions of the leaves in the page), and the oracular response was lost.

MANENT IMMOTA LOCIS (vs. 447), theme; NEQUE AB ORDINE CEDUNT, variation.

TENUIS VENTUS (vs. 448).—(Quia hic satis ad FRONDES TENERAS,” La Cerda, Voss. “Ornat epitheton a natura puto venti sumptum; saltem hoc dignius poeta quam ut sit: si vel parum venti immissum fuerit,” Heyne. La Cerda and Voss are right, Heyne wrong. It is as if Virgil had said: “disturbed by even a slight breath of wind.”

INCONSULTI ABEUNT (vs. 452).—INCONSULTI, “inseii rerum, ignari, sine consilio. Et *consultus* est qui consulitur; *inconsultus*, qui non accipit consilium,” Serv. (Cod. Dresl.) “Αχρηστοι, quia non accepto oraculo discedunt,” La Cerda, Heyne, Ladewig. But, first, there is no example of the use of *inconsultus* in this sense; and secondly, the inquirers have actually received their answer, although, on account of its being written on leaves, they have not been able to understand it. INCONSULTI is therefore, as always elsewhere, *nullius consilii*; *qui nesciunt quid facere oporteat*; *αμηχανοι*, *αμηχανουντες*, *δυσμηχανουντες*, *αβουλοι*, *απροβουλευτοι*, *απορουντες*, as (α), Aesch. *Agam.* 1112 (Chorus, not understanding the oracles of Cassandra):

οὐπω ξυνηκα' νυν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων
ἐπαργεμοῖσι θεσφατοῖς ἀμηχανῶ

[“obscuris oraculis (modo editis) inops sum consilii”]. (b),

Apollon. Rhod. 3. 126 (of Ganymede skinned, to use the boy's phrase, by Cupid at a game of marbles) :

βη κεναῖς συν χερσιν ἀμῆχανος, οὐδ' ἐνοήσε
Κυπριν ἐπιπλομένην.

(**ϵ**), Id. 3. 423 (of Jason having received the answer of Æetes that he must fight the bull) :

ἦσθ' αὐτῶς ἀφθογγος, ἀμῆχανέων κακοτητί.
βουλὴν δ' ἀμφὶ πολλὴν στρωφά χρονον, οὐ δὲ πῆ εἶχε
θαρσαλέως ὑποδεχθαι

[“atque in medio haesitabat luto, perplexus malis”]. (**ϵ**), Id. 3. 893 (ed. Beck) : ἀμῆχανι βεβόληται πασα πόλις [“consilii inopia percussa est”]. (**ϵ**), Id. 4. 106 (of Medea) :

. . . ἡ δ' ἐμπαλιν αἰσσοῦσα,
γαῖη χεῖρας εἰσείνεν ἀμῆχανος

[where Shaw : “inops consilii”]. (**ϝ**), Aesch. *Agam.* 1360 :

. . . δυσμῆχανῶ
λογίσι τοῦ θανόντ' ἀνίσταναι παλιν.

(**g**), Lucan, 1. 495 : “turba per urbem . . . *inconsulta* ruit.”
(**h**), Val. Flacc. 4. 302 :

“ ecce iterum vacuas agit [Amicus] *inconsulta* per auras
brachia. Sentit enim Pollux rationis egentem ”

(in both which last places “*inconsulta*” is *at random, without definite aim or purpose*). Also (**ι**), Grat. Falisc. *Carm. Venat.* 4 :

“ *inconsulti* homines, vitæque erat error in omni.”

And especially (**ϝ**), Cicero (*de Oratore*, 1. 45), whose words seem almost to be an express gloss upon our text : “Quid est enim praeclarius, quam honoribus et reipublicae muneribus perfunctum senem posse suo iure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicit ille Pythius Apollo, se esse eum, unde sibi si non populi et reges, at omnes sui cives consilium expetant,

‘ suarum rerum incerti quos ego mea ope ex
incertis certos compotesque consilii
dimitto, ut ne res temere tractent turbidas,’ ”

as if he had said, "ex incertis certos, ex *inconsultis* compotes consilii." **And** finally (*k*), Ter. *Adelph.* 4. 4. 3 :

. . . "pectore
consistere nihil *consilii* quicquam potest."

Thus, the adjectival "inconsultus" of Virgil is exactly the opposite of Horace's adjectival "consultus," *Od.* 1. 34. 2 :

"insanientis dum sapientiæ
consultus erro,"

and the same as the "aeger consilii" of Statius, *Theb.* 11. 140 :

. . . "obscura vallum dum nocte pererrat
aeger consilii."

The Italians preserve the word in the same adjectival sense: *sconsigliato*, without fixed counsel—not knowing what to think or do, *scentato*—*Rime di Petrarca* (ed. Fr. Soave, Milan, 1805), parte 2, canzone 49, v. 22 :

"vergine, que' begli occhi
che vider tristi la spietata stampa
ne' dolci membri del tuo caro Figlio,
volgi al mio dubbio stato,
che *sconsigliato*, a te vien per consiglio;"

Metast., *La Clemenza di Tito*, 3. 6 ('Titus speaking) :

. . . "e che sperasti
di trovar mai nel trono? Il sommo forse
d'ogni contento? Ah, *sconsigliato*! Osserva
quai frutti io ne raccolgo,"

where "sconsigliato" is *ill-advised*. The French, too, have their *bien conseillé* and *mal conseillé*, as La Fontaine, *Fables*, "Le fou qui vend la sagesse :"

"les gens *bien-conseillés* et qui voudront bien faire
entre eux et les gens fous mettront pour l'ordinaire
le longueur de ce fil."

The nearest approach I find to the sense assigned to the word by Heyne is in the "inconsulti recessus" of Claudian, where the poet speaking of the absence of Apollo from Delphi informs us

that during that period the oracular cave is silent and incon-sultus (6 *Cons. Honor.* 29) : “antraque moesta silent, *incon-sultique recessus*,” where, however, the meaning is not *quibus non est responsum*, but *qui non sunt interrogati*. After all, the difference between *quibus non est responsum* and *non compotes consilii* is not very considerable nor much to be insisted on, the latter being a consequence of and involved in the former.

ILIC TIBI NE QUA MORAE, &c.—Comp. Apul. *Flor.* 1. 1 : “Religiosis vianitum moris est, quum aliquis locus aut aliquis locus sanctus in via oblatu est, votum postulare, donum apponere, paulisper assidere : Ita mihi ingresso sanctissimam istam civitatem, quanquam oppido festinem, prae-fanda venia, et habenda oratio, et inhibenda properatio.” Stat. *Silv.* 3. 1. 106 (Hercules begging a larger and richer temple where passengers might stop) :

“da templum, dignasque tuis conatibus aras,
quas puppes velis nolint transire secundis.”

St. Isidore will, no doubt, occur to the Spanish reader :

. . . “lo ! he leaves his plough
still-standing in the field, and goes to church
when the bell rings for vespers, and returning
finds a winged angel down from heaven descended
guiding his plough and oxen, and more land
ploughed in his absence of one short half hour
than, had he by the plough staid, he had ploughed
himself in a whole day from morn till night,”

and Fridolin, to the German (Schiller, “Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer,” st. 20) :

“entschlossen ist er alsobald,
und macht den sukristan ;
‘das,’ spricht er, ‘ist kein aufenthalt,
was fördert himmelan.’”

470-487.

ADDIT—AMOREM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 483).

SUBTEGMINA ■ *St. Gall., Med.* (G cancelled). ■■ γ⁹₂. ■■■ P. Manut.; Ribb.SUBTEGMINA ■ *Pal.* ■■ γ³₂. ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 484).

HONORI ■ *Med., St. Gall.* ■■ γ⁶₃. ■■■ Servius (Cod. Dresd.); ed. princ.; Rom. 1473; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Milan, 1475, 1492; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Pott.; Dorph.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.HONORE ■ *Pal.* ■■ γ⁴₃. ■■■ Scaurus (ap. Serv.); Pomp. Sabinus; Wakefield; Voss; "Twelve Years' Voyage;" Ribb.

ADDIT EQUOS ADDITQUE DUCES.—DUCES, undoubtedly *guides*, i. e., *pilots* (and so Conington and Wagner), not only because Dionysius of Halicarnassus informs us that Aeneas actually took pilots with him to show him the passage, but because (a) it would have been very remarkable if so inexperienced a sailor had ventured on these totally unknown waters without pilots, and (b), this was the last and most proper place for procuring them. Compare Aesch. *Suppl.* 176 (Danaus to the chorus, his daughters, who have just arrived in Greece under his pilotage):

- παιδες, φρονειν χρη. ξυν φρονουντι δ' ηκετε.
πιστω γεροντι τωδε ναυκληρω πατρι.
και τὰπι χερσου νυν προμηθειαν λαβων.
αινω φυλαξαι τὰμ' επη δελτουμενας

and also verse 238, where the βασιλεὺς says to the same Danaïdes :

ὡπὼς δὲ χωρὰν, οὐδὲ κηρυκῶν ὑπο,
 ἀπροξένοι [sine hospitibus patrocinantibus] τε, νοσφιν ἡγητῶν, μολεῖν
 ἐτλητ' ἀτρεσπῶς, τοῦτο θαυμάστον πέλει,

the ἡγητῶν of which passage is exactly the DUCES of our text. To Peerlkamp's objection that one pilot would have been sufficient, the reply is simple, viz., that fleets are in the habit of taking not one but several pilots, in order to guard against the manifest danger to the whole fleet in case of loss or separation of the vessel carrying the single pilot. If Virgil had meant, as Heyne supposes he meant, grooms or caretakers for the horses, he would not have used the term DUCES, but eustodes. For dux used in the sense of guide, see *Aen.* 6. 262.

HANC ARRIPE VELIS (vs. 477).—See 10. 298 ; 9. 13 ; 11. 531 ; and compare Pers. 5. 140 :

. . . “nihil obstat, quin trabe vasta
 Aegaeum rapias.”

Evang. Matth. 11. 12 : ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, καὶ βιάσται ἀρπαζοῦσιν αὐτήν.

NEC CEDIT HONORI (vs. 484).—“Tanta dat munera, quanta merebatur Ascanius,” Servius. “*NON* CEDIT HONORI, sciz. munerum, quo prosecutus erat Helenus Anchisen ; ut Andromache Ascanium nunc non minus honorifice muneribus hospitalibus impertiat,” Heyne. “Andromache donat auro intextas vestes Aeneae, puta, et Anchisae ; Ascanio CHLAMYDEM illorum donorum HONORI, *i. e.*, praestantiae et pulchritudini, non *cedentem*, praeterea eidem alia textilia plurima,” Wagn. (1861).

I am as little satisfied with any of these explanations as I am with one formerly proposed by myself in the *Classical Museum* (London, 1848), and inserted by Forbiger in the third edition of his work, or with a second also proposed by myself in my “Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery in the First Six Books of the Aeneis” (Meinhold, Dresden, 1853). Feeling that these interpretations are all pretty equally unworthy of the author, and ill adapted for a position in the middle of one of the most

highly finished and pathetic passages bequeathed to an admiring posterity by perhaps the most pathetic of all poets, I have never ceased, since my former publications, to keep my attention more or less directed to the passage, with the hope, however faint, of at length, perhaps by some happy chance, alighting on a meaning which might at least be in good keeping with the context. Having at last, as I think, been successful, and discovered a meaning which not only does not disfigure but greatly enhances the beauty of the beautiful painting, I shall, if the reader have no objection, take him with me by the hand and let him have the pleasure of re-discovering it along with me. Let us, therefore, open the *Hecuba* of Euripides at verse 916, and what do we find? Hecuba, in order to wreak her terrible vengeance on Polymestor, not hesitating to break through all oriental decorum, and, although a woman and in affliction, and degraded from her former high rank into that of a common slave, appearing in the presence, not only of men, but of men who had known her in her times of happiness and prosperity :

αἰσχυνομαι σε προσβλεπειν ἐναντιον,
 Πολυμηστορ, ἐν τοιοισδε κειμενη κακοις·
 οὐτω γὰρ ὤφθην εὐτυχουσ', αἰδῶς μ' ἐχει,
 ἐν τῷδε ποτμῳ τυγχανουσ' ἵν' εἰμι νυν,
 κοῦκ ἀν δυναιμην προσβλεπειν σ' ὀρθαῖς κοραῖς.
 ἀλλ' αὐτο μὴ δυσνοιᾶν ἡγήσῃ σεθεν,
 Πολυμηστορ· ἀλλῶς δ' αἰτιον τι καὶ νομος,
 γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν μὴ βλέπειν ἐναντιον.

Let us now return to our text, and what do we find? Andromache—a woman like Hecuba, and of the same rank, and from the same country, and a near relative, and having suffered the same affliction—not hesitating, in order to gratify the tenderness of her feelings towards Ascanius, to break through the same oriental decorum (*NEC CEDIT HONORI*), not restrained by the oriental etiquette, the oriental *sitte* (Germ.), the oriental “honos,” the oriental sense that it was becoming in a female to hide her affliction and degradation in retirement, from presenting herself voluntarily, not merely before men but before the very men before whom she should most feel ashamed, most feel

αιδως—reverentia—those who had known her in her previous happy condition. Compare Eurip. *Iphig. in Aulid.* 722 :

- CLYT. ω παι θεας Νηρηδος, ενδοθεν λογων
των σων ακουσας', εξεβην προ δωματων.
ACHIL. ω ποτνι' αιδως, τηνδε τινα λευσω ποτε
γυναικα, μορphen ευπρεπη κεκτημενην ;
CLYT. ου θαυμα σ' ημας αγνοειν, ους μη παρος
κατειδες' αινω δ' οτι σεβεις το σωφρονειν.
ACHIL. τις δ' ει ; τι δ' ηλθες Δαναιδων εις συλλουγον,
γυνη προς ανδρας ασπισιν πεφραγμενους ;
CLYT. Αηδας μεν ειμι παις, Κλυταιμνηστρα δε μοι
ονομα. ποσις δε μοι 'στιν Αγαμεμνων αναξ.
ACHIL. καλως ελεξας εν βραχει τα καιρια'
αισχρον δε μοι γυναιξι συμβαλλειν λογους,

where ποτνι' αιδως exactly corresponds to Virgil's "honor." See also verse 1207 of the same play :

- CLYT. τι δε, τεκνον, φευγεις ; IRHIG. Αχιλλεα τονδ' ιδειν αισχυνομαι.
CLYT. ως τι δη ; IRHIG. το δυστυχες μοι των γαμων αιδω φερει.
CLYT. ουκ εν αβροτητι κεισαι προς τα νυν πεπτωκοτα.
αλλα μιμν'. ου σεμνοτητος εργον ην δυνωμεθα,

where for ου σεμνοτητος εργον Virgil would have said "non cedendum est honori."

We may with the more confidence apply to our text the key thus put into our hands by Euripides, because it is perfectly certain from the story of Polydorus, with which Virgil begins, and from the story of Polyphemus with which he closes, this third book of his *Æneid*—both of them told almost without a single variation in Euripides' own words—that Euripides was seldom absent from before Virgil's eyes while he was engaged in writing this part of his *Æneid*. I am even inclined to think that our author is scarcely less indebted to Euripides' *Hecuba* than to Apollonius's *Medea* for his *début* of Dido in the terrible character which she assumes in the next book. *Hecuba* appears on the stage, terrified by her visions of the preceding night, and exclaims (vs. 68, ed. Bothe) :

τι ποτ' αιρομαι εννυχος ουτω
δειμασι φασμασιν ;

Dido makes her appearance, no less terrified by the visions she

has seen, and exclaims in the very words of Hecuba: "quæ me suspensam insomnia terrent!" The Trojan woman (of the chorus) who is the confidant of Hecuba advises her to repair to the temples, propitiate the gods by sacrifice, and endeavour to move Agamemnon by prayers and entreaties (vs. 141):

ἀλλ' ἰθὶ ναοὺς, ἰθὶ πρὸς βωμοὺς,
 ἰς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἱκετὶς γονάτων·
 κηρύσσει θεοὺς,
 τοὺς τ' οὐρανόθεν τοὺς θ' ὑπογαίους.

Dido's confidant, her sister, gives her exactly similar advice: "propitiate the gods by sacrifice, detain Aeneas by excuses and kind treatment:"

"tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
 indulge hospitio, causasque innocte morandi."

Nay, I am inclined to go so far as to question whether even Medea's terrifying *ονειροι* may not have been suggested to Apollonius by these very *ονειροι* of Hecuba, and so both Apollonius and Virgil have drawn from one and the same model.

This passage being thus, as I would hope, rightly understood at last, not only (1) does this picture acquire new delicacy and beauty and pathos, but (2) we perceive with what scrupulous attention to oriental decorum the former meeting of Andromache with Aeneas and his companions (vss. 301 *et seqq.*) is brought about. On that occasion Aeneas and his companions, arriving unexpectedly and wholly unacquainted with the place, surprise Andromache in the performance of a religious rite which made it necessary for her not only to be out of doors but outside the city and on the side of the public road. The meeting being thus wholly accidental and unpremeditated on both sides, there was no breach of decorum and no excuse was required. On the present occasion, on the contrary, the meeting was not only premeditated, but actually sought for by the female herself; there was therefore a flagrant breach of that decorum which consigned the fallen princess with her affliction to the privacy of the gynaeceum, a breach of decorum which is as fully

acknowledged in the words *NEC CEDIT HONORI* as excused and justified in the words *DIGRESSU MAESTA SUPREMO* and the whole of the broken-hearted mother's address to the boy who reminded her so lively of her own deceased son. **And (3)**, we sympathize more than ever with the greatness of Andromache's surprise at the sight of the Trojans on the former occasion, and with her agonizing recollections of the alteration in her circumstances since she had last seen the same faces. We learn also at the same time more fully to appreciate the feeling of shame and self-abasement with which

“deiecit vultum, et demissa voce locuta est :
‘o felix,’” etc. —

If the reader is still not quite satisfied that in this part of the third book, no less than in its commencement and perhaps in the commencement of the fourth, the Hecuba of Euripides is continually flitting with more or less distinctness before the mind of our author, let him go on a little further and he will find Andromache inquiring concerning Ascanius :

“quid puer Ascanius ? superatne et vescitur aura ?
quem tibi iam Troia—
æqua tamen puero est amissæ cura parentis ?”

almost in the very words in which Hecuba inquires for Polydorus (vs. 934) :

πρωτον μεν ειπε παιδ', ου εξ εμης χερος,
Πολυδωρον, εκ τε πατρος εν δομοις εχεις,
ει ζη

ει της τεκουσης τησδε μεμνηται τι μου.

Even in these colder western climates and more refined and heartless times, mourning alone is a sufficient reason for confinement not merely to the house but even to the private chamber, and Donna Isabella's apology for appearing in public within two months after she has become a widow is not less poetically true than it is poetically beautiful (Schiller, *Brant von Messina*, 1) :

“ der noth gehorchend, nicht dem eignen trieb,
 tret' ich, ihr greisen haupter dieser stadt,
 heraus zu euch aus den verschwiegenen
 gemüchern meines frauensaals, das antlitz
 vor euren männerblicken zu entschleiern.
 denn es geziemt der wittwe, die den gatten
 verloren, ihres lebens licht und ruhm,
 die schwarz umflorte nachtgestalt dem aug'
 der welt in stillen mauern zu verbergen ;
 doch unerbittlich, allgewaltig treibt
 des augenblicks gebieterstimme mich
 an das entwohnte licht der welt hervor.”

Compare the account given by Claudian, in *Rufin.* 2. 427, of the women going out to see the punishment of Rufinus notwithstanding their doing so was an infringement of feminine decorum :

. . . “ vacuo plebs obvia muro,
 iam secura fluit. *Scutibus non obstitit actas,
 virginibusve pudor,*”

where we may say : “ senes non cedunt aetati, virgines non cedunt pudori.” Also the account given by the same author of the similar infringement of feminine decorum by the women crowding to see the triumphal procession of Theodosius with the young Honorius through the city, *3 Cons. Honor.* 126 :

“ quanti tum iuvenes, quantae spreere pudorem
 spectandi studio matres, puerisque severi
 certavere senes, cum tu genitoris amico
 exceptus gremio median veherere per urbem,
 velaretque pios communis laurea curtus !”

[i. e., “ matres non cessere pudori ”].

Exactly similar to the NEC CEDIT HONORI of our text is the “ non arcet honos ” of Rufinus, *Pasiph. Fab.* (ap. Wernsdorf, *Poet. Lat. Minor.*) :

“ filia solis
 aestuat igne novo,
 et per prata iuvenum,
 mentem perdita, quacritat.
 non illam thalami pudor arcet,
 non regalis honos, non magni cura mariti,”

and scarcely less similar, Mamertinus's "honori eius venerationique cedentes" (*Gratiarum actio Iuliano, 30*): "pene intra ipsas Palatinae domus valvas, lecticas consulares iussit inferri; et cum, *honori eius venerationique cedentes*, sedile illud dignitatis amplissimae recusaremus, suis hos prope manibus impositos mixtus agmini togatorum, praecire coepit pedes." Compare also Ovid, *Met. 10. 251* (of Pygmalion's statue):

"et, si non *obstet reverentia*, velle moveri"

[the statue cedit reverentiae (in Virgil's language, *cedit honori*) and does not move]. Also Plin. *II. N. 34. 5*: "*honor clientium instituit sic colere patronos*." Ovid, *Met. 7. 146*:

"sed te ne faceres *tenuit reverentia foveae*."

Juvenal, 1. 109:

. . . "expectent ergo Tribuni:
vincant divitiae: sacro *nec cedat honori*
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis,"

where the "honor" which is not ceded to is the Tribunicia potestas.

The Greeks use the corresponding Greek word *εικειν* when they wish to express the yielding to any affection or impulse of the mind, as Hom. *II. 10. 121*:

πολλακι γαρ μεθiei τε, και ουκ εθελει πονεεσθαι,
ουτ' οκνω εικων, ουτ' αφραδιησι νοοιο,
αλλ' εμε τ' εισορων, και εμην ποτιδεγμενος ορμην.

Ibid. 9. 109: συ δε σω μεγαλητορι θυμω ειξας. *10. 238*, αιδοι εικων. *Id. Od. 13. 143*:

. . . ειπερ τις σε βιη και καρτεϊ εικων
ουτι τιελ.

Ibid. 22. 287:

. . . μηποτε παμπαν
εικων αφραδιης μεγα ειπειν.

Ibid. 14. 262:

. . . υβρει ειξαντες, επισπομενοι μενεϊ σφω.

Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 138 (ed. Markl.) :

αλλ' ἰθ', ἐρεσσων σὸν ποδᾶ, γῆρα
μηδὲν υπείκων.

Herodot. ὁ. 15 : Ἀλεξάνδρος δέ, ὁ Ἀμυντεῶ, παρέων τε καὶ ὀρεῶν ταῦτα, ἀτε νεὸς τε εἶων καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἐτι κατεχεῖν οἴοσθε ἡν' ὥστε δὲ βαρεῶς φερῶν, εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμυντεᾶ ταδὲ· σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατέρ, εἴκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ, ἀπῶν τε ἀναπνεο, μῆδὲ λιπαρεε τῇ ποσει. It is, however, our author's own "ne noster honos infractave cedat fama loco," *Aen.* 7. 532, which establishes and places beyond all doubt the correctness of the above interpretation, the selfsame words being there used in the converse relation to express the converse thought, viz., the not yielding, not giving way, of the "honor" of the speaker. Compare also Claud. *Epigr.* 18. 3 :

"iusta quibus rapidae cessit reverentia flammæ."

PICTURATAS VESTES, TEXTILIBUS DONIS (vss. 483, 485). I understand, not as expressive of a variety of presents of the same kind over and above the Phrygian chlamys, but as descriptive of the one only present, the Phrygian chlamys. Compare *Aen.* 7. 248 : "Iliadumque labor vestes," where "vestes" is the one single dress or clothing which had been worn by Priam ; the dress which, inclusively with the sceptre and tiara, was the "gestamen Priami" (vs. 246). In both instances the plural number is used, as richer than the singular, the singular number being always poor unless where emphatic. Compare further 7. 251, where the plural "vestes" of vers. 248 is expressed again by the singular "purpura picta" (the singular here not being poor, as expressing the abstract idea, that of the whole class), and vs. 252, where the singular "sceptrum", of vs. 247 (not poor, because rendered plural by the adjoined "tiaras") is, for the sake of richness (where it stands alone and would, therefore, be poor as being singular), expressed by the plural "sceptræ."

SUBTEMINE AURI (vs. 483).—Compare Claud. *in Cons. Prob. et Olybr.* 177 :

“lactatur veneranda parens, et pollice docto
iam parat *auratas* trabecas, cinctusque micantes
stamine; quod molli tondent de stipite Seres,
frondea lanigeræ carpentes vellera sylvæ:
et longum tenues tractus producit in *aurum*,
filaque concreto cogit squalere metallo.”

ONERAT.—Not *loads his hands with the present*, but *loads his person with it, puts it on him, clothes him with it*, as the goddess Roma clothes Stilicho, Claud., *Laud. Stilich.* 2. 339:

. . . “dixit, gremioque rigentia profert
dona, graves auro trabecas.
tunc habiles armis humeros dea vestibis *ambit*
Romuleis.”

Compare Terent. *Phorm.* 5. 6. 4:

“sed ego nunc mihi cesso, qui non humerum hunc *onero* pallo.”

LONGUM (vs. 487).—Not “closely connected with TESTENTUR, and signifying *may long be a record of affection*” (Conington), but simply the epithet of AMOREM, and signifying *lasting*—Andromache’s lasting love.

500-511.

SI QUANDO—ARTUS

VAR. LECT. (vss. 502, 503).

[*punct.*, &c.]

EPIRO HESPERIAM ■■■ “(sc. propinquam) st. EPIRO, HESPERIA,” Voss.

PROPINQUOS, EPIRO, HESPERIA, ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Wakefield; Wagn.
(ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861).

PROPINQUOS EPIRO, HESPERIA, ■■■ Ladewig.

PROPINQUOS EPIRO HESPERIA, ■■■ Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; La Cerda
(interpreting in the same way as Heyne); D. Heins.; N. Heins.
(1670); Ribb.

PROPINQUOS • EPIRO HESPERIAM • ■ *Med.* (Fogg.)

SI QUANDO . . . NEPOTES (vss. 500-505).—As old, therefore, at least as the time of Virgil is the sentiment expressed by Caimarda in his *Discorso Preliminare* to his “*Appendice al Saggio di Grammatologia Comparata sulla lingua Albanese*,” p. 51: “ma nessuna potenza, a creder mio, finchè la Grecia non sia in grado di farsi valere, più dell’ Italia, rivendicatasi alla unita politica, ha diritto di proteggere l’ Albania, e direi quasi il dovere; essa che ospita circa centomila Albanesi, i quali dissodavano e popolarono molte sue terre incolte, ed in più maniere l’hanno servita in ogni tempo. Nè l’ Italia può dimenticare le molte relazioni che fino dai più remoti secoli, ed ai tempi angioini, ed anco in più recenti età, ebbe col vecchio e col nuovo Epiro, di cui vede i monti dalle sue spiagge sul Ionio, e sull’ Adriatico.” Prophesying, as usual, after the event, Virgil puts into the mouth of his hero the sentiment of his own time, a sentiment which, to judge from the passage just cited, has never ceased to exist both among Italians and Albanians from that time down to the present, and which, should only the Italian “unità” persist and thrive, can hardly fail at last to be fatal to all Ottoman suzerainty north of the Balkans.

MONTES UMBRANTUR OPACI (vs. 508).—“Eine prolepsis für ‘UMBRANTUR *ut* OPACI *essent*,’ ” Thiel, Forbiger, Jacob (*Quaest. Ep.*, p. 140). No; *opacus* is *shady*, i. e., *covered with trees*, exactly as *Georg. 1. 156*: “*ruris opaci falce premes umbram*,” where “*opaci*” can only be *shady*, i. e., *covered with trees*. Compare also *Tacit. Hist. 5. 6*: “*praecepuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum, fidumque nivibus*,” where “*opacum*” can only be *wooded*. The Homeric *ορεα σκιοεντα*, *Od. 7. 268*, and frequently elsewhere, is to be understood in the same way. So *Aen. 7. 36*: “*et laetus fluvio succedit opaco*” [*the river shady—with what? of course with trees*, specially mentioned at vss. 29 and 34]. Also *Ecl. 1. 53*: “*frigus captabis opacum*” [*the shady cool*, as if he had said *frigidam umbram*, or as he has actually said, *Ecl. 2. 8*: “*umbras et frigora*”]. And *Silius, 4. 741*: “*stagnis Thrasy-menius opacis*” [*the lake of Thrasymanus shady with trees*, as it is to this day]. The sense, then, is: “the sun sets and shade falls

upon the shady mountains"—the shade spoken of as falling upon the mountains being that shade which comes over the whole landscape the moment the sun sets, and which, the mountains being the most striking part of the landscape, especially as seen from the sea, is most striking on the mountains. It may well be questioned whether the epithet *shady*, so useful and effective in the passage above quoted from the first Georgic, is not here a mere stop-gap. If it had been necessary to inform the reader that the mountains were wooded, some other word should have been chosen, and a term avoided which causes a confusion in the mind between two shades which have nothing whatever to do with each other, the shade of the trees and the shade of the evening. The lapse, if I may be allowed to speculate, owes its origin to the running of the poet's mind on Homer's *ορεα σκιοευντα*.

UMBRANTUR, *επηλυαζονται*, for which word see Timaeus, *L.c. Platon*.

SORTITI REMOS (vs. 510).—"Per sortem divisi ad officia remigandi, qui esset proreta, quis pedem teneret," Servius. "Sortiti vices remorum, sive postquam, quibus proximo die vicibus remigaremus, sortiti eramus," Wagner (1861)—the old error of taking Virgil too much at his word, too literally. The meaning is not *casting lots for the oars* or *dividing the oars among them*, but *whose lot was the oar*, i. e., *we rowers*, SORTITI REMOS being equivalent to *remiges*, precisely in the same manner as the "sortiti diadema" of Prudentius (*Contra Sym. 1. 33* :

"estne ille e numero paucorum, qui *diadema*
sortiti aetheriac coluerunt dogma sophiae")

is equivalent to *reges*, and the "mortales animas sortita" of Hor. (*Sat. 2. 6. 93* :

. . . "terrestria quando
mortales animas vivunt sortita")

equivalent to *mortalia*. This use of *sortiri*, without any, even the slightest, reference to the actual casting of lots, is of as common occurrence as that of its root *sors*, and the corre-

sponding English *lot* without any such reference. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 11. 757 :

. . . “Priamusque novissima Troiae
tempora *sortitus*”

[“whose lot or chance it was to be the last king of Troy”]. Claud. *in sepulchro speciosae*, 3 :

“hic formosa iacet, Veneris *sortita* figuram”

[“whose lot it was to have a figure no less beautiful than Venus’s”]. Claud. *in Cons. Prob. et Olybr.* 154 :

“sed gravibus curis animum *sortita* senilem
igneae longaevo frænatur corde iuventus.”

Val. Flacc. 2. 482 :

. . . “hoc sortes, hoc corniger imperat Hammon,
virgineam damnare animam, *sortita*que Iethen
corpora.”

Manil. 1. 202 (ed. Paris, 1679) :

“est igitur tellus mediam *sortita* cavernam
aeris, et toto pariter sublata profundo.”

So also *Aen.* 9. 174 :

“omnis per muros legio, *sortita* periculum,
excubat :”

and Val. Flacc. 3. 70 :

. . . “nec porta ducem nec pone moratur
excubias *sortita* manus”

[not by any means “which had been appointed to the post by the actual casting of lots,” but “whose lot it was to occupy that post, who had been appointed to the post,” no matter whether by the command of a superior, or by rotation, or by right of preference, or by casting of lots, or by whatever other method].

Virgil’s “*sortiri*” is expressed by Homer and the Greek tragedians either by **μειρειν* and its compounds, or by *λαγχανειν*, as *Il.* 1. 278 :

. . . ουποθ’ ομοιης εμμορε τιμης
σκηπτουχος βασιλευς.

Od. 5. 334 :

... η πριν μεν εην βροτος αυδηεσσα,
νυν δ' αλος εν πελαγεσσι θεων εξεμμορε τιμης.

Ibid. 11. 303 : τιμην δε λελογχασ' ισα θεοισι. Eurip. *Hipp.* 79 (ed. Stokes) :

οσοις διδακτον μηδεν, αλλ' εν τη φυσει
το σωφρονειν ειληχεν εις τα παντ' αει.
τουτοις δρεπεσθαι, τοις κακοισι δ' ου θεμις.

And so even Xenoph. *Anab. 3. 3 :* μικρον δε υπνου λαχων [having got a little sleep, having slept a little]. Also Luc. *Evang. 1. 8 :* εγενετο δε εν τω ιερατευειν αυτον εν τη ταξει της εφημεριας αυτου εναντι του θεου, κατα το εθος της ιερατειας ελαχε του θυμιασαι, εισελθων εις τον ναον του κυριου. The converse Greek expression is *αμμορος* (*orbus*), as Eurip. *Heub. 421* (ed. Porson) :

ημεις δε πεντηκοντα γ' αμμοροι τεκνων.

The Italians use the word in precisely the same manner, as Guasco, *Delle Ornatrici* : “ in fatti quelle donne, che aveano *sortita* dalla natura una fronte troppo ampia, se non potevano co' capelli, la diminuivano con le fasce.” Metast. *Olimp. 2. 6 :*

“ felice il re di Creta,
che un tal figlio *sortì* !”

Id. *Temist. 3. sc. ult :*

... “ tutte perdono
le ingiurie alla Fortuna,
se avrò la tomba ove *sortì* la cuna.”

This junction of “*sortiri*” with REMOS was probably suggested by the junction made by the Greeks of *ναυς* with *κληρος*, and the expression SORTITI REMOS probably a translation of *ναυκληροι*—REMOS being used in the translation instead of *naves*, because the use of a part for the whole is more elegant, because the principal part of the sailor's business was rowing, and because rowing, being the most fatiguing part of the business of the sailor, supplied the best reason for OPTATAE TELLURIS, CORPORA CURAMUS, and FESSOS ARTUS. If the reader,

admitting that the above is the true interpretation of the expression SORTITI REMOS, should be inclined, notwithstanding, to disallow the analogy between that expression and *ναυκληροι* on the ground that *ναυκληρος* is more properly *ship-owner* than *sailor* ("Nauclerus dominus navis est appellatus quod navis in sorte eius sit, κληρος enim Græce sors dicitur," Isidor. 19. 1), [I reply that *nocchiero*, the Italian form of the word, means rather gubernator and nauta than dominus (*i. e.*, possessor) navis, and that we have the very expression *ναυκληρον πλατην* in Hesiod; and that even if *ναυκληρος* had been neither nauticus, nor nauta, but always dominus navis, the analogy had been little impaired, inasmuch as SORTITI REMOS might be equally well interpreted domini remorum, or as we might say in English, *oar-masters*, *lords of the oar*.

512-514.

NECDUM ORBEM MEDIUM NOX HORIS ACTA SUBIBAT
HAUD SEGNIS STRATO SURGIT PALINURUS ET OMNES
EXPLORAT VENTOS ATQUE AURIBUS AERA CAPTAT

VAR. LECT.

HORIS ■■■ Brunck : Voss ; Lad. : Ribb.

HORIS ■■■ P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne : Wakefield ; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and ed. 1861).

HORIS ACTA : "per horas decurrens," Servius, Wagner, Forbiger. No; under the command of the Hours, as an army under the command of a general; governed, marshalled, by the Hours. See Rem. on 4. 245, and compare *Ecl.* 8. 17 :

" nascere, praeque diem veniens age, Lucifer, alnum."

As Lucifer "agit diem," marshals, commands, the day, in the same manner as a general his troops (Lucifer, however, not only commanding as a general, but preceding as a general or leader (*dux*)—"præveniens agit;" compare "ducebatque diem," *Æn.* 2. 802), so the "Horæ agunt noctem," and *nox* is *ACTA HORIS*. Compare also *Georg.* 1. 352: "agentes frigora ventos" [*having the cold under their command; commanding cold, driving cold*, or, as more prosaically expressed by Ovid, *Mét.* 1. 56, *making cold*, "facientes frigora ventos"]. Also Sall. *Bell. Jug.* 2: "animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur" [*i. e., does, manages, rules, commands all things*, "treibt alles"]. I need scarcely point out the near affinity of this to the more ordinary meaning of *agere*, *to drive, impel*; commanding and leading by a general being no more than a species of driving. Accordingly, *actus* in the expressions "acti fati," 1. 36; "tempestatibus acti," 7. 199; "acta furore gravi," 10. 63, might almost, perhaps quite, as correctly be interpreted *commanded by, marshalled by, under the command, control, and impulsion of, as driven by* fates, tempests, fury.

EXPLORAT VENTOS, ATQUE AURIBUS AERA CAPTAT.—"Forscht er die wind", und fängt mit lauschendem ohre die kühling," Voss. No, no; Palinurus does not either listen to the sound of the sea, nor for a gale, but turns his ear in every direction in order to *feel* with it, or hear with it (no matter which), in what point the wind is blowing. Turning his ear in one direction he feels no wind on it, hears no wind in it; turning it in another direction, he feels no wind on it, hears no wind in it; continuing to turn it in various directions he at last feels or hears, or rather both feels and hears, the wind blowing on it, and so knows that the wind is coming from that quarter toward which his ear is turned. This is *capture*; not *to catch*, but *to try to catch, to move in various directions in search of; to woo*, as for want of a more appropriate term we say in English. Compare (*α*), Ovid, *Mét.* 10. 58 (of Orpheus striving to catch, making repeated efforts to catch, Eurydice in his arms):

"brachiaque intendens, prædique et prendere captans
nil nisi cedentes infelix arripit auras"

[seeking, making various efforts, to catch and to be caught].
(b), *Eel. 1. 51* :

. . . "hie inter flumina nota
et fontes sacros frigus *captabis* opacum"

[wilt seek to catch the shady cool, wilt woo the shady cool].
(c), *Georg. 1. 375* :

. . . "bucula caelum
suspiciens patulis *captavit* naribus auras"

[sought to catch the air with her nostrils, caught at the air with
her nostrils, wooed the air with her nostrils]. (d), Ovid, *Met.*
11. 767 :

"non agreste tamen, nec inexpugnabile Amori
pectus habens, sylvas *captatam* saepe per omnes
aspicit Hesperien patria Cebrenida ripa,
iniectos humeris siccantem sole capillos"

[often sought to be caught (often chased, wooed) through all
the woods]. (e), Plaut. *Amph. 656* (ed. Bothe), Alemena to
Amphitr. :

"tu si me impudicitia*l* *captas*, *capere* non potes"

[if you *try to catch* me on a charge of impurity, you cannot
catch me]. And so (f), Erasmus correctly, *Colloq. Conviv.*
Fabul. : "rex, intellecto furo, 'quid,' inquit, 'an tu me facies
canem?' Iussit tolli hominem, ac pro *captatis* quadraginta coro-
natis infligi quadraginta plagas" [which he had tried to catch].

Finally, (g), Senec. *Epist. 103* : "quid ista circumspicis,
quae tibi possunt fortasse evenire, sed possunt et non evenire,
incidentium dico ruinam? Aliqua nobis incidunt, non insidi-
antur : illa potius vide, illa devita, quae nos observant, quae nos
captant" [strive to catch us]. AURIBUS AERA CAPTAT is thus
the explanation of OMNES EXPLORAT VENTOS, or if you please
rather OMNES EXPLORAT VENTOS is a theme of which AURIBUS
AERA CAPTAT is the variation. The repetition of effort which is
expressed in the one clause by OMNES is expressed in the other
by the frequentative CAPTAT.

517-519.

ARMATUM—MOVEMUS

ARMATUM AURO ORIONA.—Compare Sen. *Here. Fur.* 1? (Juno soliloquizing):

“*ferro minaci hinc terret Orion deos.*”

POSTQUAM CUNCTA VIDET CAELO CONSTARE SERENO (vs. 518).—No sign of change in the serene sky, the sky serene and without sign of change; in other words, the fair weather likely to be *constant*. Constare is *to remain the same, not to falter or give sign of change, to be settled*; constat, *it is agreed on*; *it is settled*.

CASTRA MOVEMUS (vs. 519).—Not with Forbiger to be understood literally, but as the ordinary metaphorical expression for *setting out, decamping*. See Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 125 (of bees setting out): “*cum cerea reges castra movent*;” and Ovid, *Met.* 13. 611 (of birds setting out): “*quarto seducunt castra volatu.*” This view has been approved by Conington.

520-531.

VELORUM—MINERVAE

VELORUM PANDIMUS ALAS.—Not (with Heyne) “*extremas VELORUM partes, lacinias, angulos,*” because it is not usual to expand the sails to the uttermost immediately at first setting out; but, metaphorically, *sail-wings, wing-like sails, sails resembling wings*, as if he had said: “*expand our wings,*” *i. e.*, “*our*

sails;" and so Isid. *Orig.* 19. 3: "apud Latinos autem *vela* a volatu dicta; unde est illud: VELORUM PANDIMUS ALAS." Compare Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 628:

εὐκοσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ παντοπόροιο,

where νηὸς πτερὰ are the sails; Lucret. 4. 391:

"quos agimus præter navem, *relisque volamus*:"

and, exactly parallel to our text, Prop. 4. 6. 47:

"nec te quod classis centenis remigat *alis*
terreat."

The same figure (that of young birds attempting to fly) is preserved in both clauses of our text; as if Virgil had said "PANDIMUS ALAS et TENTAMUS volare." The converse metaphor, viz., that of rowing with wings, will be found, *Aen.* 1. 305, "remigio alarum;" and that of sailing with wings, Milton, *Par. Lost*, 5. 266:

. . . "down thither prone in flight
he speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
sails between worlds and worlds, *with steady wing*;"

OBSCUROS (vs. 522), *dimly seen; scarcely distinguishable*, as Lucan, 3. 7: "dubios montes." Compare also *Aen.* 6. 453:

"*obscuram* [Didonem], qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt, aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,"

where see Rem.

HUMILEM ITALIAM.—"Ad Castrum Minervæ appellant Troiani, sub Hydrunto, quo loco planum et molle littus; hinc HUMILEM ITALIAM. Sive quia procul ex alto visentibus terra semper humilis videtur. Cf. supra, v. 77," Heyne, ed. Wagner. Both explanations wrong. Italy is called "humilis" in comparison with the mountainous shore they had just left, verse 506. The common passage to and from Greece was in this situation in the time of Virgil (compare verse 506), and therefore Italy seemed "humilis" to the travellers in his time, viz., by con-

trast with the opposite shore. The identical term is applied to Italy by Dante's Virgil, *Inferno*, 1. 106—according to Landino and Venture in the same sense as in, and in imitation of, our text, but much more probably, with Lombardi and Megalotti, in the sense of *humiliated, depressed* (in the moral point of view), *humble*. Dante's words are:

“ di quell' *umile* Italia fia salute,
per cui morì la vergine Camilla,
Euriolo, e Turno, e Niso di ferute,”

where “*fia salute*” seems to place the moral sense of “*umile*” almost beyond doubt. Nor is it very unlikely that Dante, who has elsewhere so much mistaken our author's meaning (see Rem. on “*auri sacra fames*,” 3. 56), may have supposed that in applying the term “*umile*” in this sense to Italy he was applying it in the very sense in which “*humilis*” had been applied to Italy by his master.

ITALIAM PRIMUS CONCLAMAT ACHATES (vs. 523).—CONCLAMAT, *cries out with all his might*.

FERTE VIAM VENTO FACILEM (vs. 529), *theme*; SPIRATE SECUNDI, *variation*. See Rem. on 4. 611.

TEMPLUMQUE APPARET IN ARCE MINERVAE (vs. 531).—The interpunctuation of the Medicean between ARCE and MINERVAE is incorrect, the structure not being TEMPLUM MINERVAE APPARET IN ARCE, but TEMPLUM APPARET IN ARCE MINERVAE—*Arx Minervae* (“*Arx Minervae et Minervium et Castrum Minervae*,” Cluver. 4; in Peutinger's map, *Castra Minerve*, [*sic*]) being the name of the place. ARCE must, therefore, be written with a capital A. The punctuation of the Medicean being retained, and the structure TEMPLUM MINERVAE APPARET IN ARCE being adopted, the place is not named at all, *quod absurdum*.

530-536.

CREBRESCEUNT OPTATAE AURAE PORTUSQUE PATESCIT
 IAM PROPIOR TEMPLUMQUE APPARET IN ARCE MINERVAE
 VELA LEGUNT SOCI ET PRORAS AD LITTORA TORQUENT
 PORTUS AB EUROO FLUCTU CURVATUS IN ARCUM
 OBIECTAE SALSA SPUMANT ASPERGINE CAUTES
 IPSE LATET GEMINO DEMITTUNT BRACHIA MURO
 TURRITI SCOPULI REFUGITQUE A LITTORE TEMPLUM

This passage affords a striking proof of the truth of a principle I have so often insisted on (see Remm. on l. 150; 5. 515-602) as necessary to be borne in mind by the readers of Virgil, viz., that Virgil is apt to take his objects in an order directly the reverse of that in which they would be taken by a writer of the present day; in other words, follows a directly reverse train or sequence of thought, describing or narrating last that which a modern writer would have described or narrated first. Here, for instance, a modern writer would have told you, first, that the harbour of Arx Minervae was a semicircular bay hollowed out in the land by the force of the sea from the east; that this harbour was hid from the view of those approaching from the sea, by rocks which protected it from the waves; that on the landward side of the harbour the ground was very high and crowned by the "Arx" and temple of Minerva; that the ground on each side of the harbour fell or sloped downwards to the sea, and was surmounted by a double wall; and then, only, would he have told you that Aeneas and his comrades made this port and landed. Virgil, on the contrary, tells you that Aeneas and his comrades see the temple of Arx Minervae from the sea, enter the port, which as they approach widens out before them, and land. Having thus accomplished the main object, the safe landing on the Italian shore, in the port of Arx Minervae, and so put his hearers out of suspense, he turns about and begins

leisurely to tell them what kind of a port the port of *Arx Minervae* was: *PORTUS AB EUROO . . . TEMPLUM*. Hence the previous *PORTUS PATESCIT* and the subsequent *IPSE LATET*, a *νῆερον προτέρων* on which the commentators have not failed to stumble and break their shins; Donatus (ap. Servium) substituting *patet* for *LATET*, and Wagner (in ed. Heyn.) interpreting *LATET* in a sense in which I scarcely think he will find many ready to agree with him, viz., that of *hid from the winds*, as if the winds were looking out for the port, trying to find out where the port was: “*quomodo LATET PORTUS quem iam intraverunt, vers. 532 ? et repugnare videtur etiam vers. 530, PORTUSQUE PATESCIT. LATET significat longe reductus est a ventis, et ita tutam navibus præbet stationem.*”

OBIECTÆ SALSA SPUMANT ASPERGINE CAUTES.—Approaching from the sea, you see only the *OBIECTÆ CAUTES* with the waves dashing on them. The port is ensconced snug behind—*IPSE LATET*.

DEMITTUNT BRACHIA SCOPULI.—The high rocky ground on the landward side of the port, in other words, at the head of the port landwards, descending on each side of the port with a rapid inclination toward the sea, seems to embrace the port with its arms; these *BRACHIA*, converging where they reach the sea and there protecting the harbour from the waves, become there identical with the *CAUTES* of verse 534.

GEMINO BRACHIA MURO.—On the top of each “brachium” is a double wall. Ausonius speaking of Milan, *Ord. Nobil. Urb. 5. 3*, says:

. . . “*tum duplici muro
amplificata loci species.*”

The double wall extending from the port of Athens to the city is well known. Conington understands both *BRACHIA* and *MURO* to be spoken of the rocks.

TURRITI (vs. 536).—“*In modum, in similitudinem, turrium,*” Servius. No; *turritus* never has this meaning; is always, when literal, *with towers on the top*; when metaphorical, as when applied to a head-dress, *with something resembling towers on the top*. In our text it is literal: the *SCOPULI* are called *TURRITI*

because crowned with the *arc* and temple of Minerva. See 8. 693: “*turritis puppibus*” [turreted ships, *i.e.*, ships with turrets on their decks.] Lucret. 5. 1301 (ed. Wakefield):

“inde boves Lucas, *turrito corpore*, tetros,
anguimano, belli docuerunt vulnere Poeni
sufferre, et magnas Martis turbare catervas”

[elephants with turrets on their backs]. Hirt. *de B. Afr.* 30: “*elephantisque turritis . . . ante aciem instructis*” [turreted elephants, *i.e.*, with turrets on their backs]. TURRITI SCOPULI, therefore, *cliffs surmounted with towers*, viz., the towers of the *arc* and the temple of Minerva.

DEMITTUNT, REFUGIT (vv. 535 and 536).—In the foreground the BRACHIA are sent down, come down, to the sea; in the background the temple retires from the shore. The two verbs are parallel to each other, and Servius’s gloss on REFUGIT (“*aedificia vicina littoribus longe intuenti videntur in mari, quae accedentibus quasi recedere et retro se agere putantur*”) is to be summarily rejected; first, because not agreeable to fact; secondly, because declared so by DEMITTUNT, which tells you that the BRACHIA do not appear to retreat from the water’s edge, but, on the contrary, to come down to it; and thirdly, because the use of *refugere* to express backward position, the background, as we say, is of the commonest, as Lucan, 10. 132:

“*refugosque gerens a fronte capillos*”

[the hair turned back], and—quoted by Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 3. 12—

“*refugere oculi; corpus macie entabuit*”

[the eyes were sunk in their orbits]. Compare also Champfleury, “Grandeur et Décadence d’une Serinette:” “pâle, blond, les yeux inquiets, le crâne *fugant* et se développant en pointe, M. Peinte marchait des épaules, la tête inclinée sur l’épaule droite.” In neither case, neither of the temple nor of the BRACHIA, is apparent motion meant, only apparent position, viz., that the temple is behind and farther off, and on gradually

rising ground; the BRACHIA in front, nearer, and sloping downward toward the sea, and, when they reach the sea, converging so as to enclose and protect the port.

The picture is of a harbour so land-locked or re-entrant as not to be visible from the sea. The enclosing land on the side next the sea is rocky, and lashed by the waves. On the opposite, inner, or landward side of the harbour, the land rises high and rocky, and is crowned by a temple. From this highest point the ground enclosing the harbour on each side falls towards the sea, and is surmounted by a double wall.

HOSPITA (vs. 539).—See Rem. on vs. 377.

544-562.

EXCEPIT—CONTORSI'

EXCEPIT OVANTES.—Compare Aesch. *Suppl.* 217 (Chorus of Danaïdes just arrived in Greece from Egypt):

CHOR. τιν' οὖν κικλησκω τῶνδε δαίμονων ἐτι;

DANAUS. ὀρω τριαῖναν τῆνδε, σημεῖον θεοῦ.

CHOR. ἀλλ' εὐ τ' ἐπεμψεν, εὐ τε δεξασθῶ χθονί.

CORNUA VELATARUM OBVERTIMUS ANTENNARUM, GRAIUGENUMQUE DOMOS SUSPECTAQUE LINQUIMUS ARVA (vv. 549, 550).—The rigging, and of course the evolutions, of Aeneas's vessels correspond with those of the so-called Latin rigged boats (*barche Latine*) which are to be seen in all the ports of the Mediterranean Sea at the present day. In these boats it is not the mast but the antenna which is the principal object, the antenna being not only much longer than the mast, often as much as half as long again, but carrying the one only sail, which in

proportion to the vessel is very large; and the mast being little more than a mere prop for the antenna, a mere pivot on which the antenna is to turn. Neither does the sail clothe the whole of the antenna, but leaves the long or slenderer extremity or end, the cornu, bare—one end of the antenna (viz., that which is usually bound down to the prow or bow of the vessel) being always thick and heavy, and the other end, viz., that which stands out entirely beyond the sail, and even beyond the vessel itself, and which has generally a sloping direction upwards, being light and slender, and tapering to a point. With what propriety this sharp extremity of the antenna was called cornu, those can best judge who have seen, in the port of Leghorn or Genoa, a little fleet of these vessels moored along the pier, each with the stern turned towards land, and the long and taper extremity of the antenna (resembling the horn of the unicorn in the British arms) pointing upwards and landwards.

CORNUA.—The plural number is apt to suggest the false notion of more than one cornu to each antenna. There was, however, only one cornu to each antenna, and one antenna, as there was also only one mast and one sail, to each vessel; a second mast or second sail (other than a mere jib) being exceptional in the Latin rigging, and the plural being used in our text only because there were many vessels, and therefore many antennae.

OBVERTIMUS, *turn toward*, viz., toward the land, because the horn of the antenna, always pointing toward the stern (see above), must necessarily point toward the land when the vessels make for sea; and Aeneas and his companions having only just landed, the vessels were standing, not as if they had been moored, viz., with their sterns toward the land, as we see the Latin-rigged vessels standing in the port of Leghorn or Genoa, but just as they had arrived, viz., with their bows toward the land and their sterns toward the sea. It was therefore necessary, before they could set sail, to turn them round, *i. e.*, to turn them so that their bows would face the sea, and their sterns the land, and this is precisely the evolution described in the words OBVER-

TIMUS CORNUA ANTENNARUM—the CORNUA of the antennae not only turning towards the shore when the bows of the vessels turned towards the sea, but, on account of their height and length, being the part which turned most, and most conspicuously.

But there is a still further meaning contained in the passage. The Trojans not only turn the horns of their antennae towards the shore which they are leaving, but they turn them towards GRAUGENUM DOMOS SUSPECTAEQUE ARVA; in other words, they make their retreat, with their faces turned towards the enemy, *presenting their horns to the enemy*—"cornua hosti obvertunt." Compare Plaut. *Pseud.* 4. 3. 3 :

"nimisque ego illum hominem metuo et formido male,
ne malus item erga me sit, ut erga illum fuit.
ne in re secunda nunc mihi *obvertat cornua*."

Apul. *de Magia*, 81 : "superest ea pars epistolae, quae similiter pro me scripta in memetipsum *vertit cornua*." And Horace, *Epod.* 6. 11 :

"cave, cave; namque in malos asperimus
parata *tollo cornua*."

Hence OBVERTIMUS is *turn towards the enemy*, the object against which they turn their CORNUA being omitted, as 9. 622 : "nervo-que *obversus* equino." If the meaning had been *turn towards the sea*, it is probable the object towards which they turned their CORNUA would not have been omitted. Compare 6. 3 :

"obvertunt *pelago* proras."

HINC SINUS HERCULEI, SI VERA EST FAMA, TARENTI CERNITUR.—Wordsworth has :

"hence we behold the bay that bears the name
of proud Tarentum, proud to share the fame
of Hercules, though by a dubious claim."

No ; the structure is not HINC CERNITUR SINUS TARENTI, for the bay of Tarentum could not be seen from the port of Castrum Minervae, but HINC, *after leaving this place*, or *next after leaving*

this place, SINUS TARENTI CERNITUR, the bay of Tarentum is seen by us. Compare Aen. 8. 342 :

“ *hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal* ”

[*next he points out the great grove, &c.*] ; and (exactly parallel) Cicero, *de Nat. Deor. 2. 44* : “ Capiti autem Equi proxima Aquarii dextra, totusque deinceps Aquarius. . . *Hinc autem aspicitur*

“ *ut sese ostendens emergit Scorpius alte* ”

. . . Deinde Delphinus. . . Quem subsequens

“ *fervidus ille Canis stellarum luce refulget.* ”

Post Lepus subsequitur” (where “*hinc*” is not *from this place*, but *next after this*).

ET GEMITUM . . . ARENAE (vv. 555-557).—The grandest description with which I am acquainted of perhaps the grandest object in nature, the roaring of an agitated sea. The third book of the Aeneid, lavishly interspersed with these fine descriptive sketches of natural objects and scenery, affords rest and refreshment to the reader's mind between the intensely, almost painfully, concentrated dramatic actions of the second and fourth books. A similar effect is produced by the interposition of the Iudi of the fifth book between the fourth and sixth.

The GEMITUM INGENTUM PELAGI is termed by a living poet (1847) in a fine line, and with a happy extension of the ordinary metaphor, “l'hurlo che manda la bocca del mar.” See *Canti Livici di G. Prati* (of Riva, on the Lago di Garda in the Italian Tyrol), Milano, 1843.

FRACTASQUE AD LITTORA VOCES.—The structure is not FRACTAS AD LITTORA, but VOCES AD LITTORA ; the voices or sounds were not *broken on, or against, the shore*, but there were *at the shore broken* (i. e., *hoarse*) sounds. Compare *Georg. 4. 71* :

“ *auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum.* ”

Juv. 2. 111 :

“ *hic turpis Cybeles et fracta rec loquendi
libertas.* ”

Mart. Capell. 9. 889: "Mars eminus conspicatus nuptias tenero cum admirationis obtutu languidiore *fractior voce* laudavit, profundaque visus est traxisse suspiria."

AESTU MISCENTUR ARENAE.—Precisely the "furit aestus arenis" of l. 111, where see Rem.

CONTORSIT (vs. 562), *turned with all his might*. See Remm. on 2. 52; 6. 634. According to the strength necessary to be employed on the occasion, our author sometimes uses the simple verb *torquere*, sometimes the compound *contorquere*, to express the act of turning the rudder round, whether to starboard or to port. At the first arrival on the coast of Italy, the sea being calm and the wind gentle (CREBRESUNT OPTATAE AURAE), he uses the simple verb:

VELA LEGUNT SOCI ET PRORAS AD LITTORA TORQUENT.

In our text, on the contrary, the sea being exceedingly agitated,

EXULTANTQUE VADA ATQUE AESTU MISCENTUR ARENAE.

and the sailors alarmed by the neighbourhood of Charybdis, he uses the stronger expression. Nor is the force employed shown by the use of the compound only; the epithet *rudentem* expresses the effect of that force upon the rudder, which is so strained as to make a loud noise, to *bray*, as we say.

567-589.

ASTRA—UMBRAM

ASTRA, not *the stars*, for it is broad day, but *the sky, the heavens*; ASTRA RORANTIA, *the dripping sky*. See Rem. on "astra," 5. 517.

CANDENTE (vs. 573), *glowing*. Compare Claud. *Epith. Honor. et Mariae*, 8:

. . . "quoties incanduit ore,
confessus secreta, rubor!"

where—redness being expressed by “*rubor*”—“*incanduit*” must mean something else than *grew red*: “*rubor incanduit*” must mean *redness glowed*. So *Aen.* 9. 563: “*candenti corpore cygnum*,” a swan of a glowing (*white*) body. *Aen.* 6. 896: “*candenti elephanto*,” glowing (*white*) ivory. *Hor. Od.* 1. 2: “*candentes humeros*,” glowing (*white*) shoulders. *Hor. Sat.* 2. 6. 102:

. . . “*rubro ubi cocco
tineta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos*,”

the cloth, dyed with red cochineal, glowed; and so in our text, *CANDENTE FAVILLA*, *ashes glowing (red)*.

GLOMERAT (vs. 577).—Not *forms into a ball*—as shown by Ovid’s finding it necessary to add “*in orbes*” to “*glomerat*” in order to express that idea, *Met.* 6. 19:

“*sive rudem primos lanam glomerabat in orbes*”—

but *throws up rapidly one after the other, so rapidly that the objects thrown up seem to be added to each other so as to form one body*, the essential notion of *glomerare* being *to form into one by successive addition*. Compare *Aen.* 2. 315: “*glomerare manum*,” not *to form a round band*, but *to form a band by successive additions*. Also Ovid, *Met.* 14. 212: “*et frustra mero glomerata vomentem*,” *piece after piece, in quick succession, and mixed with wine*. So “*glomerare gressus*,” *Sil.* 12. 517, *to take step after step, to add one step to another, to take a great number of steps in succession*.

FUNDOQUE EXAESTUAT IMO (vs. 577).—These words constitute the grand winding up, the completion of the picture, carrying the reader back beyond the two divisions *INTERDUM* and *INTERDUM*, to the commencing statement, *HORRIFICIS IUXTA TONAT AETNA RUINIS*. And such is the way in which Virgil’s most elaborate sentences are usually wrought, the last clause, though in strict grammar connected only with the clause immediately preceding, having yet a connexion in the sense with the outsetting statement or thesis, and so winding up and rounding the whole. In like manner *CAELUM SUBTEXERE FUMO*, verse 582, though in grammatical strictness connected only with *INTREMERE OMNEM MURMURE TRINACRIAM*, refers back past that clause to *AETNAM RUPTIS EXSPIRARE CAMINIS*, with which, and not with

INTREMERE OMNEM MURMURE TRINACRIAM, it would have been placed in connexion by an English writer, who instead of saying that Enceladus's flames burst out through Etna, and as often as he turned, all Trinacria shook and sent up a cloud of smoke, would have said, "the flames and smoke proceeding from the body of Enceladus burst out through Etna, and every time he turned the whole island shook." In other words, an English writer would have been sure that his readers would have understood him literally if he had said, "Etna threw out the fire, and all Trinacria threw out the smoke." It will be observed that in both the passages not only the sense, but the grammar, remains perfect, if—all the intermediate and filling-up parts being left out—the concluding is subjoined immediately to the commencing clause :

. . . HORRIFICIS IUNTA TONAT AETNA RUINIS
 FUNDOQUE EXAESTUAT IMO.
 AETNAM
 IMPOSITAM RUPTIS FLAMMAM EXSPIRARE CAMINIS
 ET CAELUM SUBTEXERE FUMO.

Compare the exactly similar structure, *Aen.* 5. 820 :

"*subsident undae, tumidumque sub axe tonanti
 sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi,*"

where the sense and grammar are both complete, the words in Roman type being left out. See also Remm. on 1. 483; 3. 317; 4. 483.

INSUPER AETNAM IMPOSITAM RUPTIS FLAMMAM EXSPIRARE CAMINIS (vv. 579, 580).—The sense is, not that Etna in its present form (*i. e.*, hollowed out and having a passage through it by which the fire might escape) was placed on the top of Enceladus, but that Etna, while it was still a solid mountain, was placed on the top of Enceladus, and that the flames proceeding from him burst a passage through it; *rumpebant caminos*—*burst out and flamed through the sides of the mountain*, as the fire sometimes bursts and breaks out through the sides of a furnace or stove. The image is the more correct, inasmuch as the eruptions of Etna, as well as of other volcanoes, are apt not to follow the track of previous eruptions, but to make new open-

ings for themselves through the solid sides of the mountain. Compare *Georg.* 4. 556 :

“ stridere apes utero et *raptis* effervere costis.”

Also Stat. *Theb.* 12. 275 (of the lamentations of Ceres) :

“ illius insanis ululatus ipso remugit
Enceladus, *raptoque* vias illuminat igni,”

a finer passage than Virgil's, inasmuch as it is more abstract, no mention at all being made of the real mountain, but only of the mythical source of the flames. Statius's greatly neglected poem abounds with such fine passages, spoiled, however, frequently, like our own Young's, by the immediate juxtaposition of some extravagance. There is nothing finer in Virgil than

“ Persephonen amnes, silvae, freta, nubila clamant ;
Persephonen tantum Stygii tacet aula mariti.”

CAELUM SUBTEXERE (vs. 582).—Goethe has applied the same idea figuratively with great effect, *Egmont*, act 4 : “ seit der zeit ist mir's als wäre der himmel mit einem schwarzen flor überzogen.”

NOCTEM ILLAM TECTI SILVIS IMMANIA MONSTRA PÉRFERIMUS.—Compare Plin. *Ep.* 6. 20 (of the similar volcano of Vesuvius) : “ multa tibi miranda, multas formidines patimur.”

NEC LUCIDUS AETHRA SIDEREA POLUS.—“ AETHRA SIDEREA per splendorem aetheris,” Servius, also Wunderlich. “ NEC LUCIDUS POLUS AETHRA SIDEREA, *h. e.*, sideribus ; nec caelum stellis fulgentibus lucebat,” Heyne, Wagn. (ed. Heyn.) The meaning of sidereus not being *consisting of stars, studded with stars*, but (see Rem. on “sideream in sedem,” 10.3) *radiant, light-giving, like a star or constellation of stars*, the interpretation of Heyne and Wagner is false, and that of Servius and Wunderlich, however insufficient the argument of the latter in support of it (*viz.*, “Hanc interpretationem usus coniunctionum NEQUE—NEC postulat”), alone correct. SIDEREA, *light-giving, radiant* ; AETHRA, *clearness, serenity of the sky* ; SIDEREA AETHRA, *light-giving clearness, or serenity of the sky*, perhaps, and very probably, the magnetic light (of which the aurora borealis is a

form) of the moderns. The entire sense of the passage thus is: "There was neither moon nor stars, not even the radiancy of the sky (magnetic light), but the night was dark and the sky covered with clouds." In like manner, *αιθριος*, as appellative of Jupiter, is *free from rain and clouds, clear, serene*, Theocr. *Idyll. 4. 43*:

χὼ Ζεὺς ἀλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθριος, ἀλλοκα δ' υἱ

[“etiam Iupiter modo serenus est, modo pluit”].

NOX INTEMPESTA (vs. 587), precisely the *Νύξ Κατουλας* of Apollonius Rhodius (4. 1694):

αὐτὶκα δὲ Κρηταῖον ὑπερ μέγα λαιμα θεοντας
 νύξ εφοβεί, τὴν περ τε Κατοῦλα δα κικλησκουσί,
 νυκτ' ὀλοήν· οὐχ ἄστρα διῖσχανεν, οὐκ ἀμαρναί
 μηνῆς. οὐρανοθεν δὲ μέλαν χάος, ἥε τις ἀλλή
 ὥρωρει σκοτιῇ μυχάτων ἀνίουσα βερεθρων.

POSTERA IAMQUE DIES PRIMO SURGEBAT EOO (vs. 588), theme;
 HUMENTEMQUE AURORA POLO DIMOVERAT UMBRAM, variation.

591-595.

NOVA—ARMIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 595).

ET ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Voss; Iad.; Ribb. (who stigmatizes the whole verse).

UT ■■■ Wakefield.

NOVA, *new* in the sense of *strange, uncounted, never before seen*, exactly as 3. 181, “*novo errore*,” *a new error, an error of which the person had never before been guilty*. See Rem. on 3. 181.

SUPPLEXQUE TENDIT MANUS (vs. 592).—Compare Thueyd.

3. 58: *καὶ χειρὰς προῖσχομενους* (ο δὲ νομος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τοὺτους).

DIRA ILLUVIES . . . GRAIUS (vv. 593-594).—The account of the man's appearance, suspended at CULTU, in order to tell you what the man did, and to break by the introduction of action the uniformity of mere description of the person, is resumed in these words, containing an exact specification of the "cultus." This is according to our author's usual habit. See Rem. on l. 151 ("atque rotis," etc.)

CONSERTUM (vs. 594), *put together, fastened*. The parts of which his dress consisted were attached to each other not, as usual, with studs or buttons, but, as among the Indians still, and among the aborigines of whatever country, with skewers, in the same way as the parts of fowl and other kinds of meat are attached to each other by the butcher at the present day. Compare Ammian, 14. 8: "huic Arabia est *conserta*, ex alio latere Nabataeis contigua."

ET QUONDAM PATRIIS AD TROIAM MISSUS IN ARMIS.—"Rescuisset haec poeta, si licuisset retractare; potuit enim ea res ipsi nota esse, Aeneae nondum potuit," Wagner (*Praest.*) "Die worte erhalten nur dadurch ihren richtigen sinn, wenn wir sie als eine subjective bemerkung, die erst der erzählung vom erzählenden beigefügt wird, auffassen," Kappes, *zur Erklärung von Virgil's Aeneide*. Virgil not having cut out the verse, as he no doubt would have done had he had the advantage of Wagner's criticism, but left it in its place to puzzle posterity, it is posterity's task to try and understand it. Is it, with Kappes, a mere prolepsis, or is it, with Ladewig, a guess which Aeneas and the Trojans make on seeing Achaemenides, an attempt to explain to themselves the apparition? If the former, it renders Achaemenides' own words, verse 602:

SCIO ME DANAIΣ Ε CLASSIBUS UNUM,
ET BELLO ILIACOS FATEOR PETISSE PENATES,

a *fade* repetition, without interest either for Dido or for Virgil's readers, both having previously had from Aeneas's own mouth all the information they convey. It is, therefore, more

probably the latter, and to be regarded as standing in the closest connexion with GRAIUS: "we take him for a Greek in distress, and wandering about after having been at Troy, one of the unfortunate shipwrecked survivors of that expedition." It is the practice of Aeneas—whether the practice is right or not is another question—thus to anticipate, and to use his later acquired knowledge for the purpose of explaining his narrative and making it more interesting to his hearers. See, *ex. gr.*, 2. 17-20, 31, 60, 106, 129, 152, 195, &c.

605-621.

SPARGITE—ULLI

SPARGITE ME IN FLUCTUS, theme; VASTO IMMERGITE PONTO, variation.

SPARGITE ME IN FLUCTUS.—"*Dilacerate*; et quia nec saevius nec celerius aliquid fieri potest, nova brevitate usus est," Servius. "Discerptum dispergite," Heyne, Thiel. "Streut in die fluth mich umher," Voss. "'Spargere' est lacerare," Peerlkamp. No; or "abreptum divellere corpus" added to "spargere," *Aen.* 4. 600, as well as the "discerptum" added to "sparsere," *Georg.* 4. 522, were superfluous. Spargere is simply *to fling, to throw*, viz., with the action with which seed is thrown out of the hand, or with which anything is flung or thrown utterly away. Compare Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1410 (ed. Brunck), Oedipus, of himself:

. . . έξω με που
καλυψατ', η φονευσατ', η θαλασσιον
εκριψατ', ενθα μηποτ' εισοψεσθ' επι.

SI PEREO, HOMINUM MANIBUS PERIISSE IUVABIT.—That the sentiment is SI PEREO, IUVABIT PERIISSE HOMINUM MANIBUS, not SI PEREO HOMINUM MANIBUS, IUVABIT PERIISSE, is shown both

by the better sense, and by the apparent imitation of Saint Ambrose, *Ep. 1. 19* : “Si pereundum est, iuvat perire manibus Palaestinorum;” and of *Pindar Theb. Homer. Latin. 40* (Chryses to Apollo) :

. . . “in me tua dirige tela;
auctor mortis erit certe Deus.”

IMMEMORES (vs. 617), viz., *trepidatione et metu*. Compare Paulin., *Epist. ad Macarium* : “unum ex omni numero nautarum senem, sentinando deputatum, vel *metu immemores*, vel ut vilem animam contemnentes, reliquerunt.”

ALTAQUE PULSAT SIDERA (vv. 619, 620).—“Tangit ALTA astra,” Ruæus. “Sil. Ital. 17. 651 : ‘tangens Tirynthius astra,’” Wagner. “Un che col capo tocca le stelle,” Caro. “Er selbst hochragend berührt hohes gestirn,” Voss. And Dryden, more poetical, but not less incorrect :

“our monstrous host, of more than human size,
erects his head, and stares within the skies.”

The idea is much stronger : *so tall that he knocks, hits, thumps, or bumps, the stars* (seiz. with his head) *as he walks*. Compare Hor. *Carm. 1. 1. 35* :

“quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.”

The notion of *hitting, knocking, or thumping* is inseparable from *pulsare*, as Ennius (quoted by Servius), of the Muses : “*quae pedibus pulsatis Olympum* ;” and *Aen. 11. 660* : “*quum flumina Thermodontis pulsant*.”

VISU FACILIS (vs. 621).—*Agreeable to see, of an agreeable appearance*. Compare Ovid, *ad Liv. Aug. 259* :

“uritur heu! decor ille viri, generosaque forma,
et *faciles* vultus; uritur ille vigor.”

Val. Flacc. 6. 323 :

. . . “tu qui *faciles* hominumque putasti
has, Argive, domus, alium hic miser aspicias annum,
altricemque nivem, festinaque taedia vitae”

[agreeable habitation, agreeable residence].

AFFABILIS, *ευπροσηγορος*, as Eurip. *Suppl.* 869 (Adrastus, of Capaneus):

αψευδες ηθος, ευπροσηγορον στομα

[“mores non fucatos, come [affabile] os”]. Id. *Hipp.* 95:

ΕΛΜ. εν δ' ευπροσηγοροισιν εστι τις χαρις;

ΗΙΡΡ. πλειστη γε, και κερδος γε συν μοχθω βραχει.

I cannot say that I admire this (621) much admired line. Either *dictu* or else *affabilis* seems to be superfluous, and to have been introduced merely to please the ear and to eke out the antithesis. *Nec visu nec dictu facilis*, or *nec facilis visu nec affabilis*, had equally conveyed the entire sense. And Homer, *Od.* 8. 168, uses no more than the single adjective *χαριεντα* for the whole three substantives *φυη*, *φρενες*, and *αγορητυς*:

ουτως ου παντεσσι θεος χαριεντα διδωσιν

ανδρασιν, ουτε φυην, ουτ' αρ' φρενας, ουτ' αγορητυν.

For the character compare *Od.* 9. 188:

οιος ποιμαινεσκεν αποπροθεν' ουδε μετ' αλλους

πωλειτ', αλλ' απανευθεν εων αθεμιστια ηδη.

Also Ovid, *Met.* 13. 760 (speaking of the same Polyphemus): “visus ab hospite nullo impune.” Pliny, *Paneg.* 48 (of Domitian): “ad haec ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis—non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat.” Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 71 (of Caligula):

“hunc et in Arctois tenuis comes usque pruinas
terribilem affatu passus visuque tyrannum,
immanemque suis.”

Herodian, 3. 11 (of Plantianus): *προιων δε φοβερους ην, ως μητε τινα προσιεναι, αλλα και τους υπαντωμενους αναστρεφειν*. And Lucian's mockery of Diogenes, *Vitar. Auct.* 10: *μονος και ακοινωνητος ειναι θελε, μη φιλον μη ξενον προσιεμενος*. The opposite character is thus sweetly sketched by Apollonius Rhodius, 3. 918:

ενθ' ουπω τις τοιος επι προτερων γενετ' ανδρων,
ουθ' οσοι εξ αυτοιο Διος γενοσ, ουθ' οσοι αλλων
αθανατων ηρωες αφ' αιματος εβλαστησαν,
οιον Ιησονα θηκε Διος δαμαρ ηματι κεινω,
η μεν εσ αντα ιδειν, ηδε προτιμυθησασθαι.

631-649.

IACUIT—CORNA

VAR. LECT. (vs. 632).

IMMENSUM ■ *Pal.* ■■■ Servius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.

IMMENSUS ■ *Med.* (INMENSUS); "In veteribus aliquot eodd. IMMENSUS legitur," Pierius. ■■■ N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef. Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

IACUITQUE PER ANTRUM IMMENSUS.—"PER ANTRUM, fortius quam *in antro*; spectat enim corpus Cyclopi humanæ magnitudinis modum longe excedens, quod totum quasi antrum expleverit," Forbiger. And so Voss: "und die höhle hindurch weit dalag." But did the sow of the eighth book fill the whole wood? and yet she "*per silvam* procubuit." Why, we are not even told that she was at all above the ordinary size. Or did the dead body, which "*iacet per rura*" (Coripp. Johann. 4. 776:

. . . "virides cruor inficit herbas
exsiliens, tantumque iacet per rura cadaver"),

big as it was, fill the whole country? Or, granting that Cephælus, a hero, might cover a very large extent of grass when (Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 727) "*solitas iacet ille per herbas*," was our author, a mere poet, of such a size that if it had pleased him (*Georg.* 3. 436) "*dorso nemoris iacuisse per herbas*" he would have covered a great part of the grass of the wood? No, no; neither in our text, nor in any one of these cases, does *per* express or indicate in any way the magnitude of the lying body. Its sole reference is to the stretched out position of the body, more briefly expressed by *iacere per*, than *iacere fusus per*, of which latter expression the former may be considered the representative. Where our author, 6. 423, wishes to let his reader know that the stretched out body was so large as to fill

the whole cave from side to side and end to end, he does not mince the matter, or mystify with a *per*, but says roundly and at once: “*totoque ingens extenditur antro.*”

ERUCTANS = ἀποβλῦζων, Hom. *Il.* 9. 487.

ARGOLICI CLYPEI AUT PHOEBEAE LAMPADIS INSTAR (vs. 637).

—*As large, round, and glaring as an Argolic shield, or the sun.* Besides the citations of La Cerda, compare Callim. *Hymn. in Dian.* 52 (of the Cyclops):

πασὶ δ' ὑπ' ὄφρυν
φαεα μουνόγληνα, σάκει ἰσα τετραβοεῖω,
δεινὸν ὑπὸ γλαυσσόντα,

Ammian. 24. 2: “continentem occupant arcem, . . . cuius medietas in sublime consurgens, tereti ambitu *Argolici senti* speciem ostendebat, nisi quod a septentrione id quod rotunditati deerat, in Euphratis fluentia proiectae cautes eminentius tuebantur.” From which passage it appears further that the distinction drawn by La Cerda and the commentators between clypeus and scutum was not very strictly observed by the low Latin writers.

CAVO (vs. 641), a mere eke, ANTRO implying CAVO.

RUPE (vs. 647).—Not merely “a rocky height,” but, Achæmenides being, at the moment spoken of, at the foot of Etna, “the rocky height” *par excellence*, i. e., Etna. “Trinacria rupes” is Etna in Catullus, *ad Manlium*, 53:

“cum tantum arderem quantum *Trinacria rupes*,”

and Grat. Falisc. *Cyneg.* 430: “est in *Trinacria* specus ingens *rupe* ;” with which compare *Ecl.* 6. 29:

“nec tantum Phoebo gaudet *Parnassia rupes* ;
nec tantum Rhodope mirantur et Ismarus Orphea,”

and Orpheus, *Argonaut.* 2: Παρνησιδα πετρην, where “Parnassia rupes” and Παρνησιδα πετρην are Parnassus, which mountain had been equally well indicated by “rupes” and πετρην, simply and without adjunct, had Parnassus been (which it was not) previously, as Etna was in our context, the subject-matter of discourse. See Rem. on “Cyclopea saxa,” 1. 205.

VASTOSQUE AB RUPE CYCLOPAS PROSPICIO.—Not PROSPICIO

AB RUPE, but CYCLOPAS AB RUPE. Achaemenides, from his hiding-place in the woods looks out on the Cyclopes tending their herds on Etna. Compare Tibull. 4. 1. 56, of the same Polyphemus “Aetneae Neptunius incola rupis;” and Ovid, *Met.* 4. 188, of the same :

“ ille quidem totam fremebundus obambulat Aetnam,
praetentatque manu silvas, et luminis orbus
rupibus incursat,”

i. e., “rupibus” *Aetnae*. Polyphemus and his brethren inhabited the sides of Etna, and did not come down to the plain or sea-shore except on rare occasions. See Hom. *Od.* 9. 115 :

αλλ' οἱ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναιουσι καρηνα.

And compare vv. 644, 655, 675. AB RUPE thus joined to CYCLOPAS not only enhances VASTOS, but affords the fine contrast of Achaemenides in the woods (IN SILVIS, vs. 646) and the Cyclopes on the side of Etna; join AB RUPE to PROSPICIO, and you not only take from the strength of VASTOS, but leave the Cyclopes without any determinate position in the picture; and, a still worse consequence, place Achaemenides exactly where he is most likely to be seen by the Cyclopes. The picture, although not the grammar, is similar to that of *Ecl.* 1. 7, where Meliboeus lying in the grotto looks out at his goats browsing on the side of the mountain :

“ non ego vos posthac, viridi proiectus in antro,
dumosa pendere procul de rupē videbo.”

AB RUPE, *on the mountain*, exactly as *Ecl.* 1. 5. 4 : “vicino ab limite sepes” [on your neighbour's mearing].

SONITUMQUE PEDUM VOCEMQUE TREMISCO (vs. 648), *i. e.*, SONITUM PEDUM *vocisque*. Compare Hom. *Od.* 9. 257 :

δεισαντων φθογγον τε βαρυν αυτον τε πελωρον,

and verse 669. SONITUM PEDUM = Ital. *calpestio*.

BACCAS LAPIDOSAQUE CORNA (vs. 649).—Endiadys for *baccas lapidosas corni*. The *cornus mascula* (*kornelkirsche*) grows wild in Sicily, Italy, and even in Germany, at the present day. Its

oblong, red, shining berries, consisting of little more than a mere membrane covering a large and hard stone, are sold in the streets of the Italian towns. "Bad enough food for a hungry man!" said I to myself, as I spat out some I had bought in Bassano, and tasted for the sake of Achaemenides.

656-658.

VASTA SE MOLE MOVENTEM

PASTOREM POLYPIHEMUM ET LITTORA NOTA PETENTEM

MONSTRUM HORRENDUM INFORME INGENS CUI LUMEN ADEMPtum

VASTA SE MOLE MOVENTEM.—*Moving*, not *with vast size*, but *with vast exertion*, viz., with all the power of a great-sized man, with the muscular exertion of a giant. See Rem. on "*ingenti mole*," and compare Stat. *Theb.* 9. 225 :

"ventum erat ad fluvium; solito tunc plenior alveo,
signa mali, *magna se mole* Ismenos agebat."

Sil. 12. 151 :

"tradunt *Herculeæ* prostratos *mole* gigantes
tellurem iniectam quaterere, et spiramine anhelo
torreri late campos."

Liv. 8. 13 : "Camillus ad Pedum cum Tiburtibus, maxime valido exercitu, *maiore mole*, quanquam aequè prospero eventu, pugnat" (where Walker's edition : "*maiore certamine*" [*greater trouble, greater work, greater difficulty*, viz., than that with which his colleague Maenius had fought elsewhere]). Stat. *Theb.* 5. 441 :

"audet iter, magnique sequens vestigia mutat
Herculis, et *tarda* quamvis *se mole ferentem*,
vix cursu tener aequat Hylas."

Aen. 1. 33 :

"tantæ *molis* erat Romanam condere gentem."

[*Aliter*] VASTA SE MOLE MOVENTEM.—MOLE, *i.e.*, magnitudine, *bulk*, or rather, *bulk and weight* taken together. See Val. Flacc. 2. 23 :

. "scopulis sed maximus illis
horror abest, Sicula pressus tellure, Typhoeus.
hunc profugum, et sacras revolvit pectore flammās,
ut memorant, presum ipse comis Neptunus in altum
abstulit, implicuitque vadis: totiesque eruenta
mole resurgentem, torquentemque anguibus undas
Sicanium dedit usque fretum, cumque urbibus Aetnam
intulit, ora premens"

[*rising again in bloody bulk*]. In this instance, at least, moles cannot be either *effort* or *apparatus*, for effort could not be bloody, and Typhoeus has no apparatus. See also Senec. *Herc. Oct.* 1242 (Hercules speaking) :

"his mundus humeris sedit? haec *moles* mei est?
haecne illa cervix? has ego opposui manus
caelo ruenti?"

MONSTRUM HORRENDUM INFORME INGENS CUI LUMEN ADEPTUM.—Such another monster, with the exception of the blindness, as the giant Hidimbo of the Sanscrit poem: "Der misgestaltete, breitäugig, grässlich, abscheulich anzusehen" ("der Kampf mit dem Riesen; aus dem Mahābhārat," translated by Windischmann, Frankf. am Main, 1816).

MONSTRUM HORRENDUM.—Compare Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 552 (of Typhon): Δαῖον τεραρ.

CUI LUMEN ADEPTUM.—As our author has used the word LUMEN so lately as verse 635,

TELO LUMEN TEREBRAMUS ACUTO

INGENS,

to express the eye or eyeball of Polyphemus, and as he uses it almost immediately again no less than twice in the same sense, verse 663 :

LUMINIS EFFOSI FLUIDUM LAVIT INDE CRUOREM;

verse 677 :

CERNIMUS ASTANTES NEQUICQUAM LUMINE TORVO
AETNAEOS FRATRES,

and **as** LUMEN, so understood in our text, affords the so well-fitting picture: *horrid, deformed monster, rendered still more horrid and deformed by the gouging of his single eye* (LUMINIS EFFOSI), **so** the almost unavoidable conclusion was, that LUMEN in our text is *eye* (*eyeball*), and the object presented to us by LUMEN ADEMP-TUM the eyeless socket of Polyphemus. Hence, (1), Forbiger's "Henry (*Twelve Years' Voyage*, 3. p. 46; et *Philol.* 11. p. 638) LUMEN non per oculum vult explicari sed per *the light of day*, *das tageslicht* . . . sed vv. 635 et 663 vulgarem explicationem videntur iuvare;" (2), Caro's

" ch' avea come una grotta oscura in fronte,
in vece d' *occhio* ;"

(3), Conington's "another novelty is proposed by Henry, who understands LUMEN not of the eye, but of the light of day, . . . but the use of lumen, vv. 635, 663, confirms the old interpretation"; **and** even (4), the quotation of our text by Gesner in his *Lexicon* among the examples of lumen used "pro oculo." For my adherence, even in the face of all this authority, to the opinion expressed in my "*Twelve Years' Voyage*" let the following examples, in not one of which can the expression lumen adimere mean "to take away the eyeball," be my justification. (a), Ovid, *Met.* 3. 333 :

. . . "gravius Saturnia iusto,
nec pro materia fertur doluisse : suique
iudicis aeterna damnavit *lumina* nocte.
at pater omnipotens (neque enim licet irrita cuiquam
facta dei fecisse deo) pro *lumine* *adempto*
scire futura dedit "

(where we have the same two-fold use of lumen as by our author, viz., in "*lumina*," to signify *eyeball*, and then again immediately in "*lumine*" to signify *the light* (viz., as seen by the eye), *the sight*). (b), Prudent. *Diptych.* 189 :

" hic lupus ante rapax vestitur vellere molli :
Saulus qui fuerat fit *adempto lumine* Paulus "

[the light (viz., as seen by the eye), the sight]. (c), Prudent. *Psychom.* :

. . . " hunc lumine adempto,
effossisque oculis, velut in caligine noctis
caecum errare sinit "

where the sense is, *the light* (i.e., *the sight*) *being taken away*, and *the eyes dug out*, and where Prudentius having in mind the Horatian warning ("decipit exemplar vitiis inimitabile"), eschews the example set him by Virgil and Ovid, and instead of using the same word in the same passage first in one sense and then in another, expresses the two different senses by two different words—the light as seen by the eye, i.e., *the sight*, by *lumen*, and the eye, i.e., the eyeball, by *oculus*. (¶), Ovid, *Trist.* 4. 4. 45 (speaking of Augustus's clemency in sparing his life) :

" idque deus sentit : pro quo nec *lumen ademptum* est,
nec mihi detractas possidet alter opes "

[*the light*, in the sense of *life*]. (¶), Id. *Ibis*, 283 :

" ut duo Phinidae, quibus idem *lumen* ademit,
qui dedit "

[*the light*, in the sense of *sight*]. And, (¶), Lucret. 3. 1042
(of Xerxes) :

" ille quoque ipse, viam qui quondam per mare magnum
stravit, iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum,
ac pedibus salsas docuit superare lacunas,
et contempsit, equis insultans, murmura ponti,
lumine adempto, animam moribundo corpore fudit "

[*the light*, in the sense of *life*].

Adimere lumen being in no one of these instances *to take the eye out of the socket*, but in every one of them *to take away the light*, either in the sense of blinding or in the sense of killing ; and to take away the light in the sense of *to blind* affording in our text a sense quite as harmonious with the context as to take away the light in the sense of taking the eyeball out of the socket, with what *vis consequentiae* is adimere lumen—of the use of which phrase in the sense of *to take the eye out of the socket* not so much as one single instance has yet been adduced—interpreted in our text *to take the eye out of the socket* .

As (**a**), *adimere lumen* is *to take away the light*, in our text, and Ovid, *Met.* 3. 330, and *Ibis*, quoted above, in the sense of blinding; and Lucr. 3. 1042, and Ovid, *Trist.* 4. 4. 45, quoted above, in the sense of killing, **so** (**b**), in Ovid's paraphrase of our text, *Met.* 14. 197, where this same Polyphemus says of himself:

“quam nullum aut leve sit damnum mihi *lucis ademptæ*,”

no less than in Ovid's (*Met.* 3. 515)

. . . “*tenebrasque et cladem lucis ademptæ*
obicit [viz., Tiresias],”

adimere lucem is *to take away the light* in the sense of blinding; and (**c**), Claud. *Laus Sennæ*, 24 (still of this same Polyphemus): “*lumine fraudatus Cyclops*,” *fraudare lumine* is *to cheat of the light*, in the same sense; and (**d**), Ovid, *ex Pont.* l. 1. 53:

“alter, ob huic similem *privatus lumine* culpam,
clamabat media, se mernisse, via.
talìa cælestes fieri præconia gaudent,
ut, sua quid valeant numina, teste probent.
sæpe levant poenas, *creptaque lumina* reddunt,”

privare lumine and *eripere lumina* are, respectively, *to deprive of the light*, and *to snatch away the light*, in the same sense; *reddere lumina*, *to restore the light so snatched away*; and (**e**), Plin. *N. H.* 7. 37: “*Magna et Critobulo fama est extracta Philippi regis oculo sagitta et citra deformitatem oris curata orbitate luminis*,” *orbitas luminis* is *deprivation of light*, in the same sense; while (**f**), Liv. 4. 3: “*æquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis huius partem, si liceat, adimant: quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur*,” *adimere lucem* is *to take away the light*, in the sense of killing; (**g**), Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.*: “*cui repente cælum, solem, aquam terramque ademerunt*,” *adimere cælum et solem*, *to take away the sky and the sun* (i. e., *the light*), in the sense of killing; and (**h**), *Æn.* 12. 935:

“et me, seu corpus *spoliatum lumine* mavis,
redde meis,”

spoliare lumen = *to despoil of the light*, in the same sense ; **and** (†), Ovid, *Met.* 1. 720 (of Argus) :

“ quodque in tot lumina *lumen* habebas
extinctum est ; centumque oculos nox occupat una ”

extinguere lumen is *to put out the light*, in the sense of killing, advantage being taken in the last-quoted passage of this very double sense of *lumen*, which has so cheated the Virgilian commentators, to make the pun “ *lumina lumen*.”

It is this very *lumen adimere* which the author of the Orphic Argonautics has expressed, verse 673, by the phrase *φωτος απονοσφίζειν αυγας* :

“ Φινει δε οι ωπασαν ατην
αργαλειοι κυτου, φωτος δ’ απενοσφισαν αυγας,

and Laberius (Aul. Gell. 10. 17) by the rather strange word *elucificare* :

“ sic ego fulgentis splendorem pecunie
volo *elucificare* exitum ætatis meæ.”

If it is a defect in style, as no doubt it is, to use the word *LUMEN* in the sense of *light* (i. e., *sight*), the same word having been just used, and being soon to be used again, in the sense of *eye* (i. e., *eyeball*), it had been a worse defect to reiterate here the precise mode in which the sight had been lost, that precise mode being fresh in the reader’s recollection, and if it were not, being to be recalled immediately by the washing out of the gore of the socket only five lines further on.

Our author’s *CUI LUMEN ADEMPtum*, rightly understood, is neither too particular nor too vague ; neither on the one hand unnecessarily obtrudes on us the lacklustre eyeless hole, nor on the other contents itself like Lucian’s *ενδεης την οψιν* (Lucian, 9. 1. 2 (Doris to Galatea) : *ει ποιμενι και ενδεει την οψιν καλη εδοξας, επιφθονους οiei γεγονεναι*) with reminding us that the Cyclops was *blind*. It is the *juste milieu* ; presents us, in as few words as possible, with the picture of the Cyclops who has lost his sight by violence ; the *blinded* Cyclops. The Manes of Virgil will, therefore, I should hope, rather be obliged to me than

have a grudge at me, for the "proposed novelty," a novelty, after all, not so very novel, (*α*), the identical expression having been applied by Alexander Ross (Rossaeus) in one of the cantos of the second book of his *Christius* to a case in which there was no scooping-out of the eye, viz., the case of St. Paul :

. . . "tum subitus vibratur ab aethere fulgur
quod iuvenem deturbat equo, mox *lumen* ademit ;"

(*β*), and the closely related expression "egens lucis" having been applied by no less an authority than Statius to this same Polyphemus in such a manner as to exclude all notion of scooped-out eyeball, it not being Polyphemus himself but only Polyphemus's hand which is stated to be "egens lucis," i.e., blind (*Theb.* 6. 716) :

"quale vaporifera saxum Polyphemus ab Aetna
lucis egente manu tamen in vestigia puppis
auditaë iuxtaque inimicum exegit Ulyxem ;"

as well as (*γ*) the cognate expression "spoliata visu," *despoiled*, not of his eye, but of his sight (i.e., lumine), to a blinded elephant, by Silius, 9. 597 (ed. Rup.) :

"arma virique simul *spoliataque* belua visu
sternuntur subita (miserandum !) mixta ruina ;"

and (*δ*) the cognate expression "auditus non adimeret" applied by Tacitus, *Annal.* 13. 5, to the curtain behind which Agrippina overheard the debate of the senate : "qui in palatium ob id vocabantur, ut adstaret abditis a tergo foribus, velo discreta, quod visum arceret, *auditus non adimeret* ;" **and**, (*ε*), the cognate expression "viduata lumine" to the dark realms of Proserpine, by Silius, 3. 601 (of Vespasian, Jupiter speaking) :

"nec Stygis ille lacus *viduataque lumine* regna,
sed superùm sedes nostrosque tenebit honores."

LUMEN being thus shown to mean not the eye but the daylight, it becomes unnecessary to refer to the precise parallel, 4. 181, "monstrum horrendum, ingens," or to the Homeric prototype, *Od.* 9. 190, *καὶ γὰρ θαυμ' ἐτετυκτο πέλωριον*, as

proof that *INGENS* belongs, not as somewhat wildly imagined by *Key* (*Lat. Gr.*, § 973), to *LUMEN*, but as generally acknowledged to *MONSTRUM*; and no less unnecessary to discuss the equally fantastic gloss of *Pierius*: “*TRUNCA PINUS gestata MANU REGIT ADEMPTUM LUMEN.*”

659-660.

TRUNCA MANUM PINUS REGIT ET VESTIGIA FIRMAT
LANIGERAE COMITANTUR OVES

VAR. LECT.

MANUM ■■ 3 $\frac{1}{2}$; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Quinetil. *Inst.* 8. 4; Prine.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1474; Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; Bersm.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1676); Philippe; Burm.; Pott.; Cod. Camerar. (Bersm.)

MANU ■ *Pal., Med.* (M *superscr.*) ■■ 3 $\frac{2}{3}$. ■■■ Ser†.; N. Heins. (1704); Heyr.; Brunek; Wakef.; Dorph.; Wagn. (1832, 1861); Gossrau; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.; Coningt.

The reading is undoubtedly *MANUM*, not *MANU*. See Quinet. *Inst.* 8. 4: “nam quod illud corpus mente concipiam cuius

TRUNCA MANUM PINUS REGIT,”

where *TRUNCA MANU PINUS REGIT* would make no sense, and where therefore the second *M* of *MANUM* cannot be due to the mistake of a scribe, but must be from Quinetilian's own hand. To Wagner's question: “quorsum manus a baculo regenda fuisset?” the answer is easy: viz., the stick guides his hand, and by means of his hand, himself, exactly as *Aeneas*, 10. 218,

“ipse sedens clavumque regit, velisque ministrat,”

directs the rudder, and, by means of the rudder, the ship. The Cyclops follows the guidance of the pine-trunk which he holds in his hand, *i. e.*, feels his way, gropes his way, with the pine-trunk; and, therefore, precisely is the pine-trunk said to govern his hand, to direct his hand, *i. e.*, by necessary implication, to direct or guide himself. Compare *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner), 9. 298, where the blind man says :

σκιπῶν με πρὸς νηὸν ἀνηγάγεν, ὄντα^{*} βεβηλόν
οὐ μόνον τελετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ηελίου

[*my stick led me up to*the temple, viz., regendo manum*]; and Prudent. *Diptych.* 137 :

“ it mare per medium Dominus, fluctusque liquentes
calce terens, iubet instabili descendere cumba
discipulum; sed mortalis trepidatio plantas
mergit: at ille *manum regit, et vestigia firmat*,”

in the former of which passages we have the stick leading the blind man, while in the latter we have not only the very words “*manum regit et vestigia firmat*,” but those words in the same order with respect to each other, and occupying the same position in the verse which they occupy in our text.

The reading *MANU* suggests, say, rather, actually presents, the absurd picture of the blind man directing his director, directing with his hand the stick which he puts forward at random, in order to be directed by the information which it conveys to his hand, and through his hand to himself. It is only the seeing man who directs his stick, as Tacit. *Hist.* 1. 79: “*sed tum humido die, et soluto gelu, neque conti, neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis, et cataphractarum pondere.*” I need hardly add that **while** the construction *manum regere* is not only simple and natural, but usual [compare Sen. *Herc. Oct.* 313 (Dejanira about to take revenge on Hercules) :

“*aderit noverca [Luno], quae manus nostras regat,
nec invocata.*”

Claud. 4 *Cons. Honor.* p. 58 :

“*et casus artesque docet, quo dextra regatur
sidere, quo fluctus possint moderamine falli.*”

Prudent. *Contr. Symm.* 2. 184 :

. . . “non occidet,” inquit,
 ‘interior qui spirat homo ; luet ille perenne
 supplicium, quod subiectos male *revertit artus*’ ”],

so either of the constructions necessitated by the reading MANU, viz., either the construction REGIT [*eum*] ET FIRMAT VESTIGIA, or VESTIGIA REGIT ET FIRMAT, is as awkward and unnatural as it is unusual. Neither can it be necessary to dwell upon the perfect symmetry of the verse

TRUNCA MANUM PINUS REGIT ET VESTIGIA FIRMAT,

in which VESTIGIA answers to MANUM, and FIRMAT to REGIT, or upon the fact that REGIT MANUM ET VESTIGIA FIRMAT presents, better than either MANU REGIT [*eum*] ET VESTIGIA FIRMAT or MANU REGIT ET FIRMAT VESTIGIA, the image of Polyphemus groping his way with the pine-trunk : but it may not be amiss to remind those who, with Conington, still find it “difficult to see how the staff guides the hand,” and who still inquire, with Wagner, “quorsum manus a baculo regenda fuisset,” and, with both those editors, as well as with Forbiger in his latest edition, read MANU, (■), that it is not the eyes alone of a blind man which are blind, but his whole body, and especially his feet and hands [see Eurip. *Hec.* 1049 (ed. Witzschel), of Polymestor :

οφει νιν αυτικ' οντα δωματων παρος
 τυφλον τυφλω στειχοντα παραφορω ποδι.

Stat. *Theb.* 6. 716 (of Polyphemus himself) :

“quale vaporifera saxum Polyphemus ab Aetna
lucis egente manu tamen in vestigia puppis
 auditae iuxtaque inimicum exegit Ulyxem”] ;

and (2), that it is **not** accidentally our author uses, in order to express the direction and government of Polyphemus's limbs by the pine-tree trunk, the very word commonly used by other authors [as Cic. *de Republ.* 24(8) : “Deum te igitur scito esse : si quidem *deus* est, qui viget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui providet, qui tam *regit* et moderatur et movet id *corpus* cui prae-positus est quam hunc mundum ille princeps deus.” Senec. *Troad.* 392 :

“ ut nubes gravidas, quas modo vidimus,
 Arctoi Borcae dissipat impetus,
 sic hic, *quo regimur, spiritus effluet*”],

and even used by our author himself elsewhere (as 4. 336: “*dum spiritus hos regit artus*”), to express the direction and government of the limbs of living creatures generally by the internal vivifying spirit, **but** intentionally and in order to heighten the contrast between Polyphemus under the direction of his own intelligent will and Polyphemus under the direction of a staff; in other words, between Polyphemus seeing and Polyphemus blind. That there is no word of sympathy with the unhappy Cyclops is only what was to be expected from a poet belonging to and writing for a people whose highest enjoyment it was to sit in the circus and look on while wild beasts tore culprits to pieces, or gladiator killed gladiator at the word of command.

The determination of the true reading of our text determines the true reading of Prudentius's imitation, *Diptych. 137*:

“ it mare per medium Dominus, fluctusque liquentes
 calce terens, iubet instabili descendere cumba
 discipulum; sed mortalis trepidatio plantas
 mergit; at ille *manum* regit et vestigia firmat,”

where the imitation of Virgil is plain, and yet where, if we read “*manu*” instead of “*manum*,” first we obtain a quite different sense from Virgil's, “*manu*” and “*vestigia*” then being no longer referrible to one and the same person, but “*manu*” becoming the hand of Christ, while “*vestigia*” are the steps of Peter; and secondly, lose the essential part of the picture, which Prudentius plainly intended to set before us, viz., that Christ took Peter by the hand, held Peter's hand in his, and so supported and led him on.

LANIGERAE COMITANTUR OVES.—Compare Callim. fragm. 127, Bentley's ed.:

αρνες τοι, φιλε κουρε, ομηλικες, αρνες εταιροι
 εσκον· ενηριθμοι δ' αυλια και βοταναι.

661.

DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET

VAR. LECT.

DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET ■ *Pal.* All the “codices antiqui” of Pierius except one (“sunt qui carmen hoc ut nothum expungant. Id tamen in plerisque codicibus antiquis habetur, praeterquam in uno [qu. the *Vat. Fr.*?] ubi versus hac penthemimeri clauditur, SOLAMENQUE MALI,” Pierius). ■■ 2 (Gud. 70, Dresd.), and, according to my recollection, all the second class codices I have examined. I have, however, written memoranda of no more than the two specified. Cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■. According to my recollection, all the incunabula I have collated. I have, however, no written memoranda of them, except Aldus (1514), who has OVES: EA SOLA VOLUPTAS: SOLAMENQUE MALI DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET; La Cerda; Rob. Stephens.

DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET OMITTED ■ *Vat.*,* *Med.*

DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■
Fabric.; *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); *Heyne*; *Brunek*;
Wakef.; *Weichert*; *Voss*; *Wagn.* (ed. *Heyn.*, ed. 1861); *Thiel*; *Forb.*;
Süpfle; *Iad.*; *Haupt*; *Ribb.*; *Coningt.*

I believe the hemistich to be genuine; the pipe hanging from the neck being required to complete the picture of the shepherd (see *Manil.* 5. 115:

“neon et cultus pecorum nascentibus addunt,
 pastoremque suum generant, cui *fistula collo*
haereat, et voces alterna per oscula ducat”),

especially of the shepherd Polyphemus, who was not only emi-

* The words DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET have been supplied in a modern character by a later hand. I do not find the erasure of three or four letters which has been mentioned by Ribbeck, who seems to me to have taken for erasure a certain roughness of the parchment similar to that which is observable in the same folio in places where there never was either writing or erasure.

nently musical (Lucian, 9. 1. 3 : ο δὲ Πολυφημος τα τε αλλα, και μουσικος εστι), but actually represented both by painters and poets as playing on or at least carrying this very instrument, as Theocr. *Idyll. 11. 38* (Polyphemus, of himself) :

συρισθεν δ' ως ουτις επισταμαι ωδε Κυκλωπων.

Philostr. *Icon. Cycl.* (of Polyphemus) : και η μεν συριγξ, επι υπο μαλης, και ατρεμει. εστι δ' αυτω ποιμενικον ασμα. To the rational probability is to be added the matter of fact that the hemistich is found, according to my recollection—for in this case I did not take written memoranda—not merely in all the second-class codices I have collated, as well as, with the exception of Basel, 1586, in all the incunabula, but even in the Palatine MS., and, according to Pierius (see *Var. Lect.*, above) “in plerisque codicibus antiquis, praeterquam in uno ubi versus hac penthemimeri clauditur : SOLAMENQUE MALI.” Having recognized the hemistich, I go a step farther and find in it, that is to say in the FISTULA suspended from the shepherd's neck, a much better SOLA VOLUPTAS SOLAMENQUE MALI than in LANIGERAE COMITANTUR OVES [Lucr. 5. 1405 (ed. Lachm.) :

“ et vigilantibus hinc aderant *solacia somni*,
ducere multimodis voces et flectere cantus,
et supra *calamos* unco percurrere labro ”],

and accordingly take the structure to be, not LANIGERAE COMITANTUR OVES, EA SOLA VOLUPTAS SOLAMENQUE MALI, but LANIGERAE COMITANTUR OVES. PENDET DE COLLO FISTULA, EA SOLA VOLUPTAS SOLAMENQUE MALI. His sheep are the shepherd's care, not the shepherd's pleasure and solace. Compare *Culex*, 97 :

“ talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus *apricas*
pastor agit *curas*, et dum non arte canora
compacta solitum modulatur *arundine* carmen,
tendit inevectus radios Hyperionis ardor,
lucidaque aethereo ponit discrimina mundo,”

where the shepherd's sunny cares are his sheep, always *sub dio* ; his pleasure and solace, the music of his fistula. How much more blind Polyphemus's care, his sheep ! how much more was

his FISTULA Polyphemus's solace ! His sheep having, on account of his loss of sight, become a greater care to him than ever, Polyphemus seeks consolation in another sense, delights his ears with the music of his FISTULA, EA SOLA VOLUPTAS SOLAMENQUE MALI. It is with song (a) the husbandman's wife solaces her winter toil at the loom, *Georg. 1. 293* :

“ interea longum *cantu solata laborem*
arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas.”

It is with song (b) Simulus solaces his culinary labours, *Mortuum, 29* :

. . . “ modo rustica carmina cantat,
agrestique suum *solatur voce laborem.*”

It is with song (c) Cynus consoles himself for the loss of Phaethon, *Aen. 10. 189* :

“ namque ferunt, luctu Cynum Phaëthontis amati,
populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum
dum canit, et maestum *Musa solatur amorem,*
canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam ;
linquentem terras, et sidera voce sequentem.”

It is with his lyre (d) Orpheus consoles himself for the loss of Eurydice, *Georg. 4. 464* :

“ ipse cava *solans* aegrum *testudine amorem,*
te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in littore secum,
te veniente die, te discedente canebat : ”

and Senec. *Herc. Oct. 1090* :

“ tunc *solamina cantibus*
quaerens, flebilibus modis
haec Orpheus cecinit Getis.”

It is with his care-solacing lyre played on by Achilles (e) Chiron soothes and charms Thetis in his sequestered mountain cave. *Stat. Achill. 1. 184* :

“ tunc libare dapes, Bacchaeaque munera Chiron
orat [Thetin], et attonitam vario oblectamine mulcens,
elicit extremo chelyn, et *solantia curas*
fila movet, leviterque expertas pollice chordas
dat puero.”

It is with his fistula (f) Apollo, in the service of Admetus, soothes his love cares, Ovid, *Met.* 2. 680 :

“ illud erat tempus, quo te pastoria pellis
texit ; onusque fuit dextrae silvestris oliva ;
alterius, dispar septenis fistula cannis ;
dumque amor est curae, dum te tua *fistula mulcet*,
incustoditae Pylios memorantur in agros
processisse boves.”

It is with his fistula (g) this very Polyphemus consoles himself for the disdain of Galatea, Callim. *Epigr.* 49 :

ως αγαθαν Πολυφημος ανευρατο των επαιδαν,
· · · · ·
αι μουσαι τον ερωτα κατισχαινουντι, Φιλιππε.

Theocr. *Idyll.* 11. 1 :

ουδεν ποτ τον ερωτα πεφυκει φαρμακον αλλο,
Νικια, ουτ' εγχριστον, εμιν δοκει, ουτ' επιπαστον,
ηται Πιεριδες.

Ibid. vs. 7 :

ουτω γουν ραϊστα διαγ' ο Κυκλωψ ο παρ' αμιν,
ωρχαιος Πολυφαιμος, οκ' ηρατο τας Γαλατίας.

Ibid. vs. 13 :

· · · ο δε των Γαλατειαν αιδων
αυτος επ' αϊονος κατετακετο φυκιοεσσας
εξ αους, εχθιστον εχων υποκαρδιον ελκος
Κυπριδος εκ μεγαλας, το οι ηπατι παξε βελεμνον.
αλλα το φαρμακον* ευρε, καθεζομενος δ' επι πετρας
υψηλας ες ποντον ορων αιειδε τοιαυτα.

And Ovid, *Met.* 13. 780 :

“ huc ferus ascendit Cyclops, mediusque resedit.
lanigeræ pecudes, nullo ducente, secutæ.
cui postquam pinus, baculi quæ præbuit usum,
ante pedes posita est, antennis apta ferendis ;
sumtaque arundinibus compacta est *fistula* centum,
senserunt toti *pastoria sibila* montes ;
senserunt undæ.”

* Where the scholiast refers to the above epigram of Callimachus.

It was as a solace for his disappointed love for Syrinx (**h**) the fistula itself was constructed by Pan, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 705 :

“Panaque, quum prensam sibi iam Syringa putaret,
corpore pro Nymphae *calamos* tenuisse palustres :
dumque ibi suspirat, motos in arundine ventos
effecisse sonum tenuem, similemque querenti ;
arte nova, vocisque deum dulcedine captum,
‘hoc mihi concilium tecum,’ dixisse, ‘manebit.’
atque ita disparibus calamis compagine ceræ
inter se iunctis *nomen* tenuisse *puellæ*.”

And as a solace for the loss of his eyesight (**i**) bucolic song was invented by Daphnis, Aelian, *Variae Historiae*, 10. 18: Βουκολων δε κατα την Σικελιαν ο Δαφνις. ηρασθη αυτου Νυμφη μια, και ωμιλησε καλω οντι και νεω και πρωτον υπηνητη, . . . Συνθηκας δε εποησε, μηδεμια αλλη πλησιασαι αυτον, και επηπειλησεν, οτι πεπρωμενον εστιν αυτον στερηθηναι της οψεως, εαν παραβη. και ειχον υπερ τουτων ρητραν προς αλληλους. Χρονω δε υστερον, βασιλειως θυγατρος ερασθεισης αυτου, οινωθεις ελυσε την ομολογιαν, και επλησιασε τη κορη. Εκ δε τουτου τα βουκολικα μελη πρωτον ησθη, και ειχεν υποθεσιν το παθος το κατα τους οφθαλμους αυτου [Who consoles, or ever consoled himself, for anything, with a flock of sheep?] With what, except their song (**j**) are birds the solace of the country? Ovid, *Past.* 1. 441 :

“intactae fueratis *aves*, *solatia* ruris,
assuetum silvis, innocuumque genus.”

And what but that they had lost their solace (**k**) was the complaint of the Nymphs and Rivers when Orpheus ceased to sing and laid aside his lyre? Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2, Praef. :

“otia sopitis ageret cum *cantibus* Orpheus
neglectumque diu seposuisset *ebur*,
lugebant erepta sibi *solatia* Nymphæ,
lugebant dulces flumina *moesta* modos.”

Even (**l**), Horace's, wine-loving Horace's, “*laborum dulce lenimen*,” what was it but his lyre? And (**m**), what but song, and dancing to his cetra-tambourine, the recreation, amusement, and “*sacra voluptas*” of the rich, rude, and warlike Gallician?

Sil. 3. 345 :

. . . "misit dives Gallicia pubem,
barbara nunc patriis ululantem *carmina* linguis,
nunc *pedis* alterno *percussa* *verbere* terra
ad numerum resonas gaudentem plaudero *cetras*.
haec requies ludusque viris, *ea sacra voluptas*,"

where the last three words so almost identical—not merely in meaning but in rhythm, position in the verse, position with respect to each other, and even in individual *apices*—with the *EA SOLA VOLUPTAS* of our text, only too plainly betray the parentage of the whole verse to which they belong. The incunabula, therefore, and older editors down to P. Manutius, were perfectly right both in recognizing the words *DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET* as genuine, and in punctuating so as to connect them with *SOLAMENQUE MALI*. Their error consisted in not connecting them also with *VOLUPTAS*, but, on the contrary, separating them from that word by a period placed between it and *SOLAMENQUE MALI*; the effect of such separation being on the one hand unnecessarily to double the happiness of Polyphemus, viz., by conferring on him, already in possession of the *SOLAMEN MALI* of his *FISTULA*, the *VOLUPTAS* of his flock of sheep also, and on the other hand no less unnecessarily, nay even more unnecessarily, to render both *VOLUPTAS* and *SOLAMEN* as miserable, grammatically, as two words could well be, viz., by the forcible rupture of their happy marriage bond *QUE*. Nor was La Cerda much more fortunate in his elucidation of the passage; for, although clearly seeing how far astray were the editors before P. Manutius, in allowing Polyphemus both the *VOLUPTAS* of a flock of sheep and the *SOLAMEN* of a *FISTULA*, and, although perfectly aware that Polyphemus's *VOLUPTAS* and *SOLAMEN* must be one and the same thing, not two different things, yet he was guilty of the scarcely less grievous mistake that that one both *VOLUPTAS* and *SOLAMEN* of Polyphemus was not his *FISTULA*, but his sheep, could not imagine what business he had with a *FISTULA* at all, and would gladly, had he only had a little more courage, a little less respect for the *corpus* of Virgil, have amputated the obnoxious limb, and forced the Cyclops to find for the future

both his VOLUPTAS and SOLAMEN in his flock of sheep—"DE COLLO FISTULA PENDET . . . libenter adimerem, nam sententia clare esse videtur, caeco giganti unam tantum *voluptatem*, solatiumque relictum, OVES videlicet." Let us hope that the Spanish jesuit, so respectful both towards Polyphemus and Virgil as not to disturb either in their lawful possession of what he did not approve of their having, has had some means of learning the fact that his less scrupulous, more daring, successors have not hesitated to do that for which he had not sufficient nerve, have followed not his example but Paulus Manutius's; that the hemistich has vanished from the Aeneid, and that Polyphemus at present delights himself and solaces his loss of sight, and will, probably, for many years to come delight himself and solace his loss of sight, not with an object of a different sense—God forbid! but with an object of the very sense which he has lost, and the reflexion of Servius, "how very well the blind man is off, who is only blind and not poor also": "magnum caecitatis solatium est habere rem videntis."

662.

POSTQUAM ALTOS TETIGIT FLUCTUS ET AD AEQUORA VENIT

POSTQUAM ALTOS TETIGIT FLUCTUS, theme; AD AEQUORA VENIT, variation.

TETIGIT, not literal; not actually *touched* or *felt* the sea, but figurative: *reached, arrived at it*. Compare Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 419 (of the army of Stilicho):

"ut *fluctus tetigere maria*, tunc acrior arsit
impetus. arripiunt naves, ipsique rudentes
expediunt."

Id. *Epith. Pallad. et Celer.* 116 :

“ ut thalami *tetigere fores*, tum vere rubentes
desuper invertunt calathos,” &c.

In like manner we say in English, *touched land, touched port, touched at such a place.*

670-671.

VERUM UBI NULLA DATUR DEXTRA AFFECTARE POTESTAS
NEC POTIS IONIOS FLUCTUS AEQUARE SEQUENDO

DEXTRA AFFECTARE.—“ DEXTRA contingere navem,” Heyne, Wagner, Forbiger.

“ Aber da keine gewalt, mit der hand zu erstreben verlichn wird ”
(Voss).

“ Dextram iniicere,” Gesner—an interpretation to which Servius has recorded his unanswered and, as it seems to me, unanswerable, objection, “ si DEXTRA legeris, ut sit DEXTRA AFFECTARE *contingere*, caret exemplo ;” an unanswerable objection, I say, the meaning of to touch or reach with the hand, or lay hands on, being so wholly remote from affectare that affectare is actually joined with tangere by Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 2. 39 :

“ non ego sidereus *affecto tangere sedes.*”

On the other hand, the reading DEXTRAM AFFECTARE affords no manner of sense at all. We are, therefore, compelled to abide by DEXTRA, nor need we regret that we are, for no sense can be better than that afforded by the two words each taken in its most ordinary acceptation, viz., DEXTRA, in the sense of *right hand*, and AFFECTARE, in the sense of *pretend to court or make love to, try to gain, or win, try to get at, aucupari*. The Cyclops,

if he had been able to come up to the vessels, would have pretended to them, made love to them (courted them), DEXTRA, *by force*; would have endeavoured to force them to stay, would have tried to stop their flight; but not being able to come up to them, and try to detain them by force, vented his disappointment in a great shout,

CLAMOREM IMMENSUM TOLLIT QUO PONTUS ET OMNES
INTREMUERE UNDAE.

Compare, (1), Sall. *Bell. Jugurth.* 70: “civitates quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando praemia, *affectare*.” As Jugurtha “*affectare*,” courted, tried to win back to him the revolted states, “*formidine*,” by fear, so the Cyclops would, if he had not been prevented by the sea, have courted back, tried to win back, the fugitive Trojans, DEXTRA, by force: and such exactly is the explanation given by Cortius of “*affectare*” in this very passage of Sallust, viz., “*quaerere ut afficiamus, ut nostra faciamus*.” In which explanation Cortius is right, *affectare* always signifying the preliminary steps, the pretension to the act, not the act itself, and Paulus Diaconus (*Excerpta*) erring as much in limiting its meaning to the mere desire (“*affectare*) est primum animum ad faciendum habere” as Servius, and the successors of Servius, in embracing in its signification the act itself. It is neither as cherishing the desire to gain, nor as actually gaining, but as attempting to gain, as pretending to gain, as taking the first steps to gain, the revolted states, that Jugurtha is described by Sallust; and it is neither as without the power of desiring to stop, nor as without the power of stopping, but as without the power of taking the first steps to stop, of making pretensions to stop, the flight of the Trojans, that Polyphemus is represented by Virgil. Compare also, (2), Liv. 1. 46: “*neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit*.” (3), Ovid, *Met.* 1. 152:

“*affectasse ferunt regnum caeleste Gigantes*.”

(4), Vell. Patere. *Histor. R.* 2. 39 (cura Ruhnck. et Kraus.): “*Gallias primum Domitio Fabioque, nepoti Paulli, qui Allobrogicus vocatus est, intratas cum exercitu magna mox clade*

nostra) saepe et *affectarimus* et omisimus.” In all which places *affectare* is, as in our text, *pretend to, try to get, ambire, aucupari*. And see finally, (5), Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, cap. 1: “ma capitani e podestà, d’origine imperiale o comunale, di schiatte antiche o nuove, straniere o Italiane, tutti quando *potevano*, e fin che potevano, *affettarono* la suprema potenza,” where the *affettare* is made to depend upon the *potere*, exactly as in our text the *AFFECTARE* on the *posse*.

DEXTRA, *by force, with fighting*, as 9. 320: “audendum dextra;” 9. 806: •

“ergo nec clipeo invenis subsistere tantum
nec *dextra* valet;”

12. 644: “*dextra* nec Drancis dicta refellam;” where “*dextra*” is joined with “audendum,” “subsistere,” and “refellam,” respectively, in the same manner and in the same sense as in our text with *AFFECTARE*.

AEQUARE SEQUENDO.—On reaching the beach and going out into the water, Polyphemus finds, first, that he cannot pretend to seize the ships (NULLA DATUR DEXTRA AFFECTARE POTESTAS), for they are already off on their way, clear of the land; and secondly, that he has no chance of overtaking them, for they are going faster than he can follow:

NEC POTIS IONIOS FLUCTUS AEQUARE SEQUENDO,

“is not able to equal with following;” i. e., to follow with equal speed; therefore “is left behind.” Compare Q. Curt. 4. 1: “pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant, et deficientibus equis *cursum* eorum, quos rex subinde mutabat, *aequare non poterant*” [“were not able to go as fast as, keep pace with, keep up with;” therefore “were left behind by”]. Sil. 15. 574 (the soldiers exhorting each other to keep up with their leader, to go as fast as their leaders):

. . . “age, perge, salutem
Ausoniae ancipites Superi, et, stet Roma cadatne,
in pedibus posuere tuis, clamantque, ruuntque.
hortandi genus acer habet praecedere ductor:
illum augent curans annisi *aequare sequendo*,
atque indefessi noctemque diemque feruntur.”

And Stat. *Theb.* 6. 432 : “quem Thessalus *aequat eundo*” [“goes with the same speed as, as fast as”].

Exactly similar to *AEQUARE SEQUENDO*, to *equal with following* (i. e., to *follow with equal speed*) is “*aequare durando*,” to *equal with lasting*, i. e., to *last as long as*, Claud. *Phoen.* 11 :

. . . “*stellas qui vividus aequat
durando;*”

and “*aequare canendo*,” to *equal with singing*, to *sing so that the song shall be equal to the subject*, Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 10 :

“*ille ego, magnanimum qui facta attollere regum
ibam altum spirans, Martemque aequare canendo*”

[equal the battle with the song, make the song equal to the battle, sing up to the battle, up to the level of the battle]. Compare also *Eclog.* 5. 9 : “*superare canendo*” [to conquer with singing, i. e., to sing better than]; also *Aen.* 11. 160 : “*vincere vivendo*” [to live longer than, to outlive]. Should the objection be urged that, Polyphemus being already behind, it would have little availed him to go only as fast as the waves which were carrying away the vessels which were before, and that in order to have reached those vessels *DEXTRA* it would have been necessary for him to go even faster than they, I reply that Virgil, like other good writers, was little solicitous about such minutiae, and, having informed his readers that the Cyclops was not able to go as fast as the ships, felt that he had said enough.

676-686.

EXCITUM—RETRO

VAR. LECT. (vv. 684-686).

CONTRA—RETRO *OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED* ■■■ Wagn. (*Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861). Verse 686 is placed between verses 684 and 685 by Ribbeck. CERTUM—RETRO is stigmatized by Brunck.

[*punct.*] CONTRA IUSSA MONENT HELENI, SCYLLAM ATQUE CHARYBDIM,
INTER UTRAMQUE VIAM, LETI DISCRIMINE PARVO,
NI TENEANT CURSUS; CERTUM EST DARE LINTEA RETRO.

■■■ Kappes (*Eos*, p. 621).

[*punct.*] CONTRA, IUSSA MONENT HELENI, SCYLLAM, ATQUE CHARYBDIN
INTER UTRAMQUE VIAM, LETI DISCRIMINE PARVO,
NI TENEANT CURSUS: CERTUM EST DARE LINTEA RETRO.

■■■ P. Manut.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 684).

MONENT ■ *Med.*, *Pal.* (MONENT, the n in different ink). ■■ $\frac{5}{6}$ s, cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Prob. (*Inst. Gram.*); Princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mil. 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Bask.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

MOVENT ■ *Vat.*; "Vetera quaedam exemplaria cum Mediceo MOVENT legunt," Pierius. ■■ $\frac{1}{6}$ s.

MOVENTQUE ■■ $\frac{1}{6}$ s.

VAR. LECT.

SCYLLA ATQUE CHARYBDIS ■ *Vat.* ■■■ Ribbeck.

SCYLLAE ATQUE CHARYBDIS ■■ $\frac{5}{6}$ s.

SCYLLAM ATQUE CHARYBDIM ■ *Pal.* (SCYLLAMATQ · CHARYBDIN), *Med.* ■■ $\frac{2}{3}$ s. ■■■ Princ.; Mil. 1475; Pierius; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pottier; Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 685).

LETI ■ *Vat.* (LoETI, the o modern), *Rom.*, *Pal.* ■■ $\frac{1}{12}$. ■■■ Haupt.LAETI ■ *Med.* ■■ $\frac{2}{12}$.LOETI ■■ $\frac{1}{12}$.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 686).

NE ■ *Pal.* (NEC, with a horizontal stroke of obliteration through the C).
■■ $\frac{4}{58}$.AN ■■ $\frac{1}{58}$.

NI ■ *Vat.*, *Rom.* (NI originally, but altered into NE by the same hand which has inserted the points after each word in this part of the *Rom.* MS., and which in the very next line has inserted a point even between the DIS and the CRIMINE, and altered INTER into ENTER), *Med.* ■■ $\frac{5}{58}$. ■■■ Donat. (ad Ter. *Eun.* 3. 3); Serv.; Prine.; Ven. 1471, 1472, 1475; Milan, 1475; Bresc.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck.

EXCITUM.—Not merely *morally excited*, or in a state of mental excitation, but *physically, up and in motion*, as *Liv.* 42. 11 (ed. Walker): “Bastarnarum gentem *excitam* sedibus suis.” *Id.* 7. 7: “omne Hernicum nomen, omnis militaris aetas *excitur*.”

QUALES CUM VERTICE CELSO, &c. (vs. 679).—It has been suggested by Conington that, because CUM must be considered as the conjunction, VERTICE CELSO must mean “not the tall tops of the trees, but the high mountain on which they stand—a more striking picture.” I adhere to the ordinary interpretation, (1), because the oaks and cypresses are sufficiently high for the purposes of the comparison without being on the top of a mountain, a position, besides, which by removing the trees to so great a distance would only have the effect of diminishing the apparent height and importance of the object with which the height of the Cyclops is compared; (2), because, where the size of Aeneas is said to be equal to that of the Apennine, a vertex or summit is assigned to the mountain, 12. 701:

“quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
cum fremit illicibus, quantus, gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras,”

after the model of which passage our text may be thus completed: *QUALES CUM attollentes se VERTICE CELSO AERIAE QUERCUS . . . CONSTITERUNT*, &c. **And (3)**, because the tall vertices of the oaks and cypresses, like the tall vertex of the Apennines, serves to present in the one case the trees, in the other case the mountain, under an aspect more nearly resembling that of the persons with which they are compared; and this the more especially as the very term *vertex* itself is so frequently applied (see 2. 682; 6. 780; 7. 784) to the head of a man.

AERIAE (vs. 680), *lofty* (qu. *luftig?*), as *Lucr.* 3. 1057: “*aerius sol.*”

ALTA (vs. 681), not *tall*, but *dignified, august*. See *Rem.* on 6. 9.

692-708.

SICANIO—ACTUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 692).

SICANIO ■ *Rom., Pal.* (*CANIO*, the commencement of word being torn off), *Med., Ver.* ■■ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$. ■■■ *P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.* (1670); *Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn.* (ed. *Heyn.*, ed. 1861); *Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck.*

DASCONICO ■■■ *Seybold, Programma*, Buchsweiler, 1783 (in the University Library of Jena): “*Der meerbusen vor dem die insel liegt heisst sinus Dasconicus. Sollte also nicht vielleicht gelesen werden DASCONICO PRAETENTA SINU ?*”

VAR. LECT. (vs. 702).

IMMANIS—DICTA OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ *Wagn. (Lect. Virg.* and ed. 1861).

[*punct.*, etc.]

GELA FLUVII ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Ver.* ■■ ½. ■■■ Brese. ; P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; Phil. ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Pott. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861 ; in the latter the whole verse between brackets) ; Voss ("IMMANIS FLUVII gehört zusammen") ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribbeck.

GELA • FLUVII ■ *Med.* ■■■ N. Heins. ; Wakefield.

FLUVIO ■■■ Porson.

GELA A FLUVIO ■■■ Supple.

GELA FLUVIO A ■■■ Martinus, in *Diurn. Schol.* Darmstadt, 1826.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 708).

ACTUS ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*) ; Lad.

ACTIS ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.* (Ribb.) ■■■ Servius (cod. Dresd. Servii does not contain the passage) ; Voss ; Ribb.

ORE, ARETHUSA, TUO SICULIS CONFUNDITUR UNDIS.—In order to understand this passage, it must be borne in mind that Arethusa is not a river but a spring, *sorgente*, or welling fountain, on the very edge of the sea, so near the sea that, if it were not protected by an embankment, it would be entirely covered and overwhelmed by it. See not only the ancient geographers and modern travellers, but Cicero in *Verrem*, 3. 53 (ed. Ernesti) : "qui fluctu totus operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum a mari disiunctus esset." Hence Virgil's expression—QUI NUNC SICULIS UNDIS CONFUNDITUR ORE TUO, ARETHUSA: *passes out through thy fountain, Arethusa, and immediately mixes with the sea.*

ORE, ARETHUSA, TUO.—Not *through thy fountain, O river Arethusa*, but *through thy fountain, O nymph Arethusa*, i. e., *through the fountain Arethusa*. Compare *Aen.* 1. 250 :

"unde per ora novem magno cum murmure montis
it mare proruptum,"

where see Rem. Alfieri seems wholly to have misunderstood the passage :

. . . “sgorgando l'onda Eléa
nel seno stesso, ove tua Sicul' onda
spergi, Aretusa, tua.”

There having been several fountains dedicated to the nymph Arethusa, and it being known concerning two of them that they were littoral, viz., the Sicilian fountain and that other in Euboea concerning which Euripides, *Iph. in Aul.* 170 (ed. Musgr.) informs us that the city of Chalcis was nurse of its littoral waters—

Χαλκίδα πολιν εμαν προλιπουσ'
αγχιαλων υδατων τροφον,
τας κλεινας Αρεθουσας—

it becomes probable that all littoral springs at least, if not all springs, were under the patronage of this goddess.

IMMANISQUE GELA FLUVII COGNOMINE DICTA.—The town of Gela, called, as is so frequently the case with towns situated on rivers, after the river on which it is situated. Compare Claudian, of the Nar, which gives its name to Narnia (*Sext. Cons. Honor.* 517) :

“ non procul amnis abest, urbi qui *nominis auctor*
ilice sub ” . . .

and even of this very Gela itself (*Rapt. Pros.* 57) :

“ quae fontes, Crinise, tuos, et saxa rotantem
Pantagiam, *nomenque* Gelan qui *præbuit* urbi
concelebrant ;”

and compare Sil. 14. 218 : “ venit, ab amne trahens nomen, Gela.”

IMMANIS belongs to FLUVII, and means *rushing wildly and violently into the sea, and so as to be dangerous to vessels* ; in the language of Ovid, speaking of the same river, “ verticibus non adeundi,” *Fast.* 4. 470 :

“ et te, verticibus non adeunde Gela.”

The character thus ascribed by the two poets to the Gela con-

trasts with that ascribed by Silius, 14. 229, in his account of the same parts, to the Hipparis and the river on which stood the town of Pantagia :

“ qui fontes, vago Chrysa, tuos, et *pauperis alvei*
 Hipparin, ac facilem superari *gurgite parco*
 Pantagiam, rapidique colunt vada flava Symaethi.”

Immanis is no so very extraordinary or out-of-the-way epithet to be applied to the insignificant Gela, inasmuch as it is applied by Ammian, 28. 2, to the Neckar, a river, of no more than fifth or sixth magnitude: “denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, prae-terlabente Nicro nomine fluvio, paullatim subverti posse undarum pulsu *immani*, mentum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit.” The term is applied by Ovid to the Achelous swollen with a flood, *Met.* 8. 582 (Achelous himself speaking) :

“ intumui, quantusque feror, cum plurimus unquam,
 tantus eram ; pariterque animis *immanis* et undis,
 a silvis silvas, et ab arvis arva revelli.”

AGREGAS, MAGNANIMUM QUONDAM GENERATOR EQUORUM.—We find Sicilian horses even in Attica, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 311 (Antigone speaking of Ismene) :

. . . γυναιχ' ὄρω
 στείχουσιν ἡμῶν ἄσπον, Αἰτναίας ἐπι
 πώλου βεβῶσαν.

MAGNANIMUM.—This word seems here to be the Latin translation of the Greek *αἰγνώωρ*, an epithet applied not only to horses, as Pind. *Ol.* 9. 35, *αγανόρος ἵππου*, but to other animals, as Hom. *Il.* 24. 42: *οστ' . . . λεων δ' ὡς . . . οστ' ἐπει αὖ' μεγάλη τε βίη καὶ αἰγνώρι θυμῷ ἐξας*. Our epithet *blood* and *high-blooded* as applied to horses differs from *magnanimus*, inasmuch as while it expresses the quality of magnanimity it assigns that quality specially and primarily to the blood, and so secondarily to the breed or race, and this so much so that *high-bred* and *high-blooded* are synonymous. It is not perfectly clear in what precise sense Ovid's epithet of *nobilis* is to be understood,

whether as meaning *famous, renowned, or high-bred, noble-blooded*; it is, however, most probable in the latter—*Met.* 2. 690 :

“*nobiliumque greges custos servabat equarum.*”

Compare Hor. *Od.* 4. 4. 29 :

“*est in iuvenis, est in equis, patrum
virtus.*”

715-718.

HINC ME DIGRESSUM VESTRIS DEUS APPULIT ORIS
SIC PATER AENEAS INTENTIS OMNIBUS UNUS
FATA RENARRABAT DIVUM CURSUSQUE DOCEBAT
CONTICUIT TANDEM FACTOQUE HIC FINE QUIEVIT

HINC ME DIGRESSUM VESTRIS DEUS APPULIT ORIS.—Not to be understood as complimentary to Dido, or as Aeneas's praise of and thanksgiving to the good providence which had brought him to a place where he was so well treated, but as the expression of the ordinary religious sentiment that whatever happens to us, whether good or ill, especially whatever happens to us independently of our own will and guidance, happens to us by the will and agency of God. Any doubt that this is the true meaning of the passage will disappear on a comparison of *Od.* 6. 172, where Ulysses having said to Nausicaa in the words of Aeneas *νυν δ' ενθαδε καββαλε δαιμων* adds that the *δαιμων* might have done it with an evil intention :

*οφρ' ετι ποι και τηδε παθω κακον' ου γαρ οιω
παυσεσθ'· αλλ' ετι πολλα θεοι τελεουσσι παροιθεν.*

Compare also Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 621 (Aeneas to Anna) :

“*at tu, seu ratio te nostris appulit oris,
sive deus, regni commoda carpe mei*”

["whether you came hither intentionally and of your own choice, or unintentionally and by the inscrutable providence of God"]. Aeneas's *VESTRIS DEUS APPULIT ORIS* is thus not *some god in his goodness sent me here*, but *be it for good or be it for ill, here I am by the will of God*, and corresponds as nearly as possible to Homer's *διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη*. Compare the same Aeneas's very similar confession of faith in an overruling providence, 1. 203: "*dabit deus his quoque finem*." And the similar devotion and resignation with which Ulysses at the court of Alcinous winds up the history of his adventures, *Hom. Od.* 12. 447:

ενθεν δ' εννημαρ φερομην' δεκατη δε με νυκτι
νησον ες Ωγυγιην πελασαν θεοι, ενθα Καλυψω
ναιει ευπλοκαμος, δεινη θεος, αυθηεσσα.

Also *Aen.* 3. 337:

"sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere?
aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?"

Val. Flacc. 4. 483:

. . . "nec casus, ab alto
ipse volens nostris sed vos deus appulit oris"

(in both which places, and especially in the former of them, we have the words of our text repeated). And *Apoll. Rhod.* 2. 145:

φραζεσθ' οττι κεν ησιν αναλκειησιν ερεξαν,
ειπως Ηρακληα θεος και δευρο κομισσεν.

Aeneas's termination of his narrative without any mention of his last and crowning adventure, the shipwreck, comes rather suddenly on the reader, and must not a little have astonished his Carthaginian audience, it being precisely the shipwreck which was the cause of his being there that night to address them. Sudden, however, and unexpected as is the conclusion of his address, and lame and fragmentary as is his story, the plan of the poem made the omission, which is the cause of both, necessary. The readers of the *Aeneid* having already assisted at the shipwreck could not well have been asked to stand by again during the re-enacton of the same scene *in extenso*, or to regard otherwise than as mere repetition and supererogation

even such short summary of it as might have been sufficient to satisfy the Carthaginian audience. Nor is it easy to imagine by what means a defect which so takes from the verisimilitude of the poem could have been obviated. Not by commencing the poem with Dido's feast, and allowing both Dido and the reader to hear together, for the first time, of the shipwreck from the mouth of Aeneas. Such arrangement had necessitated the omission, not alone from Aeneas's narrative but from the poem, of the whole supernatural machinery of the storm: Æolus, the Æolian cave and "arx," the interview between Æolus and Juno, and the calming of the waves and deliverance of the vessels by Neptune and Cymothoë, of none of which particulars—and they are among the greatest ornaments of the poem—could Aeneas have had any knowledge. Neither would it have answered to defer the storm until after the departure of Aeneas from Africa. The poem would then have suffered the still greater loss of the picturesque meeting of the shipwrecked hero and his mother in the wild near Carthage, and of Dido's disinterested and generous hospitality. The total omission of the storm and shipwreck from the narrative of Aeneas, strange as that omission appears, is a less evil than either alternative.

RENARRABAT.—"Aut RE vacat, ut (4. 116) 'conferi possit,' aut apparet Aeneas ante de suis casibus cum Didone confuse locutum, et ideo hic addidit RENARRABAT, quod notat in primo (757): 'imo age et a prima die, hospes, origine nobis,'" Servius; of which two interpretations La Cerda gives his adhesion to the latter ("iterum narrabat"), Thiel to the former ("RENARRABAT für *narrabat*, welche zusammensetzung Virgil bei verbis liebt") On the contrary, I think that the compound verb is here used instead of the simple, (1), according to the general principle that a compound verb is stronger and more dignified than its simple, as for instance *refringo* stronger and more dignified than *frango*, *rescindo* than *scindo*, *revello* than *vello*, *refugio* than *fugio*, *relinquo* than *linquo*. (2), because in the particular instance the simple verb was peculiarly ill calculated to confer dignity, inasmuch as it was generally used in familiar conversation and writing in the sense

of *aio*, *dico*, *loquor*, as Cic. *ad Att.* 15. 16: "*Narro tibi, haec loca venusta sunt, abdita certe.*" Id. *ib.* 2. 11: "*Narro tibi, plane relegatus videor, postquam in Formiano sum.*" **And (3)**, because *narro* in composition with *re* acquiring not the *iterative*, as supposed by Servius, La Cerda, and others, but the *retrospective* force (compare Stat. *Theb.* 3. 400 :

. . . " ipse alta seductus mente *renarrat*
principia irarum ;"

and Id. *ib.* 12. 390 :

" mutuaque exorsae Thebes Argosque *renarrant*")

was capable of indicating with greater distinctness and certainty that the fates spoken of were not future fates which were yet to be fulfilled, but fates already past and actually accomplished. This retrospective force of the particle *re* is found, more or less strongly marked, in a great many verbs in which it has not been sufficiently distinguished by philologists: *ex. gr.*, "*ad poenas repositent,*" *Aen.* 2. 139, with a retrospect to the previously committed crime; "*referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt,*" *Aen.* 4. 392 (with a retrospect to "*suscepiunt famulae*"), *render up, give up, what they had received.* So also: "*tu pias laetis animas reponis sedibus,*" Hor. *Od.* 1. 10. 17, with a retrospect to his having received the souls in charge. "*Finibus Atticis reddas incolumem,*" Hor. *Od.* 1. 3. 6, also with a retrospect to the charge it had received. "*Vox reddita fertur ad aures,*" *Aen.* 3. 40, with a retrospect to the investigations of Aeneas. "*Redduntur Salio honores,*" *Aen.* 5. 347, with a retrospect to the honours having been merited and duly earned by Salius, &c., &c.

Similar to the Latin *renarro* is the Italian *ridico*, as Metast. *Cantat.* " Il Sogno " :

" qual io divenni allora,
quel che allora io pensai, ciò che allor dissi,
ridir non so." . . .

Tasso, *Gerus. Lib.* 1. 36 :

. . . " ch' io *ridica*
di quel campo ogni duce, ed ogni schiera."

Dante, *Inferno*, 1. 10 :

“io non so ben *ridir* com' i' v' entrai.”

Id. *Parad.* 1. 4 :

“nel ciel che più della sua luce prende,
fui io, e vidi cose che *ridire*
nè sa, nè può qual di lassù discende.”

Compare also the English *relate*, and see Rem. on “reposit,” 10. 374. •

QUIEVIT is not “narrare desiit” (Wagner), because so understood it were (as correctly observed by Wunderlich) a mere tautology of CONTICUIT; neither is it (as Burmann and Wunderlich, endeavouring to avoid the tautology, have interpreted it) “somno se tradidit,” because it is wholly incredible that so skilled a master of the poetic art would have called upon his reader to imagine the breaking-up of this great entertainment, and the departure of the guests and of Aeneas himself, as having taken place in the narrow interval, or, to speak more correctly, in the no interval, between the words FACTO HIC FINE and QUIEVIT, when he had close at hand (sciz. in the space between the two books, or, as it were, in the pause between the two acts of his drama) the exactly suitable place and opportunity for such ellipsis. I reject, therefore, both interpretations, and understand QUIEVIT in its strictly literal sense of *becoming quiet* or *still*. CONTICUIT, *he whistled* or *became silent*; FACTOQUE HIC FINE, *and having here brought his narrative to a close*, QUIEVIT, *became still*, i. e., *rested*. In the passage so understood there is not only no tautology, but each of the three expressions of which it consists has its own distinct and appropriate meaning, CONTICUIT signifying his becoming silent, FACTO FINE the conclusion of his narration, QUIEVIT the cessation of his action. See (a), Stat. Theb. 4. 404 :

. . . “sic fata gelatis
vultibus, et Baccho iam demigrante, *quievit*,”

where the words “gelatis vultibus” and “Baccho demigrante” sufficiently show that “quievit” means *rested* not merely *from*

speaking, but from energetic action. Compare also (**b**), *ibid.*, 10. 245 :

“his tandem virtus iuvenum frenata *quievit*”

[was quiet, stirred no more]. (**c**), *Aen.* 6. 226 : “*flamma quievit*” [the flame rested from action, ceased to play]. (**d**), *Liv.* 3. 58 (ed. Bipont.) : “*Manesque Virginiae, mortuae quam vivae felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas poenas vagati, nullo relicto fonte, tandem quieverunt*” [at last rested entirely, became perfectly quiet]. So also (**e**), *Aen.* 7. 298 : “*Odiis aut exsaturata quievi*” [ceased entirely from doing anything]. (**f**), *Hor. Art. Poet.* 379 :

“*ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit*”

[abstains from the game, remains quiet, does not play]. (**g**), *Juvenal*, 13. 218 :

“*et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt.*”

(**h**), *Aen.* 10. 835 (of the arms of Mezentius) :

. . . “*procul aerea ramis
dependet galea, et prato gravia arma quiescunt.*”

And especially (**i**), *Stat. Silv.* 1. 3. 34 :

“*quid primum mediumve canam, quo fine quiescam ?*”

(where, as in our text, *quiescere* is joined with *finis*, and where, as in our text, the rest or repose of the narrator at the end of his narrative is meant); and (**j**), *Martianus Capella*, 1. 34 : “*hic postquam Delius conquievit, conversus ad coniugem Iupiter quid eius voluntas haberet inquit,*” where after *Apollo* (his address being ended) has become quiet, *Jupiter* inquires, &c. So also the substantive *quies* (whether signifying *the quiet of sleep*, or *the quiet of death*) is always cessation, not from speech only, but from all action; and so also is *quiescence*, inaction, rest, the opposite state of action, as (**k**), *Pall Mall Gazette*, Febr., 1866 : “*Yesterday morning the town was startled from its quiescence, if not from its propriety, by an announcement in the first leader of the Times,*” &c. Exactly into this state of

quiescence does Aeneas settle down at the end of his narration. Compare also, (*l*), Epigr. Pauli Silentiarrii, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 588 :

Δαμοχαρις μοιρης πυματην υπεδυσατο σιγην.
 φευ το καλον μουσης βαρβιτον ηρεμει,

where we have the rest, the stirring no more (*ηρεμει*), of the instrument, added to the silence (*σιγην*) of the musician. **And** (*m*), Lucan, l. 695 :

“hæc ait, et lassæ iacuit deserta furore,”

where the bacchanal is so exhausted by the violence of her speech and action that she is obliged not merely to rest but to lie down.

Between this last verse of the third book and the first verse of the second book there is a parallelism which seems worthy of observation ; there, at the beginning of Aeneas's narration, all the company not merely “conticuere” but “intenti ora tenebant ;” here, at the close of the narration, Aeneas himself not merely CONTICUIT but, FACTO HIC FINE, QUIEVIT.

AENEIDEA,

BOOK IV.

AENEIDEA.

IV.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

CHARLES JAMES FOX, in a letter to Trotter (Russell's *Mem. of Fox*, vol. 4, p. 465), says: "In point of passion, I think Dido equal if not superior to anything in Homer, or Shakespeare, or Euripides. For me, that is saying everything." The meaning of which vague and ill-expressed eulogy of Virgil's Dido may be either that neither Homer, nor Shakespeare, nor Euripides, has better, if even so well, drawn the passion of love as Virgil has drawn that passion in his Dido; or has better, or even so well, drawn passion (any passion which they have drawn) as Virgil has drawn the passion of love in his Dido; or has better, or even so well, drawn passion (any passion which they have drawn) as Virgil has drawn Dido's passion, *i.e.*, Dido's grief, anger, indignation, and despair, at her desertion by Aeneas. In other words, the great parliamentary orator either was not quite clear himself or has failed clearly to express in his letter to Mr. Trotter both what he meant by "passion" and what he meant by the "*anything* in Homer, Shakespeare, or Euripides" with which he compared Virgil's Dido. Whatever may have

been Mr. Fox's meaning, I, for my part, find no tenderness in Virgil's Dido to be compared with the tenderness of Andromache at her parting from Hector; no simplicity, innocence, and artless youthful affection in Virgil's Dido to be compared with the simplicity, innocence, and artless youthful affection either of Apollonius's Medea or Shakespeare's Juliet; no grandeur in Virgil's Dido to be compared with the awful, unapproachable grandeur of the Medea of Euripides; and not only no revenge in Virgil's Dido to be compared with the terrific revenge of the Medea of Euripides, but no revenge at all, scarcely even so much as an inkling of that deepest, darkest, worst phasis of the disappointed love-passion—a phasis for which, if there ever was fitting place in any picture, there was a fitting place in Virgil's picture of the heartless, cold-blooded seduction and desertion of Dido by the hero of the Æneid.

Of all the pictures which it has been the delight of eminent artists to sketch after the model of the “infelix Phoenissa,” perhaps the loveliest is the *Sofonisba* of Trissino—the loveliest in the simple dignity of the style, in the unaffected pathos of the sentiments, in the tenderness, resolution and devotion of the unfortunate heroine, and, perhaps not least, in the absence of the wearying monotony of rhyme, the tragedy of Trissino being, I believe, the first example in modern languages (certainly the first of any consideration) of poetry without rhyme. The *Sofonisba* of Alfieri (also in blank verse, but, like all Alfieri's productions, wholly destitute of pathos) is not cast at all in the mould of Dido.

In the “Oeuvres et meslanges poetiques d'Estienne Jodelle, sieur de Lymodin,” published at Paris in 1583 (and of which a copy, the only one I have ever seen, is preserved with great care in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris), is a tragedy entitled “Didon se sacrifiant, tragédie d'Estienne Jodelle, Parisien.” This tragedy, on the model of the ancient drama, and with choruses, is written in so truly poetic a spirit as to be well

worthy of re-publication, notwithstanding that it is disfigured by such misapprehensions of Virgil's meaning as the following (of *Aen.* 4. 620: "*mediaque inhumatus arena*") :

. . . "qu' alors il ne jouisse
de regne ny de vie, ains mourant a grande peine
au milieu de ses jours, *ne soit en quelque arène
qu' enterré a demi.*"

The reader will, perhaps, not be displeased if I present him with a more favourable specimen of the style of this antique and almost forgotten French poet and dramatist :

"les dieux ne furent oncq tes parens, ny ta mère
ne fut oncq celle là, que le tiers ciel tempère,
le plus bénin des cieux ; ny oncq (traistre menteur)
le grand Dardan ne fut de ton lignage auteur ;
le dur mont de Caucase, horrible de froidures,
(O cruel !) t'engendra de ses voines plus dures ;
des tigresses, je crois, tu as sucé le lait,

voyez si seulement, mes pleurs, ma voix, mon deuil
ont peu la moindre larme arracher de son oeil ?
voyez s'il a sa face ou sa parole esmeü ?
voyez si seulement il a fléchi sa veü ?
voyez s'il a pitié de cette pauvre amante ?" &c.

There is also in the French language another tragedy entitled *Didon*, published by Lefranc in 1734, and preserved in the *Repertoire Général du Théâtre Français*, vol. 30, Paris, 1822. This work, wholly made up of badly translated *discerpta membra* of the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, is remarkable, if for nothing else, at least for the astounding instance it affords of that French sentimentality which finds Shakespeare and Milton (and, as it would seem, even Virgil himself) "*un peu trop forts*," and dreads nothing so much as the leaving too strong an impression on the mind of the reader. It is in the concluding lines, in which the dying Dido, with her terrible curse of Aeneas still quivering on her lips ("*sol, qui terrarum flammis*," etc., all which the dramatist formally translates and puts forward as his own ; see Rem. on *Aen.* 1. 96), is made to turn round and apostrophise the hero as follows :

“ et toi dont j’ai troublé la haute destinée,
 toi qui ne m’entends plus, adieu mon cher Enée !
 ne crains point ma colère—elle expire avec moi ;
 et mes derniers soupirs sont encore pour toi. [*Elle meurt.*] ”

Lefranc’s tragedy has, however, been thought worthy of a translation into Italian.

As to the source from which Virgil himself drew, it was, of course, mainly the *Medea* of Apollonius. But that he was not wholly unindebted even here in his *Aeneid* to that early master of his from whom he took so large a portion of his *Eclogues*, appears on a comparison of the *Simaetha* of Theocritus, *Idyll. 2*, who, being deserted by Delphis, (*α*) lies awake at night tossing and restless when everything in the world but herself is sleeping, vs. 38 :

ηνιδε σιγη μεν ποντος, σιγωντι δ’ αηται
 α δ’ εμα ου σιγη στερνων εντοσθεν ανια ;*

who, (*β*), continues to entertain an unabated passion for the wretch who has ruined her, vs. 40 :

αλλ’ επι τηνω πασα καταιθομαι, ος με ταλαιναν
 αντι γυναικος εθηκε κακαν και απαρθενον ημεν ;†

* 4. 522 :

“ nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
 corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
 aequora ; quum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
 quum tacet omnis ager, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,
 quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis
 rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti
 (lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum).
 at non infelix animi Phoenissa ; neque unquam
 solvitur in somnos, oculisque aut pectore noctem
 accipit : ingeminant curae ; rursusque resurgens
 saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu,”

a notable example of the much which Virgil was so fond of making, and knew so well how to make, out of little.

† 4. 314 :

. . . “ per ego has lacrymas dextramque tuam,
 (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
 per connubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos ;
 si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis, et istam,

who, (*e*), sends messages to him begging him to have pity on her, and come to her, and not leave her yet, vs. 96 :

πασαν εχει με ταλαιναν ο Μυνδιος· αλλα μολοισα
τηρησον ποτι ταν Τιμαγητοιο παλαιστραν·
τηνει γαρ φοιτη, τηνει δε οι αδυ καθησθαι.

κηπει κα νιν εοντα μαθης μονον, ασυχα νευσον
κειφ' οτι Σιμαιθα τυ καλει, και αφαγεο ταδε ; *

who, (*d*), in a paroxysm of grief and anger does not know where to begin the story of her wrongs, vs. 64 :•

νυν δη μουνη εοισα ποθεν τον ερωτα δακρυσω ;
εκ τινος αρξωμαι ; τις μοι κακον αγαγε τουτο ; †

who, (*e*), seeks out witches, vs. 90 :

και ες τινος ουκ επερασα ;
η ποιας ελιπον γραιας δομον, ατις επαδεν ;
αλλ' ης ουδεν ελαφρον· ο δε χρονος ανυτο φευγων ; ‡

and, (*f*), makes use of incantations, vs. 10 : νυν δε νιν εκ
θυεων καταθυσομαι ; vs. 159 : νυν μεν τοις φιλτροις καταθυσομαι ;

oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
odere ; infensi Tyrii : te propter eundem
extinctus pudor, et, qua sola sidera adibam,
fama prior. Cui me moribundam deseris, hospes ?
hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat ;"

and 412 :

"improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis !
ire iterum in lacrymas, iterum tentare precando
cogitur, et supplex animos submittere amori."

* 4. 420 :

. . . "miserae hoc tamen unum
exsequere, Anna, mihi : solam nam perfidus illo
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus ;
sola viri molles aditus, et tempora noras,
i, soror, atque hostem supplex affare superbum :

. . . extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti :
expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentes."

† 4. 371 :

" quae quibus anteferam ?"

‡ 4. 483 :

" hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver."

vs. 3: *ως τον εμον βαρυνοντα φιλον καταθυσομαι ανδρα*; * who, (*g*), invokes Hecate, vs. 14:

*χαίρ', Ἑκατα δασπλητι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἀμμὶν ὀπαδεὶ
φάρμακα ταυτ' ἐρδοῖσα χερεῖονα μῆτε τι Κίρκας
μῆτε τι Μῆδειας μῆτε ξανθὰς Περιμήδας*; †

who, (*h*), sprinkles the salt and meal on the fire, vs. 18:

*ἀλφίτα τοι πρᾶτον πυρὶ τὰκεται· ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσε,
Θεστυλί. δειλαία, πατὰς φρένας ἐκπεποτασαι;
ἦ ῥα γέ τριμύσαρα καὶ τιν ἐπιχάρμα τετυγμαι*; ‡

(*i*), as if they were the bones of Delphis, vs. 21:

πασσ' ἀμὰ καὶ λέγε ταυτὰ· τὰ Δελφίδος ὀστεὰ πασσῶ; §

and, (*j*), whose vegetable *hippomanes* produces the very effects, vs. 48:

*ἵππομανες φυτὸν ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀρκασι· τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πασαι
καὶ πῶλοι μαινοῦνται ἀν' ὥρεα καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι.
ὡς καὶ Δελφιν ἰδοίμι, καὶ ἐς τοδεῖς δῶμα περᾶσαι
μοινομένῳ ἱκέλος λίπαρας ἐκτοσθε παλαίστρας,*

for the production of which the animal *hippomanes* is employed by Dido. ||

How, indeed, could it be otherwise? or how were it possible **that** a poet the latter half of whose eighth eclogue is little else than a translation of the *Simaetha* of Theocritus into Latin, a poet who, in his account of the directions given by Dido to her

* 4. 492:

"testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumquo
dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes."

† 4. 609:

"nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
et Dirae ultrices, et di morientis Elisae,
accipite haec."

‡ 4. 517:

"ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta
testatur moritura deos."

§ 4. 600:

"non potui abreptum divellere corpus, et undis
spargere?"

|| 4. 515:

"quaesitur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
et matri praereptus amor."

sister to collect Aeneas's clothes and place them on the pyre to be burnt along with his effigy (4. 495 :

. . . "arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit
impious, exuviasque omnes, lectumque iugalem,
quo perii, superimponant : abolere nefandi
cuncta viri monumenta iubet monstratque sacerdos"),

uses, *mutatis mutandis*, the very words used by Amaryllis in the latter half of that eclogue when she is burying under the thresh-old the clothes of Daphnis along with his effigy (*Ecl.* 8. 91 :

"has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit
pignora cara sui : quae nunc ego limine in ipso,
terra, tibi mando")

should not have had Simaetha and the latter half of his own eighth eclogue vividly present to his mind when drawing the portrait of his unhappy "Phoenissa" ? Nor is it only the heroine of his Aeneid our author decks out like the shepherds and shepherdesses of his Eclogues, with finery found in the treasury of Theocritus ; even the hero himself has a share. His mind is "celer" (4. 285 :

"atque animum nunc huc *celerem*, nunc dividit illuc"),

as the mind of Simaetha's faithless lover is *ταχινος*, vs. 6 :

η ρα οι αλλα
ωχετ' εχων ο τ' Ερως ταχινας φρενας α τ' Αφροδιτα ;

He is as hard-hearted, as little *pious*, as little moved by any kindly affection (4. 369 :

"num fletu ingemuit nostro ? num lumina flexit ?
num lacrimas victus dedit, aut miseratus amantem est :"),

as the same obdurate Delphis, vs. 112 :

και μ' εσιδων ωστοργος, επι χθονος ομματα πηξας
εζετ' επι κλιντηρι και εξομενος φατο μυθον.

And on his landing at Cumae he separates with Achates from the rest of his companions and goes away to a distance in search of the temple of Apollo and the Sibyl's cave, leaving his fellow-

travellers engaged in providing fire and water (6. 5 :

. . . "iuvenum manus emicat ardens
littus in Hesperium ; quaerit pars semina flammae
abstrusa in venis silicis ; pars densa ferarum
tecta rapit, silvas ; inventaque flumina monstrat.
at pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo
praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane, petit : magnam cui mentem animumque
Delus inspirat vates, aperitque futura.
iam subeunt Triviae lucos, atque aurea tecta"),

exactly as in Theocritus's twenty-second Idyl, Castor and Pollux on their landing in Bebrycia leave their companion Argonauts engaged in providing fire and making their beds for the night, and go off apart and have their rencontre with Amycus, whom they find sitting at the foot of a rock beside a spring, vs. 30 :

ενθα μιας πολλοι κατα κλιμακος αμφοτερων εξ
τοιχων ανδρες εβαινον Ιησονιης απο ναος.
εκβαντες δ' επι θινα βαθυν και υπηνεμον ακτην
ευνας δ' εστορνυντο πυρεια τε χερσιν ενωμων.
Καστωρ δ' αιολοπωλος ο τ' οινωπος Πολυδευκης
αμφω ερημαζεσκον αποπλαγχθεντες εταιρων,
παντοιην εν ορει θεευμενοι αγριον υλαν.
ευρον δ' αεναον κραναν υπο λισσαδι πετρη
υδατι πεπληθυιαν ακηρατω.

His Aeolus is promoted to sit at the table of the gods (1. 83 :
"tu das epulis accumbere divum") as the Ptolemy Lagides and
Alexander of the Sicilian poet are promoted, *Idyll. 17. 16* :

τηνον και μακαρεσσι πατηρ ομοτιμον εθηκεν
αθανατοις, και οι χρυσεος δομος εν Διος οικω
δεδμηται' παρα δ' αυτον Αλεξανδρος φιλα ειδως
εδριαει, Περσαισι βαρυσ θεος αιολομιτρας.
αντια δ' Ηρακληος εδρα κενταυροφονοιο
ιδρυται, στερεοιο τετυγμενα εξ αδαμαντος.
ενθα συν αλλοισιν θαλιας εχει ουρανιδαισιν,
χαιρων νιωνων περιωσιον νιωνοισιν,
οττι σφρων Κρονιδας μελεων εξειλετο γηρας,
αθανατοι δε καλευνται εοι νεποδες γεγαωτες.

1-2.

AT REGINA GRAVI IAMDUDUM SAUCIA CURA

VULNUS ALIT VENIS ET CAECO CARPITUR IGNI

"*Saucii esse, vulnus habere, sive alere, quod verbum perpetuitatem quandam significat, dicuntur amantes, vel amare incipientes, quippe sagittis Cupidinis fixi. VENIS, in VENIS: quippe proditur illa animi affectio commotis venis sive concitatione sanguinis,*" Wagner (1861). Not only not the meaning, but not even near the meaning. *Alere* is not "*habere, cum quadam significatione perpetuitatis,*" but *nutrire; nutrimenta, alimenta dare; to nourish, to feed.* Dido not only *has* the wound, but *nourishes* it, *feeds* it (comp. Soph. *Philoct.* 312 :

ετος τοδ' ηδη δεκατον εν λιμω τε και
κακοισι βοσκων την αδηφαγον νοσυν.

Corn. Nep. *Attic.* 21 : "id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi stat, *alere morbum desinere*") ; and *VENIS* is not "*in VENIS,*" but *cum VENIS*; her *venae*, the blood of her *venae* (her heart's blood), being the food which she gives the wound, the aliment of the wound. Dido *VULNUS ALIT VENIS*, nourishes the wound not *in* but *with* her veins, exactly as the "*vitula,*" *Ecl.* 3. 30, "*binos alit ubere foetus,*" nourishes her calves not *in*, but *with*, her udder. See also Auct. *Dial. de clar. Orat.* 36 : "Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, *materia alitur, et motibus excitatur, et urendo clarescit.*" This *alere, τρεφειν*, either of Love himself, or of the wound of Love, or of the fire of Love, is of the most frequent occurrence with the poets, as Epigr. Meleagri, *Anthol. Pal.* 5. 176 :

δεινος Ερως, δεινος. τι δε το πλεον, ην παλιν ειπω,
και παλιν, οιμωζων πολλακι, "δεινος Ερως";
η γαρ ο παις τουτοιςι γελα, και πυκνα κακισθεις
ηδεται ην δ' ειπω λαιδωρα, και τρεφεται

[is nourished even with *λαιδωρα*, grows fat and thrives even on *λαιδωρα*]. Servius praises our author for a double reference, in

SAUCIA and VULNUS to the tela, in IGNI to the facula of Cupid. "Bene alludit ad Cupidinis *tela*, ut paulo post ad *faculam*; ut: ET CAECO CARPITUR IGNI." Unless, however, I very much mistake, the reference is both more simple and more direct, not to the tela and the facula of Cupid, but solely to the fire of the wound which Dido has received, viz., from the fiery shaft of Cupid. Compare Epigr. of Philodemus, *Anthol. Pal.* 5. 124 :

ἀλλ' ἤδη θοὰ τοῖα νεοὶ θηγουσιν Ἐρωτες,
 Λυσιδίκη, καὶ πυρ τυφεται ἐγκρυφίαν.
 φευγωμέν, δυσερωτες, εὖς βέλους οὐκ ἐπὶ νευρῇ
 μαντὶς ἐγὼ μεγάλης αὐτικὰ πυρκαϊῆς.

Epigr. Asclepiadae, *ibid.* 5. 189 :

. οὐ γὰρ ἐρωτα
 Κυπρίς, ἀνιήρον δ' ἐκ πυρός ἦκε βέλους.

Epigr. Meleagri, *ibid.* 5. 180 :

τί ξένον εἰ βροτολογίος Ἔρως τὰ πυρίπνοα τοῖα
 βαλλεῖ. . . .

Epigr. Leonidae, *ibid.* 5. 188 :

οὐκ ἀδικῶ τὸν Ἔρωτα. γλυκὺς μαρτυρομαι αὐτὴν
 Κυπρίν' βεβλημαὶ δ' ἐκ δολίου κεραός,
 καὶ πᾶς τεφρῶμαι· θερμὸν δ' ἐπὶ θερμῷ ἰαλλεῖ
 ἀτρακτόν, λῶφα δ' οὐδ' ὅσον ἰοβόλων.

Apoll. Rhod. 3. 286 :

βέλους δ' ἐνεδάειτο κούρη
 νερθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ φλόγι εἰκελόν.

VULNUS, the βέλους of Apollonius Rhodius (just quoted); of Aristaenetus, 1. 16 : οὐδεὶς ἑτερος ἐπιστάται τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας τὸ βέλους, εἰ μὴ συγὲ παντὶς ὁ τρῶσας (interpreted by Stephens, *in voce* βέλους, "cordis mei vulnus"); and of Heliodor. 8. p. 318 (as quoted by Bastius and Aristaenet. *ubi supra*) : ὡ φιλτατὴ τὸ μὲν βέλους [vulnus] τοῦμον ἐγνώκας. The fault, therefore, if any, in the *prima facie* heterogeneous mixture, SAUCIA, VULNUS, IGNI, is not Virgil's but the myth's. See Rem. on "cingere flamma," 1. 673, and compare Eurip. *Hippol.* 38 (of Phaedra) :

ἐνταυθα δὲ στενοῦσα, κᾶκπεπληγμένη
 κέντροις ἐρωτός ἡ ταλαίν', ἀπολλύται
 σιγῇ,

where we have in *κάκπεπληγμενη* the SAUCIA, in *κεντροις ερωτος* the VULNUS, in *στενουσα* and *ταλαιν'* the GRAVI CURA, and in *απολλυται σιγη* as near an approach as may be without the actual mention of fire to the CAECO CARPITUR IGNI of our text.

VENIS, not *in her reins*, but *with her reins*, i.e., *with her blood*. Her blood is set on fire, inflamed. Comp. *Ciris*, 163 :

“ quae simul ac *venis* hausit sitientibus *ignem*,
et validum penitus concedit in ossa *furorem*.”

Even an ordinary wound produces inflammation ; how much more a wound inflicted by Cupid's red-hot arrow !

CAECO CARPITUR IGNI is the variation of the theme VULNUS ALIT VENIS—IGNI (the fire kindled by the wound) answering to VULNUS (the wound which kindles the fire) ; CARPITUR (expressive of the wasting or consumption of Dido by the fire of the wound) answering to ALIT (expressive of the growth or thriving of the wound, exactly proportional to the wasting it produces) ; and CAECO (signifying the secret, unseen nature of the fire) answering to VENIS (the blood not seen to be on fire because hidden in the interior of the body). There is thus a direct reference in CAECO to VENIS, in CARPITUR to ALIT, and in IGNI to VULNUS, and the passage affords a perfect example of theme and variation. Compare Lucan, 8. 777 (of the burning of the corpse of Pompey the Great) :

“ *carpitur*, et *lentum* destillat *Magnus* in *ignem*,
tabe *fovens* *bustum*,”

where not only have we the identical CARPITUR of our text, “*bustum*” corresponding to VULNUS, “*tabe*” to VENIS, and “*fovens*” to ALIT, but the same contrast between “*carpitur*” and “*fovens*” as in our text between CARPITUR and ALIT.

CAECO, *hidden, that does not show, or reveal itself*. Comp. Shakesp. *Twelfth Night*, 2. 4 :

DUKE. “ And what's her history ?

VIOLA. “ A blank, my lord. She [Viola] never told her love,
but let *concealment*, like a worm i' the bud,
feed on her damask cheek,”

where we have the usual incorrectness—shall I say of Shake-

speare, or of poets?—it not being concealment, but the love which is concealed, which feeds on the cheek. Our author is more correct; Dido, wounded by the fiery dart, is consumed by the fire.

CARPITUR IGNI.—The fire is still smouldering, has not yet broken out in open conflagration; therefore Dido CARPITUR IGNI. See *Georg.* 3. 215 (of the bull):

“*carpit enim vires paullatim, uritque videndo
femina.*”

CARPITUR.—*Is gradually gnawed away, wasted, or consumed,* exactly as Lucan, 8. 777, quoted above, of the tedious consumption of the corpse of Pompey the Great in a weak and insufficient funeral fire. This force of *gradually, by successive steps, bit by bit*, adheres closely to *carpere* in all its various applications: “*carpere vitales auras,*” *to breathe—to consume the air*, viz., by successive respirations; “*carpere viam,*” *to consume the road*, viz., by successive steps; “*carpere somnos,*” *to sleep, to consume sleep*, viz., by continuing to sleep on from moment to moment; “*carpere pensum,*” *to consume one’s task*, i. e., to make it less and less every moment by gradually performing or going through it; “*carpere herbam,*” *to graze*, i. e., to crop the grass mouthful by mouthful.

CURA.—*Amor* viewed from the dark side, i. e., as a pain rather than a pleasure. It is exactly the Greek *μελημα*, used similarly for *ερως*, as Eumathius, 5. 19: *Υσμινη παρθενε, μελημα εμον, φως εμων οφθαλμων, πηγη μοι σταζουσα μελιτος, ομβρε χαριτων.* Epigr. Tymnae, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 199:

ορνεον ὡ Χαρισιν μεμελημενον· ὡ παρομοιον
αλκυοσιν τον σον φθογγον ισωσαμενον
ηρπασθης, φιλελαιε.

8-14.

QUUM SIC UNANIMAM ALLOQUITUR MALE SANA SOROREM
 ANNA SOROR QUAE ME SUSPENSAM INSOMNIA TERRENT
 QUIS NOVUS HIC NOSTRIS SUCCESSIT SEDIBUS HOSPES
 QUEM SESE ORE FERENS QUAM FORTI PECTORE ET ARMIS
 CREDO EQUIDEM NEC VANA FIDES GENUS ESSE DEORUM
 DEGENERES ANIMOS TIMOR ARGUIT HEU·QUIBUS ILLE
 IACTATUS FATIS QUAE BELLA EXHAUSTA CANEBAT

VAR. LECT.

FORTI ■ *Vat., Rom., Pal., Med., St. Gall.* ■■■ Servius (cod. Dresd.);
 P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1738); Phil.; Heyne; Brunek;
 Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck.

FORTIS ■■■ Wakef.

UNANIMAM, *συμφρονα, ομοφρονουσαν*, as Aesch. *Agam.* 109 :

οπως Αχαιων διθρονον κρατος Ελλαδος ηβας
 ξυμφρονα ταγαν,
 πεμπει συν δορι και χειρι πρακτορι θουριος ορνις
 Τευκριδ' επ' αιαν.

Dion. Cass. 72. 5 : *μεγαλην γαρ ειχον δοξαν επι παιδεια και επι
 στρατηγια και ομοφροσυνη και πλουτω.* Compare also *Aen.*
 6. 828 : “concordes animae.”

QUAE ME SUSPENSAM INSOMNIA TERRENT?—INSOMNIA TER-
 RENT is the true reading, and Servius's doubt (“TERRET et TER-
 RENT legitur; sed si TERRETlegerimus, INSOMNIA erit *vigilia*”),
 and Pomponius Sabinus's positiveness (“ego vero INSOMNIA
 TERRET, *i. e., vigilia*”), and Schiller's translation (“ach! welche
 zweifel sind's die schlaflos mich durchbohren”!), are so many
 wanderings from the Virgilian thought, which is not that Dido
 was terrified by wakefulness (for wakefulness never terrifies),
 but that she was terrified by dreams, visions in sleep, *εν-υπνια*,
 of which word IN-SOMNIA is the Latin translation and precise

equivalent. Accordingly, in one of the originals after which Virgil has painted the whole passage (Apoll. Rhod. 3. 636), it is expressly *ονειροι*:

δειλη εγων, οιον με βαρεις εφοβησαν ονειροι.
δειδια, μη μεγα δη τι φερη κακον ηδε κελευθος
ηρωων' περι μοι ξεινω φρενες ηερεθονται,

and in the other (Eurip. *Hec.* 69) (see Rem. on *Aen.* 3. 482), *φασμασιν*:

τι ποτ' αιρομαι εννυχος οντω
δειμασι, φασμασιν;

Compare also *Aen.* 6. 897:

“sed falsa ad caelum mittunt *insomnia* Manes.”

Tacit. *Annal.* 11. 4: “Illud haud ambigitur, qualicunque *insomnio* ipsi fratrique perniciem illatam.” Ammian. 23. 3: “hic Iuliani quiescentis aninus, agitated *insomniis*, eventurum triste aliquid praesagiebat.” Sil. 10. 354:

“ast ubi, per tacitum allapsus [Somnus] tentoria prima
Barcae petiit iuvenis, quatit inde soporas
devexo capiti pennas, oculisque quietem
irrorat, tangens Lethaea tempora virga.
exercent rabidam truculenta *insomnia* mentem.”

Synesius *De Insomniis*: “atqui si futurorum praesaga sint *insomnia*, risaque ea quae dormientibus obiciuntur, eorum quae revera contingent significationem continent,” &c.

A right understanding of the word *INSOMNIA*, placed in this prominent position at the commencement of the book, and forming the subject of Dido's first passionate exclamation to her sister, is essential to the right understanding of almost the whole of the subsequent drama. A decided colour, if I may so say, is thrown on the picture by this first stroke of the pencil, and carefully maintained through the whole, even to the last finish. In this fourth book of the Aeneid, as in Bürger's *Leonora*, the first words are the key to the whole piece. As

“Lenore fuhr um's morgenroth
empor aus schweren träumen,”

so Dido after a similar night (probably after the appearance of her deceased husband to her in her sleep) flies early in the morning to her sister with the exclamation, QUAE ME SUSPENSAM INSOMNIA TERRENT! *what frightful dreams I have had! I am so distracted I don't know what to do.* As, immediately following Leonora's dreadful dreams, and without other connexion than that best of all connexions, immediate sequence, comes her exclamation :

“ bist untreu, Wilhelm, oder todt?
wie lange willst du säumen ? ”

so, immediately following Dido's exclamation of horror at her dreams, comes, without other introduction or connexion, their subject-matter: QUIS NOVUS HIC HOSPE, &c. The vehemence of Dido's expressions all through her address to her sister, and especially her tremendous oath or adjuration, SED MIHI VEL TELLUS, etc., are thus satisfactorily explained. In her distress and agitation between (SUSPENSAM) the impulses of her passion on the one hand and the terrific (TERRENT) warnings of her dreams on the other, and fearing that the strength of her passion might overcome both her own sense of propriety and the warnings conveyed to her from the dead, or on the part of the dead, through her dreams, she endeavours to strengthen the weakness of her resolution to obey the warnings and conquer her passion, by an oath expressed in the strongest language which it was possible even for Virgil to put into her mouth, and then, the next moment (her passion conquering both her resolution and her oath), bursts into tears.

The answer of Anna,

IN CINEREM AUT MANES CREDIS CURARE SEPULTOS ?

goes to confirm the above views; there being in these words, as I think, besides their plain and acknowledged meaning, a special reference to the frightful dreams which Dido had understood to manifest the displeasure of the Manes at her new affection; as if Anna had said:—“Go on with your purpose, and don't mind the dreams which you erroneously suppose the offended Manes to have sent you. Can you, indeed, believe

that your new love is any affair of theirs? that a former husband, once he is dead and buried, cares whether his widow marries again or not?" I am the more inclined to think that there is a reference in the word *MANES* to the *INSOMNIA* of Dido, on account of the express connexion of "insomnia" (always, as far as I know, used by the Romans in a bad sense; compare *Sil. Ital.* 10. 358 :

"exercent rabidam *truculenta insomnia* mentem;";

and *Tibull.* 3. 4. 1: .

"dii meliora ferant, nec sint *insomnia* vera,
quae tulit extrema *pessima* nocte quies!")

with "Manes" by Virgil himself, *Aen.* 6. 897, from which it appears that it was the special province of the *Manes* to send *insomnia*. Compare also Dido's threat (vss. 384, *et seqq.*) that, when she is dead and with the *Manes*, she will haunt Aeneas "*ignibus atris*."

As here in the first scene, so all through, Dido's part in the drama is deeply tinged with the fine colouring of superstition. Following the advice of her sister, she proceeds immediately to the temples of the gods, and seeks there for favourable omens to neutralise the bad omens of the *INSOMNIA*: "*principio delubra adeunt*," &c.; later, she threatens Aeneas that her ghost will haunt him after her death; and still later, when she has taken the resolution to kill herself, she sees the sanctified wine turn into blood, hears the ominous hooting of the owl, the voice of her dead husband calling to her out of the private chapel she has consecrated to his memory in her palace, and again has her frightful visions—dreams that Aeneas is pursuing her, and that, alone and deserted of all, she is wandering through deserts in search of her Tyrians; and finally, when she has actually prepared her funeral pyre, has recourse to the various magical incantations enumerated at verse 510.

A further confirmation of the above explanation, viz., that Dido, in the words *QUAE ME SUSPENSAM INSOMNIA TERRENT*, refers to her dead husband having appeared to her in her sleep and warned her not to have anything to do with Aeneas, may

be found in Tacit. *Ann.* 1. 65, where that writer, having informed us that the Roman general, Caecina, had been terrified by a dream, “ducemque terruit dira quies” (words corresponding exactly with Dido’s QUAE ME SUSPENSAM INSOMNIA TERRENT), proceeds immediately with the explanation: “nam Quinctilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem,” &c. Compare also (verse 351) the account given by Aeneas himself of the frequent terrific warnings he had had from his father Anchises in his dreams:

“ me patris Anchisae, quoties humentibus umbris
nox operit terras, quoties astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago; ”

and observe the exact parallelism, “in somnis turbida terret imago”—INSOMNIA TERRENT. Compare, still further, Atossa’s relation to the Persian matrons of her husband Darius’s appearance to her the preceding night in a dream, Aesch. *Pers.* 174 (ed. Schütz):

πολλοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ νυκτεροῖς ὀνειράσι
ξυνεῖμ’ ἀφ’ οὐπερ, &c.

Also Stat. *Theb.* 9. 622 (Atalanta, referring to her frightful dreams): “quid trepidæ noctes somnusque minantur?” And Ovid, *Met.* 9. 473:

“ me miseram! tacitæ quid vult sibi noctis imago?
quam nolim rata sit! cur hæc ego somnia vidi? ”

SUSPENSAM.—“Ornate adiectum, ad metum pertinet,” Heyne. No comment at all had been better. Heyne did not understand the word. SUSPENSAM is literally *suspended*, *in suspense*; indicates one having advanced so far, and there remaining afraid or unwilling to go further, but ready to go on as soon as the doubt or difficulty shall have been removed. It is precisely in order that this state of doubt and difficulty, this suspense, occasioned by her terrifying dreams, may be removed, that she applies to her sister. Compare 2. 114:

“ *suspensi* Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi
mittimus ”

[suspended; having advanced so far, but stopped there, and afraid to go farther, on account of the ominous thunders]; and Quint. Curt. 3. 10 [25]: “Alexander ante prima signa ibat, identidem manu suos inhibens; ne *suspensi*, acrius ob nimiam festinationem concitato spiritu, capesserent bellum [praelium]” [*i.e.*, that they might not by too great haste lose their breath, and so arrive on the edge of battle in a suspended state—*q. d.*, compelled to remain where they had arrived, and unable to advance another step until they had first stopped and drawn breath and rested].

QUAM FORTI PECTORE ET ARMIS!—“Ut etiam ab Ilioneo haec audierat, dicente: ‘quo iustior alter nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis,’” Servius. “Wie beherzt und tapfer in waffen,” Voss. An erroneous interpretation, of which I am sorry to have been the advocate in my *Adversar. Virgil*. QUAM FORTI PECTORE ET ARMIS is spoken of Aeneas’s personal appearance, not of his courage and deeds of arms, (1), because the impression made on Dido by Aeneas’s personal appearance is not sufficiently enunciated by the half verse QUAM SESE ORE FERENS, the full enunciation of that impression requiring besides the mention of the face, at least that of the chest and shoulders also. (2), because Aeneas’s courage and deeds of arms are sufficiently enunciated immediately afterwards in words occupying a verse and a-half:

HEU QUIBUS ILLE

IACTATUS FATIS! QUAE BELLA EXHAUSTA CANEBAT!

(3), because the inference in the next verse that Aeneas was of divine origin should be drawn not at all from the account given by Aeneas of himself, an account which, for aught Dido knew to the contrary, might be either grossly exaggerated or wholly false, but solely from the impression made on her by his personal look and bearing; exactly as from the impression made on him by the beauty of her features and the sweetness of her voice Aeneas himself had at once recognised the huntress whom he met in the wood to be a goddess: “O, dea certe, namque haud tibi vultus mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat.” If such were the premises from which such a conclusion was properly

drawn by Aeneas, a cool calculating man, how much more surely were they the premises from which such a conclusion was drawn by Dido, an uninstructed, highly impulsive and impassioned woman! Men, women, and children, civilized and uncivilized alike, we are all of us physiognomists (Stat. *Achill.* 1. 366 :

. . . "nec turba piarum
Scyriadum cessat nimio defigere visu
virginis ora novae, quantum cervice comisque
emineat, quantumque humeros ac pectora fundat").

and the conclusions we draw respecting the unseen from the seen of the individual are sometimes naïve enough. For example, a Siamese ambassador to the court of Queen Victoria says, in a pamphlet published by him on his return to his own country: "One cannot but be struck with the aspect of the august Queen of England, or fail to observe that she must be of pure descent from a race of goodly and warlike kings and rulers of the earth, in that her eyes, complexion, and, above all, her bearing, are those of a beautiful and majestic white elephant" (Anna Harriette Leonowens, "The English Governess at the Siamese Court," ch. 16. Lond. Trübner & Co. 1870). (4), because broad chest and shoulders form a primeval part of the ideal of the hero, demigod, and even of the god, as Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 75 (of Hercules) :

κεινω γαρ μεγαλη τε βιη και χειρες ααπτοι
εξ ωμων επεφυκον επι στιβαροισι μελεσσιν.

Hom. *Il.* 2. 478 (of Agamemnon) :

ομματα και κεφαλην ικελος Διϊ τερπικεραινω,
Αρει δε ζωνην, στερνον δε Ποσειδαωνι.

Heliod. *Aethiop.* 7. 10 : 'γινωσκω' εφη 'τον νεανιαν' [Theagenem] η γραις. 'ευρυς τις ην τα στερνα και τους ωμους, και τον αυχενα ορθιον και ελευθερον υπερ τους αλλους αιρων, και εις κορυφην τους απαντας υπερεχων,' &c. Hom. *Il.* 3. 193 (of Ulysses) :

μειων μεν κεφαλη Αγαμεμνονος Ατρεϊδαο,
ευρυτερος δ' ωμοισιν ιδε στερνοισιν ιδεσθαι.

Id. *Od.* 18. 68 (also of Ulysses, who has stripped himself in order to box with Irus) :

. . . φανε δὲ οἱ εὐρεὲς ὦμοι
στηθεα τε στιβαροὶ τε βραχίονες.

Val. Flacc. 2. 485 (Hesione addressing Hercules and admiring his great chest and shoulders) :

“ verum o iam redeunt Phrygibus si numina, tuque
ille ades, auguriis promisse et sorte decorum ;

annue, meque, precor, defectaque Pergama monstribus
eripe ; namque potes. neque enim tam *lata* videbam
pectora, Neptunus muros cum iungeret astris ;
nec tales *humeros* pharetramque gerebat Apollo.”

Id. 1. 433 (apostrophizing Meleager) :

‘ at tibi collectas solvit iam fibula vestes,
ostenditque *humeros fortes*, *spatiumque superbi*
pectoris, Herculeis aequum, Meleagre, lacertis.”

Claud. *Sext. Cons. Honor.* 560 :

‘ conspicuas tum flore genas, diademate crinem,
membraque gemmato trubeae viridantia cinctu,
et *fortes humeros* et certatura Lyaeo
inter Erythraeas surgentia colla smaragdus
mirari sine fine nurus.”

Grat. *Falisc.* 274 (of a dog) :

. . . “ *validis* tum surgat pictus ab *armis*
quod magnos capiat motus, magnisque supersit.”

Shakesp. *Cymbeline*, 4. 6 :

“ a headless man !—the garments of Posthumus ;
I know the shape of his leg ; this is his hand,
his foot Mercurial, his martial thigh,
the *arms of Hercules*.”

And—I am indebted to Mr. Conington for the quotation—
Tennyson, *Idylls of the King* (Enid, contemplating her sleeping
husband) :

“ o noble *breast*, and all-puissant *arms* !”

(5), because, Venus having taken especial care that Aeneas should at his presentation to Dido resemble a god not merely in countenance but in bust (“os humerosque deo similis”), it would have been not a little remarkable, had Dido been struck by the former only and taken no notice at all of the latter. (6), because Virgil’s writing is not usually of that concise terse kind in which two only loosely related subjects are treated of in two halves of one and the same verse (on this occasion Aeneas’s physical endowments in one half and Aeneas’s mental endowments in the other) but, on the contrary, is usually of that full, rounded, and flowing kind in which both halves treat, if not of the same, at least of very closely related subjects, and the one half is the complement of the other; that one subject, or those two closely related subjects, being on the present occasion Aeneas’s physical endowments, one principal one of which, viz., the beauty of his countenance, occupies the first half of the verse, and another principal closely related one of which, viz., his strength of chest and shoulder, occupies the other. (7), because **not only** is *armi* used by Virgil himself elsewhere, and even by Tacitus, to signify the shoulders of a man [as *Aen. 10. 734* (of Mezentius):

“obvius adversoque occurrit, seque viro vir
contulit, haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis.”

Aen. 11. 641 :

“ingentemque animis ingentem corpore* et armis
deficit Herminium : nudo cui vertice fulva
caesaries, nudique humeri, nec vulnera terrent :
tantus in arma patet. *latus* huic hasta per *armos*
acta tremit, duplicatque virum transfixa dolore.”

Tacit. *Hist. 1. 36* : “sed ut quemque affluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus, *complecti armis*, collocare iuxta, praeire sacramentum, modo imperatorem militibus, modo imperatori milites commendare”], and “forti pectore” used by Catullus, *Epith. Pel. et Thetid. 339*, to signify his strong chest :

“nascetur vobis expers terroris Achilles,
hostibus haud tergo, sed *forti pectore* notus ;”

* “Pectore,” *aliter* of the Gudian.—Ribbeck.

but the two words *pectus* and *armi*, in the same ablative case, in the same position in the verse, and joined together by the same conjunction, *et*, are used by Valerius Flaccus, 4. 261 (ed. Burm.), in a context in which they cannot by possibility mean *bravery and deeds of arms*, but must mean *breast and shoulders* :

“ continuo Bebryx, Malcae velut arce fragosa
turbo rapax, vix ora virum, vix tollere passus
brachia, torrenti praeceps agit undique nimbo,
cursibus involvens: totaque immanis arena
insequitur. vigil ille metu, cum *pectore et armis*
huc alternus et huc, semper cervice reducta,
semper et in digitis, et summi pulvere campi,
proiectusque redit . . . ,”

with which compare Iscan. *de bello Troiano*, 4. 43 :

“ celsa duci Priamo late surgentibus *armis*
effulcit roseum cervix caput, ardua scribunt
membra virum,”

and Lucan, 9. 829 :

. . . “ velox currit per tela venenum,
invaditque manum, quam protinus ille relecto
ense ferit, totoque simul demittit ab *armo*,”

and Ovid, *Met.* 3. 232 (of Actaeon, devoured by his own dogs) :

“ prima Melanchaetes in tergo vulnera fecit ;
proxima Theridamas ; Orcsitrophos haesit in *armo*,”

a passage less terse and pointed than Ovid's descriptions usually are, unless the *armus* of the deer is also the *armus* of Actaeon. To all which arguments I should be inexcusable if I did not add **finally**, (8), the tradition that Aeneas was square-built (*Dares Phrygius*, cap. 12: “Aeneam rufum, quadratum”), and that Dido's attention had been particularly called to this peculiarity of his figure, even by Aeneas himself, 2. 721 :

“ haec fatus, *latos humeros* subiectaque colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri.”

Dido therefore does not, as supposed by Servius and Voss, admire Aeneas's fine countenance and valorous deeds of arms, conclude him from both to be of divine origin, and then return to his valour and deeds of arms, but Dido admires Aeneas's fine countenance and bust, concludes from both his divine origin, and then admires his bravery so conformable to his divine origin. Nor was Dido's conclusion so very unphysiological as may perhaps appear at first blush—more than one eminent physiologist of these *soi-disant* more enlightened times having expressed an opinion that a fine bust is not less necessary to superior greatness of mind than to superior strength of body, a theory which, however it may have the air of novelty now-a-days, is shown by the myth of Hercules to have been no stranger to the ancient philosophical world.

FORTI PECTORE.—Compare Ovid, *Met.* 2. 753 (of Pallas):

“ et tanto penitus traxit suspiria motu,
ut pariter pectus, positamque in *pectore forti*
ægida concuteret.”

Ibid. 11. 461:

“ ast iuvenes reducunt
ordinibus geminis ad *fortia pectora* remos.”

CREDO EQUIDEM, &c., . . . ARGUIT.—“CREDO eum prolem deae esse, quandoquidem fortitudo ac constantia in ferendis laboribus ac periculis generosam ac divinam originem ARGUIT,” Heyne; not perceiving that if Dido had so argued, her argument had been a mere *non sequitur*; and that from no amount of courage and constancy exhibited by Aeneas could it be legitimately concluded that he was the offspring of a goddess, far less that he was the offspring of the effeminate goddess Venus. But Dido argues better than the commentator, and her conclusion is not that Aeneas is the offspring of Venus or any other goddess, but that he is the offspring of the gods (GENUS ESSE DEORUM). Dido does not inquire, nor did it much concern her, whether it was of Venus or Mars, of Apollo or Mercury, he was the offspring, but she has no doubt (NEC VANA FIDES) of that which does concern her, that he was one of those gifted, noble,

highly exalted mortals who were regarded as of divine origin (Sil. 15. 74 :

. . . “tribuit namque ipsa *minores*
hos terris natura *deos*”),

her argument being that if he had been of that inferior degenerate race which nature had condemned to Avernus (Sil. 15. 75 :

. . . “foedere certo
degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernus”)

he never could have exhibited such courage, constancy, and magnanimity (DEGENERES ANIMOS TIMOR ARGUIT).

GENUS DEORUM.—Compare 6. 835 : “*genus* qui ducis *Olympo*.” 10. 228 : “*vigilasne, deum gens, Aenea?*” 8. 36 : “*o sate gente deum!*” 11. 305 :

“bellum importunum cives cum *gente deorum*
invictisque viris gerimus”

(where the compliment is extended from Aeneas to his whole army). 6. 322 :

“Anchisa generate, *deum* certissima *proles!*”

6. 125 :

. . . “*sate sanguine divum*
Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Avernii.”

6. 129 :

. . . “pauci, quos *aequus* amavit
Iupiter, aut *ardens* evexit ad *aethera* virtus,
dis geniti, potuero.”

QUAE BELLA EXHAUSTA CANEBAT!—EXHAUSTA BELLA, wars fought out, fought until the enemy was no longer able to fight, completed. See Ovid, *Met.* 12. 161 :

“inque vices adita atque *exhausta* pericula saepe
commemorare iuvat.”

Eurip. *Med.* 77 :

απωλομεσθ' ἀρ', εἰ κακὸν προσοισομέν
νεὸν παλαιῶ, πρὶν τοδ' ἐξηντληκεναί.

The expression is repeated by Nazarius, *Paneg. Constantin.* 37 :

“quæ tuum, Constantine maxime, mite pectus inundavit gratulatio, cui tanto intervallo videre filium licuit et videre victorem ! narravit utique [leg. *ubique*, Eyssenhardt] *exhausta bella*, et hoc ad tuam gratiam, non ad sui ostentationem,” and in a modified form by Statius, *Silv.* 1. 1. 18 :

. . . “*exhaustis Martem non amplior armis
Bistonius portat sonipes.*”

17-23.

POSTQUAM PRIMUS AMOR DECEPTAM MORTE FEFELLIT
SI NON PERTAESUM THALAMI TAEDAEQUE FUISSET
HUIC UNI FORSAN POTUI SUCCUMBERE CULPAE
ANNA FATEBOR ENIM MISERI POST FATA SYCHAEI
CONIUGIS ET SPARSOS FRATERNA CAEDE PENATES
SOLUS HIC INFLEXIT SENSUS ANIMUMQUE LABANTEM
IMPULIT AGNOSCO VETERIS VESTIGIA FLAMMAE

POSTQUAM PRIMUS AMOR DECEPTAM MORTE FEFELLIT.—“PRIMUS AMOR, maritus,” Servius. “FEFELLIT me, diuturnum scilicet coniugium sperantem,” Wagner (*Praestab.*). Does not the reader’s good taste revolt against this explanation, viz., that death cheated Dido by allowing her husband to live but a short time with her? Is it not plain that the meaning is that he cheated her not of the latter years of a married life, but of married life altogether, viz., by carrying off from her her affianced, her PRIMUS AMOR, before he became her husband? Is it not certain that the intense feeling expressed in the words PERTAESUM THALAMI TAEDAEQUE is less properly the feeling of the widow who has early lost her husband than of the bride who has lost her affianced before marriage? Where is there in the world the cloister that does not answer the question in the affirmative? Nay, is not “deceptus”

the very word used by the Latin Homer, 1. 71, to express the disappointment of Agamemnon compelled to return Chryseis "intactam" to her father :

"maeret et amissos *deceptus* luget amores" ?

and who does not feel that it is but a sorry compliment Saint Ambrose pays to matrimony, where, falling into the common error respecting the meaning of our text, he writes (*Hexaem.* 5. 9) : "turtur ubi fuerit iugalis proprii amissione viduata, pertaesum thalamos et nomen habet coniugii, eo quod primus amor fefellerit eam dilecti morte *deceptam*" ?

DECEPTAM MORTE FEFELLIT, exactly as Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 167 :

. . . "nam perfidus obliice regis
prodidit Oenomaï *deceptum* Myrtilus axem,"

where "perfidus Myrtilus" is the PRIMUS AMOR, "prodidit" the FEFELLIT, "deceptum" the DECEPTAM, and "obliice" the MORTE of our text, and where the meaning is that the perfidious driver disappointed the chariot of Oenomaus (*i. e.*, Oenomaus himself), by taking out the lynch-pin ; exactly as in our text the meaning is, Sichaëus disappointed Dido by dying. Compare also Eurip. *Med.* 498 (Medea, speaking of her disappointment in her husband) :

. . . *ὥς ματὴν κεχρωσμέθα*
κακοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἐλπιδῶν δ' ἡμαρτομεν,

where there is no word corresponding to Virgil's MORTE, because Medea is not disappointed by death, but by the bad treatment she received from her husband after marriage.

POTUI (vs. 19), precisely the English *I could*, *i. e.*, *I might be able to*.

FRATERNA CAEDE.—CAEDE, *the shed gore, the spilled blood*. Compare 9. 818 :

"et laetum sociis abluta *caede* remisit."

8. 695 :

. . . "arva nova Neptunia *caede* rubescunt."

Sil. 13. 8 :

. . . "dic, o cui Lydia *caede*
creverunt stagna."

FRATERNAL.—“Quam frater admiserat,” Servius, Thiel, Caro. No; not *by a brother*, but *of a brother*; the *gore of a murdered brother*, i. e., of Sichaeus, the brother (by his sister's betrothal) of his murderer. It is not the murder but the fratricide which is insisted on. Therefore both PENATES and FRATERNA, the *family murder*. Compare Liv. 40. 11: “tollatur: non primus regnum *fraterna caede* petiero” [by fratricide]. Catull. *Epith. Pel.* 180 (Ariadne speaking of Theseus):

“an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui,
respersum iuvenem *fraterna caede* secuta?”

[his brother's gore]. Hor. *Epod.* 7. 17:

. . . “acerba fata Romanos agunt,
scelusque *fraternae necis*.”

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 429:

“quidque furor valeat, *Pentheus caede* satisque
ac super ostendit”

[by the gore of Pentheus, by the murder of Pentheus]. Ovid, *Met.* 13. 148 (Ulysses speaking):

“sed neque materno quod sum generosior ortu,
nec mihi quod pater est *fraterni sanguinis* insons,
proposita arma peto”

[guiltless of his brother's blood]. Hor. *Sat.* 2. 5. 15:

“qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.”

Seneca, *Troad.* 44 (of the death of Priam):

“vidi execrandum *regiae caedis nefas*”

[the slaughter of the king]. Ovid, *Met.* 12. 240 (of the Centaurs fired by the death of a brother Centaur): “ardescunt *germana caede* bimembres.” *Ibid.* 7. 808: “ferinae caedis” [the killing of game]. Sil. 5. 344: “fraterni vulneris” [brother's wound]. Nep. *Timol.* 1: “Ipse [Timoleon] non modo manus

non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem *fratrum sanguinem* voluit." Hom. *Il.* 9. 562 :

. . . Η ρα [Althaea] θεοισι
πολλ' αχεουσ' ηρατο κασιγνητοις φονοιο

[her brothers' murder, the murder of her brothers]. Epigr. Aristoph. ad Soph. *Oed. T.* 13 : Λαϊειον φονον [the slaughter of Laius]. Eurip. *Hipp.* 977 (ed. Musgr.) :

κακην αρ' αυτην εμπορον βιου λεγεις,
ει δυσμενεια ση τα φιλατα' ωλεσεν

[not through thy hostility, but through hostility to thee, through hatred of thee]. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 402 :

" Olenius Tydeus (*fraterni sanguinis* illum
conscius horror agit) eadem sub nocte sopora
lustra terit "

[his brother's blood]. And Virgil himself, *Georg.* 3. 517 :

. . . " it tristis arator,
moerontem abiungens *fraterna* morte iuvenum,"

with which compare 2. 584 : " foeminea in poena " [in the chastisement of a woman]. And so, no doubt, " *fraterno crimine*," Silius's translation of our author's FRATERNA CAEDE (1. 22 : " pollutum fugiens [Dido] *fraterno crimine* regnum ") is not *her* [Dido's] *brother's crime*, but *crime of a brother against a brother*.

The mistake of the commentators is the usual one, viz., that of taking the words too literally. Pygmalion and Sichaeus not being brothers, but only brothers-in-law, FRATERNA CAEDE could not, they thought, be *the murder of a brother*, i.e., *fratricide*, and must, therefore, be *murder by a brother*, viz., by Pygmalion, Dido's brother. They should have remembered the still looser application of *fraternus*, viz., to the relationship of cousin, Val. Flacc. 1. 162 :

. . . " prior huic [Iasoni] tum regia proles [Acastus]
advolat, amplexus *fraterna*que pectora iungens "

(Jason and Acastus were only cousins, the former being son of

Aeson, and the latter of Pelias, and Aeson and Pelias (being brothers) ; and Val. Flacc. 1. 177 (Acastus to Jason) :

. . . “ si primus, duce te, virtutis honores
carpere, *fraternae* si des accrescere famae,”

where “*fraternae famae*” is the fame of Acastus, cousin of Jason ; **and of** the Italian *fraterno* to a sister’s love of a brother, *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri, scritta da esso*, Firenze, 1853, p. 328 (Alfieri writing to his sister) : “ volendo dalla vostra carità ed amor *fraterno* ritrarre il mio necessario, [non dalle leggi.”

SPARSOS FRATERNA CAEDE PENATES.—“ Si Didonis, dispersos post fugam intelligimus ; si fratris, pollutos cruore,” Servius, uniting a false interpretation of SPARSOS to a true interpretation of PENATES, and a true interpretation of SPARSOS to a false interpretation of PENATES. The PENATES spoken of are the PENATES of Dido, and the entire sense is : “ a home [my home] sprinkled [by Pygmalion] with the blood of [his] brother [brother-in-law] Sichaeus.” Compare Catull. *Epith. Pel.* 181, quoted above :

. . . “ quemne ipsa [Ariadne] reliqui,
respersum iuvenem [Thesea] *fraterna caede* secuta.”

SOLUS HIC INFLEXIT, &c., . . . FLAMMAE.—Compare Schiller, *Turandot*, 2. 4 :

. . . “ noch keiner trat
im divan auf, der dieses herz zu rühren
verstanden hätte. Dieser weiss die kunst.”

LABANTEM IMPULIT.—“ IMPULIT, ut labaret,” Forbiger. “ IMPULIT, ut iam labet,” Wagner (1845), ad “ furem in-cendat,” 1. 659. Certainly not, but *iam* LABANTEM, *i.e.*, invalidum, parum firmum ; as Lucan, 2. 244 :

. . . “ tu mente labantem
dirige me, dubium certo tu robore firma.”

Senec. *Epist.* 117 : “ Dic, quid vitare debeam, quid appetere ; quibus *animum labantem studiis firmem.*” *Aen.* 12. 222 :

“ quem simul ac Iuturna soror crebrescere vidit
sermonem, et vulgi variare *labantia corda.*”

Ibid. 2. 463 :

. . . “ [turrim] qua summa *labantes*
iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
sedibus *impulimusque*.”

Cic. *ad Att.* 3. 14 : “ qui, ut me paullum *inclinari* timore viderunt, sic *impulerunt*, ut omni suo scelere et perfidia abuterentur ad exitium meum.” *Aen.* 4. 465 : “ *agit ipse furem* in somnis ferus Aeneas.” *Ibid.* 11. 609 : “ furentesque exhortantur equos.” *Ibid.* 12. 875 : “ ne me terrete timentem.”

To the argument of Conington in favour of Wagner's and Forbiger's “IMPULIT ut labaret,” viz., “that her spirit was not already tottering before Aeneas gave the impulse is evident from the context,” I reply: certainly, and Dido does not mean that it was. Dido means that her spirit was tottering at the time Aeneas gave the impulse, was not sufficiently firm to resist the impulse; and, not being sufficiently firm, gave way. Nothing can be more natural than that Dido should excuse her passion by her own weakness. The impression was strong, and she was weak, and for the first time since the death of Sichaeus gave way. In other words, the impression was so strong that for the first time since the death of Sichaeus she was weak enough to give way. We have, no very rare thing, both interpretations in Servius (ed. Lion): “IMPULIT LABANTEM; ea enim impelluntur quae prona sunt ad cadendum;” and again: “LABANTEM IMPULIT, i. e., IMPULIT et labare fecit.”

IMPULIT.—Highly emphatic, owing to its position. See Rem. on 2. 247.

AGNOSCO VETERIS VESTIGIA FLAMMAE.—VESTIGIA: however figurative the expression, the meaning is simply *the marks, tokens*; nothing more. Compare Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 1. 7:

“ atque aliquis iuvenum, quo nunc ego saucius arcu,
agnoscat flammae conscia signa suae.”

Soph. *Oed. T.* 109 (ed. Brunck): *ἰχνος παλαιας αιτιας*. Claud. *de Quart. Cons. Honor.* 373 : “ *vestigia magnae indolis agnosco.*” Seneca, *Med.* 394 : “ *irae novimus veteres notas.*”

26-34.

NOCTEM—SEPULTOS

NOCTEMQUE PROFUNDAM.—I think Thiel is right in understanding PROFUNDAM not of the intensity but of the low situation of the night spoken of, viz., that it is underground night.

ANTE, PUDOR, QUAM TE VIOLO AUT TUA IURA RESOLVO (vs. 27).—Compare vs. 552: “non servata fides,” &c., and 596: “nunc te facta impia tangunt,” where see Rem. The chapter of Meursius (Opp. tom. 5, col. 51) in which he shows from the authority of Festus, Propertius, Valerius Maximus, and Plutarch (he might have added Virgil), and from inscriptions on tombs, that among the Romans “honestae matronae, et quibus pudicitiae gloria curao erat, *semel* tantum viro nubebant,” is well worthy the attention of those who discern in the morality of modern civilisation no blemish; in that of ancient, no excellence. The sentiment which Virgil here ascribes to Dido, and which does so much honour to ancient Roman morality, has been expressed with much sweetness and simplicity by Jean Reboul, the baker of Nismes. Copies of Reboul’s poems being rare in this country, few of my readers will, I think, be offended if I here present them with the unpretending little piece entire:

CONFIDENCE.

LA JEUNE FEMME.

“quelle secrète injure aurais-tu donc reçue ?
pourquoi cette pâleur et ce triste maintien ?
cette larme, qui tombe et craint d’être aperçue,
me cache quelque chose, et cela n’est pas bien.

LA JEUNE VEUVE.

il est au fond de l’âme, ô ma douce compagne,
des peines qu’on ne peut avouer qu’à Dieu seul,
qu’il faut que le mystère à jamais accompagne,
et qu’on doit emporter sous son dernier linceul.

LA JEUNE FEMME.

cependant, ô ma soeur, car le noeud qui nous lie
me permet envers toi d'user d'un nom si cher,
parle, tu me connais : dans le sein d'une amie
le chagrin, que l'on verse, en devient moins amer.

LA JEUNE VEUVE.

oh ! mon Dieu ! je croyais dans mon âme oublieuse,
que la mort nous laissait reprendre notre foi . . .
mais non, non : mes aveux te rendraient malheureuse,
ma soeur ; mon amitié n'est plus digne de toi.

LA JEUNE FEMME.

achève, ma tendresse implore cette épreuve.

LA JEUNE VEUVE.

ces jours donc, dans le soif de ses enivrements,
je quittai pour le bal mes vêtements de veuve,
et j'y parus le front orné de diamants ;

et le soir, de retour, j'étais devant ma glace,
et mes yeux me disaient que j'étais belle encor :
mais, ô terreur ! soudain mon image s'efface,
et je vois apparaître une tête de mort !

et son front depouillé reprend sa chevelure,
ses yeux vides et creux rallument leur flambeau,
la chair couvre la joue et refait la figure . . .
je reconnus les traits d'un *époux* au tombeau.

et dans son ironique et funèbre déboire
sa lèvre m'adressa de terribles discours,
que tu n'entendras point . . . mais si tu veux m'en croire,
garçons la foi jurée à nos premiers amours."

Compare the bitter terms of reproach in which the shade of a husband met by Dante in Purgatory complains of his wife's marrying after his death, *Purgat.* 8. 73 :

" non credo che la sua madre più m'ami,
poscia che trasmutò le bianche bende,
le quai convien, che misera ancor brami.
per lei, assai di lieve si comprende
quanto in femmina fuoco d'amor dura,
se l'occhio o'l tatto spesso no'l raccende."

Compare also the noble sentiment of Böttiger (*Die Aldobrandinische Hochzeit*, p. 14): “das was unsere sprache so bedeutend ausspricht, als die ihr vielfach verschwisterte Griechische [viz., in the word *γάμος*], die *hochzeit*, gehört zu dem Cyclus rein menschlicher handlungen, und ist das *höchste fest*, was im glücklichsten und unbescholtensten fall jeder mensch *nur einmal* feiert.” And Statius, “Epicedion in patrem suum,” *Silv.* 5. 3. 239:

“nec solum larga memet pietate fovebas;
talis et in thalamos: una tibi cognita taeda
connubia, unus amor.”

And Propert. 4. 11. 36:

“in lapide huic uni nupta fuisse legar.”

ILLE MEOS, PRIMUS QUI, &c., . . . SEPULCRO (vv. 28, 29).—Compare Plaut. *Mostell.* 1. 3. 47 (ed. Weise):

PHIL. “Solum illi me soli censco esse oportere obsequentem,
solum ille me soli sibi suo quom liberavit.”

ILLE QUI ME SIBI IUNXIT = meus coniux.

SIC EFFATA SINUM LACRYMIS IMPLEVIT OBORTIS.—“*Sinus* dicimus orbes oculorum, i.e., *palpebras* . . . IMPLEVIT autem ideo, quia lacrymae plerumque se intra oculos tenent,” Servius. “SINUM, palpebras oculorum, unde emanant lacrymae,” Cynth. Cenet. About which interpretation the less said the better, not only for Servius and his disciple, but Virgilian interpretation generally. “SINUM vestis,” Peerlkamp, Forbiger; a rational interpretation, and in support of which might be quoted numerous other passages besides those already quoted by Peerlkamp and Forbiger; *ex. gr.*, Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 79 (of Ilia):

“hactenus; et vestem tumidis praetendit ocellis.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 595 (of Dido's sister):

“iactatur tumidas exul Phoenissa per undas,
humidaque opposita lumina veste tegit.”

Aesch. *Choeph.* 81 (Chorus of Choephoroë):

. . . δακρυω δ' ὑφ' εἰμάτων
ματαιοῖσι δεσποτᾶν
τυχαῖς, κρυφαῖσις πένθεσιν παχυνουμένη.

Eurip. *Suppl.* 286 (Theseus speaking) :

μητερ, τι κλαιεις, λεπτ' επ' ομματων φαρη
βαλουσα των σων ;

Neither is this, however, the meaning, there being no word in the context so to limit the sense of *sinus*. *Sinus*, unlimited by the context, can only be *sinus pectoris* (Thiel), *the bosom*, the word being used in the same way as the corresponding word *bosom* is so commonly used in English, viz., without precise distinction between the actual person and the covering. Dido's tears filled her bosom, in the same sense as one friend takes another to his bosom, or a little girl clasps her doll to her bosom, or a man walks with his hand in his bosom, when he places it within the fold of his waistcoat. **That this is** the meaning **of** the expression both here and so often where it occurs elsewhere, without contextual limitation [*ex. gr.*, Propert. 1. 5. 29 (to Gallus) :

“ sed pariter miseri socio cogemur amore
alter in alterius mutua flere *sinu*.”

Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 70 (Hypsipyle, speaking of herself) :

“ huc feror ; et lacrymis osque *sinusque* madent.”

Ibid. 8. 62 (of Medea) :

“ perque *sinum* lacrymae fluminis instar eunt.”

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 67 :

. . . “ illa [Ilia], oculos in humum deiecta modestos,
spargebat tepidos flebilis imbre *sinus*.”

Trist. 5. 4. 39 :

“ verba solet, vultumque tuum, gemitusque referre,
et te flente suos immaduisse *sinus*.”

Fasti, 4. 521 :

“ dixit ; et ut lacrymae (neque enim lacrymare deorum est)
decidit in tepidos lucida gutta *sinus*.”

Trist. 4. 2. 93 :

“ saepe tamen dixi, ‘ cui nunc haec cura laborat ?
 an mea Sauromatae scripta Getaeque legent ?’
 saepe etiam lacrymae me sunt scribente profusae,
 humidaque est fletu litera facta meo.
 corque vetusta meum, tanquam nova, vulnera sentit;
 inque *sinum* maestae labitur imber aquae”],

as well as of κολπος in the Greek expressions πληρουν κολπους and δευειν κολπους [*ex. gr.*, Nilus “de caede monachorum in Monte Sina” (speaking of himself): *εκαθησα τας χειρας περιπλεξας τοις γονασι, και το προσωπον επι τουτων κατακλινας, τους κολπους επληρουν δακρυων*. Apoll. Rhod. 3. 803: *δευε δε κολπους αλληκτον δακρυοισι*] **is placed** beyond all doubt by the use in Italy at the present day of the exactly corresponding expression, as Goldoni, *Pamela*, 3. 11: “credilo a queste lagrime di tenerezza, *che m’ inondano il petto*,” Giovanni, *Norella di Francesco Lutti*:

“ padre e figlio ammutir. Piu d’ una stilla
 all’ afflitto garzone *irrorà il seno*,”

in the former of which passages, it not being the custom in Italy for ladies to wear the bosom bare, and in the second of which passages it not being the custom for men in any civilized country to wear the bosom bare, the welling of the bosom with the tears can by no possibility be anything more than an hyperbole for weeping copiously—an hyperbole, after all, not so much more exaggerated than our own “flood of tears,” and which may well be excused in the poet, when we find the prose writer describing the tears of Panthea, wife of Abradatas, king of Susa, as dropping not only on her garments but even on her feet, Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 5 (ed. Hutch., p. 154): *Δηλα δ’ ην αυτη και τα δακρυα κατασταζοντα τα μεν κατα των πεπλων, τα δε και επι τους ποδας*. Compare Aesch. *Pers.* 537 (chorus speaking):

*πολλαι δ’ απαλαις χερσι καλυπτρας
 κατερεικομεναι διαμυδαλεις
 δακρυσι κολπους
 τεγγουσ’ αλγους μετ’ εχουσαι.*

Eurip. *Suppl.* 979 (chorus speaking):

*δακρυσι νοτερον αι πεπλων
 προς στερνω πτυχα τεγξω.*

Mosch. *Idyl.* 4. 56 (of Megara, the wife of Hercules) :

ὡς ἀρ' ἐφη· τὰ δὲ οἱ θαλερωτέρα δακρυὰ μῆλων
κολπον ἐς ἡμεροεντα κατὰ βλεφαρων ἐχεοντο.

Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 11 (of the tears of the Heliades, as represented in the painting) : φευ τῶν δακρυῶν, ὡς χρυσα, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλημμυρον ἐν τῇ τῶν οφθαλμῶν ἐδρᾷ χαροπαῖς ἐπαυγαζεῖ ταῖς κοραῖς, καὶ οἶον ἀκτῖνα ἐλκεῖ· τὸ δὲ ταῖς παρειαῖς ἐντυγχανόν, μαρμαίρει περὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνη ἐρευθός· τὰ δὲ σταζόντα κατὰ τοῦ στέρνου, χρυσοὺς ἤδη. Camarda, *Costantino il piccolo** (Costantino's betrothed recognizing his ring) :

ἐ λοττε μ' ἰ οὐ ρουκουλίσεν
συμβουλα, συμβουλα φακ' ἐς κουκ' ἐ,
πικε, πικε γήριτε βαρδε ;

thus translated by Camarda :

“ e le lacrime sgorgaron giù
a gruppi, a gruppi, per le gote vermiglie,
a gocce, a gocce, pel seno candido.”

*Carme nuziale** (Coro delle donne, of the bride) :

ἡjotta κεκ' ἐ . . .
λ'jotteσσit θουνναρ γ'ιν ;

thus translated by Camarda :

“ ecco tristamente . . .
di lacrime inonda il seno.”

Arabian Nights' Entertainments, transl. by H. Torrens, p. 153 :

“ when the parting drew near, and our hearts were nigh broken,
in transports of love as our last vows were spoken,
a thick shower of pure pearls in her weeping she shed,
while my tears like cornelians flowed blood-like and red ;
the two streams trickled down in continuous flow,
and hung round her fair bosom a necklace of woe.”

It may not be uninteresting to trace the progress of the hyperbole from its origin. There is first the filling of the eyes

* “ Poesie tradizionali inedite Italo-Albanesi ” : Appendice al *Saggio di Grammatologia comparata sulla lingua Albanese*, Prato, 1866.

with tears (Ovid, *Met.* 4. 683 :

“*lumina*, quod potuit, lacrymis implevit obortis”);

next, the filling of the face with tears (Eurip. *Med.* 901, ed. Porson (Medea speaking of herself) :

οψιν τερειναν τηνδ' επλησα δακρυων.

Soph. *Electr.* 906 (Chrysoth.) :

χαρα δε πιμπλημ' ευθυσ ομμα δακρυων);

next, the filling of the bosom with tears (our text and parallels of our text, as above); next, tears as large as apples run down into the bosom (Moschus, quoted above); next, both face and bosom are wet or steeped or inundated with tears (Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 70; *Costantino il piccolo*, quoted above); next, tears run like a river over the bosom (Ovid, *Heroid.* 8. 62, quoted above); next, the clothes are heavy with tears, as if they had been drenched with rain (Ovid, *Heroid.* 10. 137 (Ariadne, to Theseus) :

“aspice demissos lugentis in ore capillos;
et tunicas lacrymis, sicut ab imbre, graves”);

and at last the tears drop both upon clothes and feet (Xenophon, as above). Nor is it only with tears the bosom is filled; it is also sometimes filled with blood (see *Aen.* 10. 817 :

“transiit et parman mucro, levia arma minacis,
et tunicam, molli mater quam neverat auro,
implevitque sinus sanguis,”

where sinus is used in the same loose sense as in our text, and is not prevented even by the immediately preceding “tunicam” from being *bosom*, without distinction between clothing and person), and, oh, shocking! with slaver (as Juvenal, 7. 111 :

“tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles,
conspuiturque sinus”).

That it is not the sinus vestis, but (no matter whether clothed or not) the sinus pectoris which is represented in our text as receiving the tears from the eyes is further shown by P. Syri *Sententiae* (ed. Ribb), 28 : “amor ut lacrima oculis

oritur, in *pectus* cadit," where the receptacle of the tears as they fall from the eyes is designated not as usual elsewhere by the term *sinus* (*i.e.*, *sinus pectoris*), but by the more general, less precise term "*pectus*," merely because love, the other thing which has the same source as tears (*viz.*, the eyes), could not properly be said to drop into the *sinus pectoris*, could only be said to drop into the "*pectus*." Peerlkamp refers *SINUM* to Anna, not to Dido ("*credo SINUM sororis, in quo sinu caput et vultum reponerat*"), contrary to the general principle that an object is to be referred to the nearest person, when there is neither adjunct nor other clear indication to refer it to the more remote. Compare *Aen.* 9. 251: "*vultum lacrymis atque ora rigabat*," where "*vultus*" and "*ora*" are those of Alethes, not of Nisus and Euryalus; *Aen.* 4. 449: "*lacrymae volvuntur inanes*," where "*lacrymae*" are the tears of Aeneas, not of Dido (see Rem. on v. 449); and 4. 596: "*nunc te facta impia tangunt*," where the "*facta impia*" are those of Dido, not of Aeneas (see Rem. on v. 596); and above all, the original after which Virgil has, even to the most minute particulars, painted his Dido, Apollonius's Medea, weeping by herself in secret, where there was no bosom to be wet by her tears but her own (Apoll. Rhod. 3. 804): *δευε δε κολπους αλληκτον δακρυοισι*. Conington agrees with me.

SOLANE PERPETUA MAERENS CARPERE IUVENTA? *i.e.*, CARPERENE MAERENS SOLA *in* IUVENTA PERPETUA? Compare Aesch. *Prom.* V. 653, ed. Schütz (the visions, to Io):

τι παρθενευη δαρον, εξον σοι γαμου
τυχειν μεγιστου;

SOLA MAERENS, *lonely sorrowing*, as verse 82: "*sola maeret*."

NEC DULCES NATOS, VENERIS NEC PRAEMIA NORIS?—VENERIS PRAEMIA is not another form of DULCES NATOS, but a substantive thought: *neither children, nor the pleasures of love*. Dido's loss is twofold, first of the pleasure of having a husband, and secondly of the pleasure of having children.

VENERIS PRAEMIA, the rewards which Venus bestows upon her votaries, *i.e.*, the pleasures which those enjoy who are the

votaries of Venus; in other words, the pleasures of love. Compare 12. 436:

. . . “nunc te mea dextera bello
defensum dabit et magna inter *praemia* ducet,”

where “*praemia*” are *praemia Martis* or *praemia belli*, the rewards which war or Mars bestows upon its, or his, votaries. See also Pind. *Nem.* 7. 52 (ed. Boeckh):

. . . κορον δ' εχει
και μελι και τα τερπν' ανθ' Αφροδισια.

The identical word is still used in Italian in the identical sense, as Parini, *D'un' Ode per Nozze*:

“chi noi già, per l' undecimo
lustro scendente, con età fugace
chiama fra i lieti giovani
a cantar d'Imeneo l' accesa face,
e trattar dolci *premi* e dolci *affanni*
con voce aspra dagli anni?”

where “*premi*” and “*affanni*” are the *premi* and *affanni* of love.

ID CINEREM AUT MANES CREDIS CURARE SEPULTOS? (vs. 34).—As we would say: *the cinders* (CINEREM) *of the dead* (MANES) *and buried* (SEPULTOS). Compare Soph. *Antig.* 88 (Ismene to Antigone):

θερμην επι ψυχροισι καρδιαν εχεις.

37-53.

QUOS—CAELUM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 40).

INTRACTABILE ■ *Rom.*

INSUPERABILE ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion. The passage not quoted in cod. Dresd.); Picrius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Haupt; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 42).

FURENTES ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd. and Lion ; P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861) ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribbeck.

VAGANTES VACCAEI. ■■■ Isidor. 9. 2, who observes: "Vacea oppidum fuit iuxta Pyrenaeum, a quo sunt cognominati de quibus creditur dixisse poeta," from which observation we may judge how much credit is to be allowed either to the reading VAGANTES, or to the observations of Isidorus elsewhere.

QUOS AFRICA TERRA TRIUMPHIS DIVES ALIT.—FOR AFRICA TERRA compare Liv. 29. 23: "pro terra Africa, . . . dimicare;" and for TRIUMPHIS DIVES, Corip. Johann. 2. 102 (of one of the nations of Libya):

"horrida gens et dura viris audaxque triumphis
innumeris, nullo bellis quae tempore cessat,
impia, crudelis."

PLACITONE ETIAM PUGNABIS AMORI? (vs. 38).—PLACITO, exactly the εαδε of Theocritus, *Idyll.* 27. 22:

πολλοι μ' ἐμνωνοντο, νοον δ' ἐμον ουτις εαδε,

of which passage our author's AEGRAM NULLI QUONDAM FLEXERE MARITI; . . . PLACITONE ETIAM PUGNABIS AMORI? is *mutatis mutandis* a translation.

PUGNABIS.—Compare Catull. *Carm.* 62. 59:

"at tu ne pugna cum tali coniugo, virgo."

NUMIDAE INFRAENI (vs. 41).—Compare Sil. 2. 64: "*nullaque levis Gaetulus habena.*"

INHOSPITA SYRTIS (vs. 41).—Who shall say **whether** inhospitable in the sense of *physically savage and unfriendly to man* (compare the account given by Lucan, 9. 300, of the physical nature of the place:

"inde peti placuit Libyci contermina Mauris
regna Iubae, sed iter mediis natura vetabat
Syrtibus: has audax sperat sibi cedere virtus.

Syrtes vel, primam mundo natura figuram
 cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit
 (nam neque subsedit penitus, quo stagna profundī
 acciperet, nec se defendit ab aquore tellus,
 ambigua sed lege loci iacet invia sedes ;
 aequora fracta vadis, abruptaque terra profundo,
 et post multa sonant proiceti littora fluctus.
 sic male deseruit, nullosque exegit in usus
 hanc partem natura sui) ; vel plenior alto
 olim Syrtis erat, pelago penitusque natabat :
 sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens
 aequora subduxit zonae vicina perystae :
 et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebō siccante repugnat.
 mox ubi damnosum radios admoverit aevum,
 tellus Syrtis erit : nam iam brevis unda superne
 innatat, et late periturum deficit aequor ;”

and Hor. *Epist.* 1. 14. 19 :

. . . “ nam quae deserta et *inhospita* tesqua
 credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit ”)

OR *inhospitable* in the sense of *morally savage and barbarous*?
 (compare Quint. Curt. 4. 7 (ed. Bipont.) : “ a Septentrione
 Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica, navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa ;
 quippe obsident littora, et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi
 vadis occupant.” Silius, 1. 408 : “ et vastae Nasamon popula-
 tor *Syrtis*.” Lucan, 9. 439 :

“ quas Nasamon *gens dura* legit, qui proxima ponto
 nudus rura tenet, quem mundi *barbara* damnis
Syrtis alit.”

Ovid, *Met.* 11. 283 :

. . . “ *mediae quoque commoda plebi*
nostra patent, Peleu ; nec inhospita regna tenemus ”).

The former is the opinion of Orelli, ad Hor. *Od.* 2. 6. 3, where
 he quotes our text in conjunction with Val. Cat. *Dir.* 53 : “ *bar-
 bara* dicatur Libyce, soror altera *Syrtis* ;” the latter of Wunder-
 lich, Forbiger, and Wagner. I am inclined to think that the
 author had no very distinct idea in his own mind, and used a
 word which on the one hand answered his verse, and on the
 other might be understood by his reader, according to his

reader's pre-conceived opinion, of the Syrtis either in its moral or its physical sense, or, if he preferred it, in both senses at once, as it has been actually understood both by Cynthius Cenetensis ("barbara et inhabitabilis") and by Conington ("INHOSPITA SYRTIS, again, may be meant to have a double reference, primarily to the Syrtes as unfriendly to ships, secondarily to the tribes near as barbarous to strangers—the latter being, of course, that which constitutes the real point of the words, as part of Anna's argument"), whose example it might be well other commentators, and especially Virgilian commentators, should sometimes imitate, and, instead of contending *sine fine* in which of two nearly related senses an expression has been used by his author, candidly inform the reader, that they are as little able to determine between the two, or whether the expression may not have been used in both senses at once, as their author himself would have been had he been asked the question. I myself, in my capacity of author, instead of correcting an ambiguous expression so as to reduce it to the precise single sense which I have in my mind, not unfrequently allow it to stand, if, as sometimes happens, the second sense, without being the precise sense intended, is yet one which answers pretty nearly as well. Nor is it unlikely that most authors, especially poets, act in a similar manner, determined on the one hand by the difficulty—sometimes almost insuperable—of the correction, and on the other by the infinitesimal amount of the harm done. In this particular case, however, and on further consideration of this very small matter, I am **inclined**, partly on account of the apt pendant which INHOSPITA SYRTIS, understood in the physical sense of inhospitus, affords to DESERTA SITI REGIO (the Sahara), and partly on account of the perfect parallelism of Lucan, 9. 860 :

"tu, quisquis superum, commercia nostra perosus,
hinc torrente plaga, *dubiis* hinc *Syrtibus* orbem
abruppens, medio posuisti limite mortes,"

where the physically dubious Syrtis, *i.e.*, the Syrtis which is neither quite land nor quite water (Lucan, 9. 304, "in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit"), is the pendant of "torrente plaga,"

the same Sahara, **to think** that it was rather the so famous physical nature of the Syrtes than the Nasamones, or wreckers of the Syrtes, our author had in his mind when he used the ambiguous term *INHOSPITA*. Compare also Lucan, 10. 37 (of Alexander of Macedon):

. . . "non illi flamma, nec undae,
nec *sterilis Libye*, nec *Syrtecus* obstitit *Hammon*,"

where there is a similar conjunction of the Libyan desert and the Syrtes, and where the obstacle in vain presented by the latter to the passage of Alexander could by no possibility be the hostility of a few wreckers, could only be the physical difficulty of the locality.*

SACRISQUE LITATIS.—Compare Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1 (of Cyrus):
καλλιερησαμενος δε, τοτε προσηρειτο τους διακοσιους.

CAUSSAS INNECTE MORANDI.—*Contrive excuses for delay*. Compare Claud. in *Rufin.* 1. 315:

"*innectitque moras, et congrua tempora differt.*"

Also *Aen.* 9. 219: "*causas nequicquam nectis inanes.*" Seneca, *Troad.* 526: "*nectit pectore astus callidos.*"

CAUSAS, not real, but simulated causes; excuses,[†] pretexts, as Propert. 4. 5:

"*et simulare virum; pretium facit; utere causis.*"

Priap. 50 (ad finem Petron., ed. Hadrian.):

"*et non dat mihi nec negat daturam,
caussasque invenit usque differendi.*"

DESAEVIT (vs. 52).—The *DE* in *DESAEVIT* has the force of

* On the contrary, however, and in opposition to the drift of the latter part of this Remark, Lucan, 10. 474, *et seqq.*, applies the term "*barbara*" to the Syrtis in reference to the atrocities committed by its inhabitants:

. . . "non Thessala tellus,
vastaque regna Iubac, non Pontus, et impia signa
Pharnaxis, et gelido circumfluis orbis Ibero
tantum ausus scelerum, non *Syrtis barbara*, quantum
deliciae fecere tuae."

our English *away*, marks continuation with reckless vehemence. DUM PELAGO DESAEVIT HYEMS, *whilst the winter rages away on the sea*. So *Aen.* 10. 569: "sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor" [*rages away over the whole plain*], where the expression "toto aequore" shows the allusion to the raging away of a storm over the sea-level. So also *Aen.* 2. 215: "miseros morsu depascitur artus" [*feeds away on the wretched limbs*]. *Aen.* 11. 59: "haec ubi deflevit" [*when he had wept away*]. Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 755: "dum degrandinat" [*whilst it hails away*]. Petron. 17: "ut ergo tam ambitiosus detonuit imber [lacrymarum] retextit superbum pallio caput," &c. [*when that thunder-shower of tears was over, when it had thundered itself away, or out*]. A similar force, viz., of *away, out, or to the end*, will be found to exist in the verbs delitigare, depraelior, and some others.

QUASSATAEQUE RATES (vs. 53).—These words are not co-ordinate with DUM PELAGO DESAEVIT HYEMS, ET AQUOSUS ORION and DUM NON TRACTABILE CAELUM, but thrown in parenthetically between those two clauses: "Aeneas should stay while the winter and rainy Orion are raging away on the sea (how much more should he stay, his ships being avaried!) and while the weather is not to be managed." NON TRACTABILE = ἀμνηχανον, Eurip. *Med.* 393 (ed. Pors.)

54-55.

HIS DICTIS INCENSUM ANIMUM INFLAMMAVIT AMORE
SPEMQUE DEDIT DUBIAE MENTI SOLVITQUE PUDOREM

VAR. LECT.

IMPENSO ANIMUM FLAMMAVIT ■ *Vat.* (a *pr. man.* IMPENSO, a *sec. m.* IN M IN INCENSUM), *Pal.* (PCENSU ANIMUMFLAMMAUIT, the P and U—which was originally O—in the first word having been crased. ■■■ "Alii non INCENSUM sed IMPENSE legunt," Serv. (ed. Lion., but see below), Ribbeck.

INCENSUM ANIMUM INFLAMMAVIT ■ *Med.* ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.); "In Romano cod. et quibusdam aliis, FLAMMAVIT, sed longe numerosius est ANIMUM INFLAMMAVIT dicere," Pierius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Haupt; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt.

INCENSUM ANIMUM FLAMMAVIT ■ *Rom.*

SOLVIT = ελυσσ, *loosed, unbound, undid.* As stringere is used by Manilius, 5. 105:

. . . "ne crede severae
frontis opus signo, *strictos* nec crede Catones,"

in the sense of morally tightening, drawing the moral bonds close, so solvere is here used by our author in the opposite sense, of morally loosing, undoing the moral bonds. Both metaphors, and even both words, are preserved to the present day in the expressions: *strict morals, loose morals; strict morality, loose morality.* We have also our *tight-laced*, our *strict honour, strict truth, strict virtue, strict propriety*; our *loose behaviour, loose expression, loose way of life*; and had once even our *loose*.

Exactly parallel to the SOLVITQUE PUDOREM of our author is the "solvitque tumorem" of Claudian, *Idyll. 5. 44*:

"sic Venus horrificum belli compescere regem
et vultu molliro solet; quum sanguine praeceps
aestuat, et strictis mucronibus asperat iras,
sola feris occurrit equis, *solvitque tumorem*
pectoris, et blando praecordia temperat igni,"

where Venus with her blandishments "solvit tumorem," looses, undoes, does away with, the haughty swollen spirit of Mars, just as in our text Anna with her counsels looses, undoes, does away with Dido's modesty. Another parallel is presented by Hor. *Sat. 2. 6. 80*:

"rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen *arctum*
solveret hospitii animum"

[loosed, let go, undid, the narrowness of his mind]. Another by Ovid, *Met.* 9. 273 :

. . . “neque adhuc Sthenelæus iras
solverat Eurystheus, odiumque in prole paternum
exercebat atrox ”

[loosed, given up, let go, his anger]. And Manilius, 4. 503 :

“ namque ubi se summis Aries extollit ab undis
et cervice prior flexa quum cornibus ibit,
non contenta suo generabit pectora censu,
et dabit in prædas animos solvetque pudorem,”

presents not merely a parallel but the identical words and identical sense, *loose shame, let shame go*; the only difference being that the pudor spoken of by Virgil is feminine shame or modesty, while Manilius's pudor is shame or modesty generally. The moral solve—*the moral loosing, unbinding, or letting go—being*, in all these instances, not partial but complete, there can be **no doubt that** it is complete in our text also, that Heyne's view of our author's meaning (“male accipitur quasi ad impudentiam sit prolapsa. Sed effecit quo eam iam minus puderet amori succumbere”) is much too lenient and favourable to Dido, **and that** in the words SOLVITQUE PUDOREM, following so immediately as they do on Dido's execration of herself, if she should ever violate the laws of modesty :

SED MIHI VEL TELLUS OPTEM PRIUS IMA DEHISCAT,
VEL PATER OMNIPOTENS ADIGAT ME FULMINE AD UMBRAS,
PALLENTE UMBRAS EREBI, NOCTEMQUE PROFUNDAM,
ANTE, PUDOR, QUAM TE VIOLO, AUT TUA IURA RESOLVO,

and followed so immediately as they are by the unseemly exhibition Dido makes of herself, coursing everywhere through the city, as if mad or hunted :

URITUR INFELIX DIDO TOTAEQUE VAGATUR
URBE FURENS, QUALIS CONIECTA CERVA SAGITTA,
QUAM PROCUL INCAUTAM NEMORA INTER CRESIA FIXIT
PASTOR AGENS TELIS, LIQUITQUE VOLATILE FERRUM
NESCIVS ; ILLA FUGA SILVAS SALTUSQUE PERAGRAT
DICTAEOS ; HAERET LATERI LETALIS ARUNDO ;

may, wooing Aeneas in the most public places and before all eyes :

NUNC MEDIA AENEAN SECUM PER MOENIA DUCIT,
SIDONIASQUE OSTENTAT OPES URBEMQUE PARATAM ;
INCIPIT EFFARI, MEDIAQUE IN VOCE RESISTIT ;

the counsels of Anna are represented as having given the *coup-de-grâce* to Dido's modesty or sense of shame : " with these words blew into a flame her already kindled inclination, gave her hopes of success, and caused her to break through all restraints of modesty " : *ερρετω αιδως· ερρετω σωφροσυνη· ερρετω και το σεμνον της οδυνηρας εμοι παρθενιας. Υπαισθανομαι της φυσεως βουλομενης, ηπερ νομων, ως εοικεν, ουδεν μελει.* In all of which painting our author has never even for one moment taken his eyes off his Apollonian model, Apoll. Rhod. 3. 782 (Medea, soliloquizing) :

. . . ου μεν εολπα καταφθιμενοιο περ εμψης
λωφησειν αχεων· τοτε δ' αν κακον αμμι πελοιτο,
κεινος οτε ζωης απαμειρεται. Ερρετω αιδως,
ερρετω αγλαϊη· ο δ' εμη ιοτητι σωθεις,
ασκηθης, ινα οι θυμω φιλον, ενθα νεοιτο.
αυταρ εγων αυτημαρ οτ' εξανυσειεν αεθλον,
τεθναιην, η λαιμον αναρτησασα μελαθρων,
η και πασσαμενη ραιστηρια φαρμακα θυμου·

where, besides, *πασσαμενη* (*inspergens*) corresponds to Virgil's "*spargens humida.*" *Ibid.* 3. 1062 :

ως αρ' εφη· και σιγα ποδων παρος οσσε βαλουσα,
θεσπεσιον λιαιοισι παρηϊδα δακρυσι δνε
μυρομενη, οτ' εμελλεν αποπροθι πολλον εοιο
ποντον επιπλαγξασθαι· ανηρω δε μιν αυτην
εξαντις μυθω προσεφωνεεν, ειλε τε χειρος
δεξιτερης· ηδη γαρ απ' οφθαλμους λιπεν αιδως.

So necessary to a correct estimation of the character of Dido do I consider a right understanding of our text, that I do not hesitate to delay the perhaps impatient reader with some few further examples of the thoroughness of the disconnexion, the completeness of the disestablishment expressed by *solvere*. *Aen.* 4. 703 : " . . . *teque isto corpore solvo*" [I release thee from that body]. *Ibid.* 10. 305 :

" *solvitur, atque viros mediis exponit in undis*"

[goes to pieces]. *Ibid.* 1. 566 :

“ *solvite* corde metum, Teucris, secludite curas ”

[away with all fear!] *Hor. Od.* 1. 4. 1 :

“ *solvitur* acris hyems grata vice veris et Favoni ”

[the winter is completely gone, the spring is come]. *Senec. Phoen.* 405 (Antigone to Jocasta) :

“ nudum inter enses pectus infestos tene.
aut *solve* bellum mater, aut prima excipe ”

[either put an end to the war or be its first victim]. *Sil.* 12. 324 :

“ *solvite*, gens Veneris, graviore corde timores ”

[dismiss all graver fears]. *Celsus*, 1. 1 : “ *concubitus rarus corpus excitat, frequens solvit* ” [undoes the body]. *Tacit. Annal.* 1. 44 : “ *solvebatur militia* ” [was dismissed the military service]. *Ibid.* 1. 61 : “ *cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique* ” [paying the last debt to the soldiers and their general]. And, especially, *Prudent. Hamart.* 258 :

“ auri namque fames parto fit maior ab auro.
inde seges scelerum, radix et sola malorum,
dum scatebras fluviorum omnes et operta metalla
eliquat ornatus, *solvendi* leno pudoris,”

where who can doubt the degree of abandonment of modesty expressed by “ *solvendi pudoris* ” ?

Let no one, then, be misled by the just now quoted observation of Heyne into a total misconception of Virgil's Dido. Virgil's Dido is not a woman who, entertaining—whether rightly or wrongly no matter—a religious and moral horror of breach of compact with her deceased bridegroom, comes reluctantly and by slow degrees, and the operation of circumstances, among which are to be reckoned the counsels of her sister, to have her resolution shaken, and only after long wooing yields at last in an unguarded moment and falls a victim to an insidious seducer. On the contrary, Virgil's Dido is a woman who, hesitating between her vow to her deceased bridegroom and

a new love, is so moved by the representations of her sister as suddenly and completely to break through all restraints of shame :

HIS DICTIS INCENSUM ANIMUM INFLAMMAVIT AMORE,
SPEMQUE DEDIT DUBIAE MENTI SOLVITQUE PUDOREM,

and think of nothing from that moment forward but the gratification of her passion. Accordingly, on the very first opportunity, even on so public an occasion as a royal hunting, she loses her virtue to a foreign adventurer, and enters on a life of open, undisguised concubinage with him :

“ ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit ; neque enim specie famave movetur,
nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem ;
coniugium vocat ; hoc praetexit nomine culpam,”

a life which she continues so long as she can persuade her paramour to remain with her ; and only when he tires of her and forsakes her, kills herself, not in expiation of her breach of faith to her deceased bridegroom, but in the disappointment and fury of a cast-off mistress, her betrayer's name being the last word on her lips, and her last breath an aspiration of revenge :

“ hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.”

Nor could it be otherwise. The Aeneid is not history, but a poem ; a poem, too, written by Augustus's *protégé* for the express and avowed purpose of glorifying his patron and protector, and of the hero of which Augustus himself is the prototype. The hero of such a poem must not, could not, be the seducer, could only be the seduced. Even Homer, who was so much more at liberty than Virgil, represents his hero as seduced by, not as the seducer of, Calypso and Circe ; and as seduced by, not as the seducer of, Dido, Virgil has with his usual tact and felicity represented Aeneas, and in the words SOLVITQUE PUDOREM gives his readers the first intimation of that unblushing immodesty and recklessness of public opinion with which his heroine acts from the fatal moment of her interview with her sister up to

the moment of the final catastrophe; and so Dido herself, in her agony :

“ tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furem
his, germana, malis oneras atque obiiis hosti.
non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas !
non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo !”

the Virgilian Dido in the words “ lacrymis evicta meis ” ascribing all her misfortunes to her own licentious passion no less plainly and unequivocally than in the Ausonian epigram the historical Dido repudiates the calumny (Auson. *Epigr. in Didus imaginem*) :

“ talis eram : sed non, Maro quam mihi finxit, erat meus ;
vita nec incestis laeta cupidinibus.
namque nec Aeneas vidit me Troius unquam ;
nec Libyam advenit classibus Iliacis ;
sed furias fugiens atque arma procacis Iarbae
servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam.”

Pudor being so often spoken of as a **garment** enveloping the person (as Apul. *de Magia*, 3 : “ *pudor enim veluti vestis quanto obsoletior est, tanto incuriosius habetur.*” Plaut. *Mostell.* 1. 3. 7 :

“ haec illa est tempestas mea, mihi quae *modestiam* omnem
detexit, *tectus* qua fui,”

where Schop. quotes Pacuvius :

“ nam si te *tegeret pudor*, sive adeo cor sapientia
imbutum foret.”

Sil. 5. 15 :

“ verum ardens puero, castumque *exuta pudorem*
(nam forma certare deis, Thrasymene, valeres),
littore correptum stagnis demisit Agylle”)

and *solvere* so often used as expressing the **loosing** of the virgin zone on the bridal night (as Catull. 2 :

“ tam gratum mihi quam ferunt puellae
pernici aureolum fuisse malum
quod *zonam solvit* diu ligatam”),

hence, SOLVIT PUDOREM expresses with just sufficient force

and clearness the fatal working of her sister's counsels on Dido's already tottering virtue. Either *rapiuit* PUDOREM or *eripuit* PUDOREM had been too strong, had signified *devirginated*, as Stat. *Achill.* 1. 671 :

. . . "illa astu tacito *raptumque pudorem*
surgentemque uterum atque agros in pondere menses
occultuit."

Ibid. 1. 661 :

"vade, sed *ereptum taceas celesque pudorem.*"

The figure with which Voss has translated the passage, viz., "und wiegte die scham ein," *rocked her shame to sleep*, is neither a good figure nor to be found in the words. Before *solvere pudorem* can signify even *put shame to sleep*, in *somnos* must be added, as at 4. 529 : "neque unquam solvitur in *somnos*;" and how much farther from Virgil's thought *rocking* to sleep than even *putting* to sleep ! Yet Voss is famed for his literal translation, and has actually translated not the *Aeneid* only, but the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* also, verse for verse, German hexameter for Latin hexameter.

56-58.

PRINCIPIO DELUBRA ADEUNT PACEMQUE PER ARAS
EXQUIRUNT MACTANT LECTAS DE MORE BIDENTES
LEGIFERAE CERERI PHOEBIQUE PATRIQUE LYAEO

PRINCIPIO DELUBRA ADEUNT.—Alarmed by the frightful dreams she has had (verse 9), Dido, following the advice of (verse 50) and accompanied by her sister, goes (ADEUNT) to the temples, and endeavours to propitiate heaven with sacrifices and gifts. Compare Plaut. *Amph.* 573 (ed. Bothe), Sosia speaking [*to Amphitr.*] :

"recte dicit ut commeminit : *somnium* narrat tibi."

[to *Alcmena*]:

“sed, mulier, postquam experrecta es, prodigiali *Iovi*
aut *mola salsa* hodie aut *thure comprecata* oportuit”

[i.e., should have sacrificed on account of her dream]. Cicer.
de Divin. 1. 21 (quoting from an ancient poet):

“quia mater gravis parere se ardentem facem
visa est in somnis Hecuba: quo facto pater
rex ipse Priamus, *somnio* mentem metu
perculus, curis sumptis suspirantibus
exsacrificabat hostiis balantibus.
tum coniectorem postulat pacem petens,
ut se edoceret obsecrans Apollinem,
quo sese vertant tantae sortes somnium.”

Senec. *Octav.* 745 (Poppaea, having had frightful dreams, to her nurse):

“*delubra et aras petere* constitui sacras,
caesis litare victimis numen deum,
ut expientur noctis et *somni minae*,
terrorque in hostes redeat attonitos [*al.* attonitus] meos.
et vota pro me suscipe, et precibus piis
superos adora, manet ut praesens metus.”

Heliod. *Aethiop.* 7. 10: *ὡς δὲ τοῖς προθυροῖς ἐπιστῇ, θυσίαν ἀγειν τῇ θεῷ λεγούσα ὑπὲρ τῆς δεσποίνης Ἀρσακῆς, ἐκ τινῶν οὐνειράτων τέταραγμένης, καὶ ἐξίλεωσασθαι τὰ οφθέντα βουλομένης, τῶν νεωκόρων διεκώλυε τις καὶ ἀπεπέμπε.*

That the superstition has come down to the present day, let Coleridge testify, *Christabel*, stanza 4:

“the lovely lady, Christabel,
whom her father loves so well,
what makes her in the wood so late,
a furlong from the castle gate?
she had *dreams* all yesternight
of her own betrothed knight,
and she in the midnight wood will *pray*
for the weal of her lover that's far away.”

BIDENTES (vs. 57).—“*Bidentes* autem dictae sunt quasi *bien-nes*,” . . . Sunt etiam in ovibus duo eminentiores dentes inter octo, qui non nisi circa bimatum apparent: nec in omnibus, sed

in his quæ sunt aptæ sacrificiis, inveniuntur," Servius. And so Forbiger *ad loc.*, and Gesner *in voce*. Incorrectly in every respect. Sheep not only are not called bidentes because they are biennes, but actually cease to be bidentes as soon as they are biennes. The fact, as I have satisfied myself by actual observation, is as follows. A sheep, until it has attained the age of one year, has a set of eight primary, or milk, teeth; when the age of one year has been attained, the two central of these eight teeth drop out, and are replaced by the first two teeth of the second or permanent set, which being very large and conspicuous amidst the six remaining milk teeth (originally much smaller, and now greatly diminished by use and absorption), the animal at first sight appears to have only two teeth (sheep never having any front teeth at all in the upper jaw); hence the appellation bidens (and so, correctly, Festus, aware of the fact, but ignorant of the etiology: "*bidentes* sunt oves duos dentes longiores cæteris habentes." Also Hyginus Julius et apud Macrob. *Sat. 6. 9*, et apud Aul. Gell. (quoted below). Popma, *de Instr. Fund. 5*, διόδοντα προβάτα. Scaliger in *Coniect.*, and La Cerda). This condition of the teeth continues during the whole of the second year, at the end of which, *i.e.*, when the sheep is two years old complete, two more of the milk teeth drop, and are replaced by two large permanent teeth exactly similar to, and one on each side of, the two first; so that from the completion of the second year till the beginning of the fourth the sheep appears to have a set of four large teeth, and is no longer bidens. Bidens therefore is not biennis, but simply bi-dens; *i.e.*, a sheep with two teeth, or, in other words, a sheep in the second year of its age; a sheep which having completed its first year and having got its two first long teeth is bidens, but not having completed its second year is not yet biennis.

There can be little doubt of the identity of Virgil's bidens and Homer's αρνειος, also distinguished by its γνωμονες οδοντες, (Damm, *in voce αρνειος*), and which, when it was no longer so distinguishable, and therefore for want of the distinguishing mark had become λειπογνωμων, was no longer fit for sacrifice.

The explanation which Hyginus Julius, “qui ius pontificum non videtur ignorasse” (Aul. Gell.) has given of the term *bidens*: “quae *bidens* est hostia” (says Aulus Gellius, quoting his words), “oportet habeat dentes octo, sed ex his duos caeteris altiores, per quos appareat ex minore aetate in maiorem transcendisse,” is, therefore, though in the main correct, yet not perfectly so, inasmuch as the possession of two teeth larger or more prominent than all the others proved not merely that the sheep had reached the age required by the pontifical law, but also that it had not passed the age. Singular and almost incredible that no philologist should before now have taken the trouble to test the opinion of Hyginus Julius by actual examination of the sheep’s mouth, notwithstanding the express suggestion of Aulus Gellius himself to that effect (16. 6): “haec Hygini opinio an vera sit, non argumentis, sed oculis iudicari potest.”

The substance of the above comment, published in 1853 in my “Twelve Years’ Voyage,” has been honoured by Wagner, of course without any mention of the source from whence derived, with a place in his truly *praestabilior* edition of 1861.

LEGIFERAE CERERI PHOEBIQUE PATRIQUE LYAEO (vs. 58).—Not only Juno, Venus, and Hymen (see Rem. on verse 125) were concerned in matrimonial alliances, but Ceres and Bacchus (“sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus”), and even Apollo. Compare *Pervigil. Veneris*, 43:

“nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt, nec poetarum deus.”

Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 219:

“at procul ut Stellae thalamos sensere parari
 Latous vatū pater, et Semeleius Evan,
 hic movet Ortygia, movet hic rapida agmina Nysa;
 huic Lycii montes, gelidaeque umbracula Thymbrae,
 et, Parnasse, sonas; illi Pangaea resultant,
 Ismaraque, et quondam genialis littora Naxi.”

Himer. *Orat.* 1. 3: Απολλωνα φασι μετα τας μεγαλας νικας, ας πληττων την λυραν ηρατο, και κατα πασταδων ηχησαι μελος γαμηλιον.

61-64.

CANDENTIS VACCAE MEDIA INTER CORNUA FUNDIT
AUT ANTE ORA DEUM PINGUES SPATIATUR AD ARAS
INSTAURATQUE DIEM DONIS PECUDUMQUE RECLUSIS
PECTORIBUS INHIANS SPIRANTIA CONSULIT EXTA

CANDENTIS VACCAE.—It became a queen to sacrifice a white cow to Juno, as it became a king to sacrifice a white bull to Jupiter. See Rem. on 3. 21.

AUT (vs. 62) has here the connecting, not the disjoining force. Dido performs *both* acts, both FUNDIT and SPATIATUR—INSTAURAT and CONSULIT.

SPATIATUR AD ARAS.—This *spatiari ANTE ORA DEUM AD ARAS* is, no doubt, substituted **by** our author, as by Propertius, 2. 2 :

. . . “incedit vel Iove digna soror,
aut cum Dulichias Pallas *spatiatur ad aras*,
Gorgonis anguiferae pectus operta comis ;”

and Ovid, *Met.* 7. 257 :

. . . “sparsis Medea capillis
Bacchantum ritu flagrant *circum aras*,”

for the veritable barbaric dancing, little befitting, according to the refined notions of western nations, and especially of the Romans, the dignity of exalted personages. See *Bibl. Sacr.*, *Reg.* 2. 6. 12 : “et erant cum David septem chori, et victima vituli[*sic.*] Cumque transcendissent qui portabant arcam Domini sex passus, immolabat bovem et arietem. Et David *saltabat totis viribus ante dominum* : porro David erat accinctus ephod lineo. . . . Cumque intrasset arca Domini in civitatem David, Michol filia Saul prospiciens per fenestram vidit regem David *subsilientem atque saltantem coram Domino* ; et *despexit* eum in corde suo.” Philostratus, *vita Apollonii Tyane*i, 3. 4 : Μετεωροπορουντας δε ιδειν [τους Βραχμανας] απο της γης ες πηχεις

δυω, ου θαυματοποιῖας ενεκεν . . . ἀλλ' ὅποσα τῷ ἡλίῳ συναπο-
 βαίνουντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν, ὡς προσφορὰ τῷ θεῷ πραττον-
 τες. Ammian. 28. 1 (of Maximinus): "pedes huc et illuc
 exultando contorquens, saltare non incedere videbatur, dum
 studebat inter altaria celsius gradientes, ut quidam memorant,
 imitari Brachmanas." Eurip. *Troad.* 148 (Hecuba speaking):

. . . ὅπως ἐξαρξῶ ἔγωγε
 μολπᾶν, οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν, οἶαν
 σκηπτρῷ Πριαμοῦ διεριδομένα
 ποδοῖς ἀρχεχοροῦ πληγαῖς φρυγίαις
 εὐκομποῖς ἐξηρχόν θεοῦς.

Seneca, *Troad.* 783 (Andromache, lamenting and apostrophizing
 Astyanax):

"non inter aras mobili velox pede
 revocante flexo concitos cornu modos,
 barbarica prisco templa saltatu coles."

INSTAURAT (vs. 63).—Dido is doubtful about the signs
 shown by the first "candens vacca," and offers another.

PECUDUM . . . PECTORIBUS, not pecudis . . . pectore,
 because Dido has killed not merely the one "candens vacca"
 spoken of in verse 61, but a second (INSTAURAT).

SPIRANTIA (vs. 64).—*Breathing*, of course, but in what sense
breathing? Not in the literal sense, the act of respiration having
 necessarily ceased before it was possible PECTORIBUS RECLUSIS
 consulere EXTA: *seeming to breathe*, then, from their palpitat-
 ing, quivering motion? and so Servius: "palpitantia, quasi ad-
 huc viva," an interpretation in which Servius is followed by the
 commentators generally, viz., by Heyne, Forbiger, Wagner,
 Gesner, in *Thesaur.*, Forcellini, in *Thesaur.*, Gossrau, Conington
 —all, as I think, erroneously, if it were only because it is not
 likely *a priori* that our author would use a word literally expres-
 sive of one sort of motion performed by an animal figuratively
 for a motion of a different kind performed by the same animal.
 To have denominated the involuntary, spasmodic action of the
 heart or arteries or intestines, or the quivering of the cut flesh,
 respiration (*spirare*), had not been a figurative expression, it
 had been a false expression, a confusion of terms. There is

no resemblance whatever, not even the smallest, between any motion seen when an animal is cut into immediately after being killed (and all victims were killed first, and only after they were killed scrutinized for signs prognostic of the future) and the motion of respiration. The animal itself, indeed, might respire for some short time after receiving the fatal blow, but it is not of the animal the word is here used, but of the interior parts of the animal, the EXTA; and their motion is not of a kind to be expressed either literally or figuratively by spirare. What then? if SPIRANTIA EXTA is not “palpitantia EXTA,” what is it? It is not, as we have seen, literally SPIRANTIA EXTA. It is, therefore, figuratively SPIRANTIA; and this figuratively SPIRANTIA EXTA, what is it? Why, living EXTA, spirare being used figuratively for vivere, because breathing is the most sure, obvious, and best known phenomenon or sign of life, as (α), Pind. *Nem.* 6. 1 (ed. Boeckh):

ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μίας δὲ πνεομένη
 μητρός ἀμφοτέροι· διειργεὶ δὲ πᾶσα κεκρίμενα
 δύναμις, ὡς τὸ μὲν οὐδὲν, ὃ δὲ χαλκῆος ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔδος
 μένει οὐρανός

[We all have our life from one mother (where for χαλκῆος οὐρανός Dissen refers to Hom. *Od.* 6. 42, Hesiod. *Theog.* 126, and adds “dictio suavis et poetica,” and understands πᾶσα κεκρίμενα δύναμις to be equivalent to “vis tota diversa;” also remarks on πνεομένη, that it is “spiritum ducimus” and equivalent to “vitam habemus”)]. (β), *Anthol. Pal.* 9. 798:

τληθῆ, Μυρῶν· τέχνη σε βιάζεται· ἀπνοὸν ἔργον

[have patience, Myron; thy work is not alive. Art, however excellent, comes not up to nature]. (γ), *Aen.* 6. 847:

“excudent alii spirantia mollius aera”

[breathing statues, i.e., living statues; statues which seem to have the principle of life]. (δ), Ovid, *Heroid.* 5. 29:

“cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relicta,
 ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua”

[will be able to live]. (ε), Cic. *pro Milone*, 91: “et sunt qui

de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia? et qui ab eo *spirante* forum putent potuisse defendi, cuius non restiterit cadaveri curia?" (*f*), Claud. 4 *Cons. Honor.* :

"auget acus meritum, picturatumque metallis
vivit opus, multaque ornantur iaspide cultus,
et variis *spirat* Nereia bacca figuris.
quae tantum potuit digitis mollire rigorem
ambitiosa colus? vel cuius poctinis arte
traxerunt solidae gemmarum stamina telae"

[pearls live in various figures, *i. e.*, figures formed so artificially of pearls as to seem to live]. (*g*), Prudent. *Contr. Symm.* 2. 184:

. . . "non occidet," inquit,
'interior qui *spirat* homo; luct ille perenne
supplicium, quod subiectos male rexit artus'"

[the man who lives within, *i. e.*, within the body; viz., the spirit]. (*h*), Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 410 :

"hi vultus avidos, et adhuc *spirantia* vellunt
lumina; truncatos alii rapuere lacertos"

[yet living eyes]. (*i*), Milt., *Par. Lost*, 9. 194 :

. . . "when all things that *breathe*
from th' earth's great altar send up silent praise
to the Creator"

[*i. e.*, all things that live].

And, one question more, why living EXTA? Plainly because it was only the still living, not yet quite dead, body that afforded any prognostic at all. Compare Sil. 1. 119 (of the consultation of the exta by Hamilcar) :

. . . "tum nigra triformi
hostia mactatur divae, *raptimque* recludit
spirantes artus poscens responsa sacerdos,
ac *fugientem* animam *properatis* consulit extis,"

where we have not only the very expression of our text, but the explanation of the expression; viz., that it was necessary to hasten the autopsy in order that the "artus" might be still

“spirantes,” the “*anima*” only flying, not yet fled. Also Ovid, *Met.* 15. 136 :

“ protinus ereptas *viventi* pectore fibras
 inspicunt, mentesque deum scrutantur in illis.”

And Virgil himself, *Aen.* 12. 213 :

. . . “ tum rite sacratas
 in flammam iugulant pecudes, et viscera *rivis*
 eripiunt, cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.”

65-67.

HEU VATUM IGNARAE MENTES QUID VOTA FURENTEM
 QUID DELUBRA IUVENT EST MOLLES FLAMMA MEDULLAS
 INTEREA ET TACITUM VIVIT SUB PECTORE VULNUS

VAR. LECT.

VATUM ■ *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861) ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribbeck.

VAR. LECT.

FERENTEM ■ *Rom.*

FURENTEM ■ *Vat.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* (FVRENTE-). ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861) ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribbeck.

These words cast no reproach either upon soothsaying generally or upon the soothsayers engaged on this special occasion, their simple meaning being, that Dido's soothsayers little knew the state of Dido's mind—that she was beyond all help—that hers was no case for sacrifice or propitiation of the gods—that their art was thrown away upon her. So little good is she likely to derive from sacrificing, that, even *while* she is sacrificing, the internal flame is consuming her (EST MOLLES FLAMMA MEDULLAS

INTEREA). And so Servius: "non sacerdotes vituperat, quasi nescios futurorum; sed vim amantis exprimit, et inde vituperat sacerdotes. IGNARAE igitur amoris reginae." And so also Apuleius, in his manifest imitation (*Metam.* 10. 3, ed. Hildebr.): "heu medicorum ignarae mentes! Quid venae pulsus, quid caloris intemperantia, quid fatigatus anhelitus, et utrimquesceus iactatae crebriter laterum mutuae vicissitudines? Dii boni! Quam facilis, licet non artificii medico, cuivis tamen docto, venereae cupidinis comprehensio, cum videas," &c., as if he had said: "ye may be good enough physicians, but this is not a case for you. What use to examine the state of her pulse, her hurried breathing, her tossing from side to side? It is not illness that is the matter with her; it is not medicine, or a physician, that she requires; she is not sick, but over head and ears in love." Compare also the probable original of our text, Apoll. Rhod. 3. 932:

ακλειης οδε μαντις, ος ουδ' οσα παιδες ισασι
οιδε νω φρασσασθαι, οθ' ουνεκεν ουτε τι λαρον
ουτ' ερατον κουρη κεν επος προτιμυθησαιο
ηιδεω, ευτ' αν σφιν επηλυδες αλλοι επωνται.

The doctrine contained in this passage, in that just cited from Apuleius, and in our text, amounts to this: your soothsayers and physicians may be, and I doubt not are, very wise in their respective professions or callings, but beyond those limits they are (like the best of the present day) no wiser than their neighbours. Dido's soothsayers, although they could prophesy the future, were blind to the fact which was present and staring them in the face, viz., that Dido was in love; Apuleius's physicians could cure a fever, but could not see that their patient was not sick, but only in love; and Apollonius's Mopsus could vaticinate with unerring skill for Jason and the Argonauts, but had not sufficient discernment to perceive that it was his place to retire when Jason wished to be alone with his sweetheart. The structure, therefore, is, not (as at 8. 627) IGNARAE VATUM,¹
(as Sil. 3. 5 : 1.9

"nec vatium mentes agitare et praescia corda
cessatum super imperio;"

and Val. Flacc. 3. 301 (Jason lamenting his killing of Cyzicus):

... "tantumne nefas mens conscia vatum
contieuit, patriae exitium crudele senectae
et tot acerba canens? heu divis visa sinistris
regna mihi? quinam reditus? quae me hospita tellus
accipiet? quae non primis prohibebit arenis?"

MENTES VATUM; and VATUM is not (with Gossrau) Dido and her sister, but the priests of the temple.

(*Aliter*).—"VATUM ad extispicium v. sup. refer; suntque adeo extispices, sacrifici, qui h. l. fausta omina renunciant. IGNARAE MENTES! cuiusnam rei? infelicis puta exitus et eventus consiliorum et amoris Didonis," Heyne, Voss, Caro. But first, such interpretation is utterly inconsistent with the immediately succeeding words QUID VOTA FURENTEM, QUID DELUBRA IUVANT? which so plainly cast the blame not on the ignorance of the soothsayers, but on the strength of Dido's own passion. Secondly, such interpretation throws a gratuitous affront on Dido's soothsayers, and through them on religion itself. And thirdly, "vatum" is joined with "ignarus," 8. 627:

"haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi."

Another interpretation is that of Wagner (1861): "IGNARAE VATUM, quippe non videntes, quae tali cupiditate obstricta sit, ei non esse opus vatibus atque extispicio, nihil igitur prodesse suscepta VOTA, nihil adita DELUBRA . . . 'vatum ignarus,' 8. 627, sed non eodem sensu"—the latter words suggesting no less grave objection to the very interpretation in support of which they are cited than that it is contrary to the precedent afforded by Virgil himself, that that author connected VATUM with MENTES, as it has been connected by Heyne, and indeed most commentators, and read down to the present day. To which objection may be added this still graver, that it is precisely those persons who are "tali cupiditate obstricti" who do was'llly apply to soothsayers, viz., in order to be informed by art-~~u~~n whether their "cupiditas" is acceptable to and likely to be favoured by heaven or not, and that it was precisely because she was "tali cupiditate obstricta" that Dido had recourse to

the divining art on this very occasion. Both interpretations are, as I think, incorrect, and each assigns to Virgil a thought very different from that which he intended to express, and, sufficient attention being paid to the context, has clearly expressed. First, then, Dido is in love with Aeneas, and unhappy, because she considers her love for Aeneas to be a breach of faith to Sichæus. Following her sister's advice she goes to the temple and inquires the will of heaven, applies to the divining art to learn whether heaven will approve of her marriage: POSCE DEOS VENIAM, SACRISQUE LITATIS (vs. 50)—observe these last words, SACRIS LITATIS—as soon as you have obtained the approbation of heaven, an approbation which her sister did not at all doubt would be granted as soon as asked—then proceed with your amour (INDULGE HOSPITIO, CAUSASQUE INNECTE MORANDI). Dido sacrifices, libates, pores over the warm flesh in search of a sign (INHIAN SPIRANTIA CONSULIT EXTA), but she might as well have stayed at home and saved herself the trouble (QUID VOTA FURENTEM, QUID DELUBRA IUVANT?) She is furens amore; what use to her are temples, or signs, or offered vows? Even at the very moment she is sacrificing, offering up her vows, poring over the bleeding flesh, *all this time* (INTEREA), while she is doing all this, she is the victim of her passion (EST MOLLES FLAMMA MEDULLAS, ET TACITUM VIVIT SUB PECTORE VULNUS). In the midst of this account—at the angle, if I may so say, between the description of Dido's sacrificing and the observation how useless sacrifice is to a person in her frame of mind—i. e., in the interval between CONSULIT EXTA and QUID VOTA FURENTEM, QUID DELUBRA IUVANT is thrown in the exclamation of the poet, HEU VATUM IGNARAE MENTES! “Alas! how little men know about divination! what bad divines we are! Our passion blinds us, and, however plainly indicated the will of heaven, we interpret it our own way.” In other words: “How our passion warps our judgment!” No reflection could be more appropriately placed, viz., after the account of Dido's divinations, and before the account of the absolute non-effect of those divinations upon her mind or conduct. Before her appeals to heaven she had lost her modesty (SOLVIT PUDOREM,

vs. 55), after her appeal to heaven URITUR, TOTAQUE VAGATUR URBE FURENS (verse 68). No reflection could be less offensive to religion, inasmuch as it throws the blame, neither on heaven nor on the ministers of heaven, but solely on human passion, human weakness, and human blindness. No reflection could be more fit and proper on the occasion of Dido's non-acceptance of the warning from heaven, whether that warning was given by means of unpropitious signs, as might perhaps be argued from the mention at verse 464, below, of former warnings, or whether it consisted in the mere withholding of all indications of approbation. In either case, no reflection could be more *à propos* than "Alas! how bad interpreters are men of the will of heaven!"

IGNARAE VATUM, therefore, and not MENTES VATUM, not only because, as already shown, affording a better sense, but because in every one of the fifteen other cases in which both a genitive and the word ignarus occur in a Virgilian sentence the genitive depends upon ignarus. The erroneous conjunction of VATUM with MENTES, and consequent erroneous imputation on divines and religion itself, is as old as Apuleius, as appears from that author's manifest imitation, *Met.* 10. 3 (ed. Hildebrand), quoted above, p. 602.

VATUM, not = vaticiniorum, but = vaticinationis, *h. e.*, artis vaticinandi, the divining or soothsaying art (μαντικῆς τέχνης).

MEDULLAS.—Not to be taken literally, or of the actual marrow, but metaphorically, and of the mental medulla, as Eurip. *Hipp.* 257 (ed. Musgr.):

καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀκρὸν μυελὸν ψυχῆς.

Ammian. 25. 9: "Illud tamen ad medullas usque bonorum pervenit, quod," &c.

VULNUS, not a sore, sorrow, or hurt, but the sore, sorrow, or hurt so often already spoken of. See "vulnus," verse 2, and Rem.

INTEREA.—Even while the "vates" are busy exercising their

art on Dido's behalf, the secret fire (a fire of which they had not the smallest suspicion) is consuming her. In order the more fully to express which meaning, INTEREA is placed in the emphatic position. See Rem. on 2. 247.

• 69-76.

QUALIS CONIECTA CERVA SAGITTA
QUAM PROCUL INCAUTAM NEMORA INTER CRESIA FIXIT
PASTOR AGENS TELIS LIQUITQUE VOLATILE FERRUM
NESCIOUS ILLA FUGA SILVAS SALTUSQUE PERAGRAT
DICTAEOS IHAERET LATERI LETALIS ARUNDO
NUNC MEDIA AENEAN SECUM PER MOENIA DUCIT
SIDONIASQUE OSTENTAT OPES URBEMQUE PARATAM
INCIPIT EFFARI MEDIAQUE IN VOCE RESISTIT

LIQUIT VOLATILE FERRUM.—The complement of FIXIT. The arrow has **not only** pierced, **but** remains infixed [compare 11. 637:

“*hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit*”

(where there is neither ignorance of having struck, nor impossibility of finding the wounded object, and where “*ferrum sub aure reliquit*” is the mere complement of “*hastam intorsit equo*,” the mere precisising, if I may so say, of that too indefinite expression). Ovid, *Met.* 11. 775:

“*ecce latens herba coluber fugientis adunco
dente pedem strinxit, virusque in corpore liquit*”

(where “*coluber*” is the PASTOR of our text, “*strinxit*” the FIXIT, “*virusque*” the FERRUMQUE VOLATILE, and “*liquit*” the LIQUIT; and where “*virusque in corpore liquit*” is the complement of “*strinxit*,” as in our text FERRUMQUE VOLATILE

LIQUIT is the complement of FIXIT). Stat. *Theb.* 11. 562 :

. . . “nondum ille [Eteocles] peractis
 manibus ultrices animam servabat in iras ;
 utque superstantem, pronumque in pectore sensit,
 erigit occulte ferrum, vitæque labantis
 reliquias tenues odio supplevit, et *ensem*
 iam laetus fratris non frater corde *reliquit*”

(where “ensem corde reliquit” is the similar complement of the too indistinct and indefinite “erigit occulte ferrum”), and this complement, this remaining infixed, constitutes no small or insignificant part of the picture before us. On the contrary, whithersoever the deer goes, the deadly arrow goes with her: HAERET LATERI LETHALIS ARUNDO. Let commentators vex themselves as they please about the lost arrow, all Virgil’s care, all the reader’s sympathy, is for the poor animal which strives in vain to fly from the deadly shaft which is sticking in her side and goes with her whithersoever she goes.

NESCIOUS, “sc. non viderat telum vere in cervam descendisse ; sed, frustra emissum credens, reliquerat,” Heyne. “Er lässt den pfeil, indem er nicht weiss dass er getroffen,” Thiel. “The epithet [viz., VOLATILE] is not without force here. It is because the steel is VOLATILE that the archer cannot ascertain its fortunes and does not recover it,” Conington. Not only not the meaning, but almost the point-blank opposite of the meaning. The hunter does not leave his arrow in the wound, and so lose it, *because* he is ignorant that his arrow has taken effect, but the hunter is ignorant that his arrow has taken effect, and is sticking in the wound. Servius (ed. Lion) has: “Aut NESCIOUS quo fugerit, aut ignoratus et latens, non qui cervam nesciret. Et rara sunt verba quæ per contrarium significant.”

How far soever Hesiod’s χωρου αἰδρις εων, *Scut. Herc.* 405 :

οἱ δ', ὥστ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμφωνυχὲς ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι,
 πέτρῃ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ μεγάλα κλαζόντε μαχεσθόν
 αἶγυος ὀρεσσινόμοιο ἡ ἀγροτέρης ἐλαφοιο
 πιονος, ἡντ' ἐδαμασσέ βαλὼν αἰζηῖος ἀνὴρ
 ἰὼ ἀπο νευρῆς, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπαλησέται ἀλλῇ
 χωροῦ αἰδρις εων, οἱ δ' ὀτραλεὺς ἐνοήσαν,
 ἐσσυμένως δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ μάχην δριμύειαν ἐθεντο,

may at first sight appear to go towards establishing the former of these interpretations, it does not go far enough to satisfy me, or prevent me from thinking that Servius's "nescius quo fugerit" was much more probably suggested to him by the necessity which he, in common with so many other commentators, imagined there was of explaining why the hunter made no attempt to recover his arrow, than by the *χωρον αἰδρις εἰων* of the Greek poet. Against the latter of the Servian interpretations, viz., "ignoratus et latens," Servius's own objection, "et rara sunt verba quæ per contrarium significant," may perhaps suffice until some argument less equivocal than Conington's "it would be a virtual repetition of INCAUTAM" be advanced in its favour. And so we come at last to the only remaining interpretation, viz., *imprudens, unaware, not knowing what he had done*, a meaning not only most usual and familiar to the term *nescius* itself, and in the most perfect harmony with the whole tenor of the narrative (viz., that Aeneas had excited Dido's passion without intending to do so, and that Dido was in love with him before he was aware), but which referring back to and, if I may so say, covering not merely, with the commentators, LIQUIT VOLATILE FERRUM, but the entire of the two lines :

QUAM PROCU' INCAUTAM NEMORA INTER CRESIA FINIT
PASTOR AGENS TELIS, LIQUITQUE VOLATILE FERRUM,

satisfactorily accounts for that most emphatic position—the most emphatic possible—of *nescius*, viz., last word of a long sentence, and at the same time first word of a new verse, and cut off from all connexion with what follows by a full pause. See Rem. on "ora," 2. 247, and compare Ovid, *Met.* 8. 64 (*Scylla apostrophizing Minos*) :

"quam metuo certe ne quis tua pectora, Minos,
vulneret imprudens : quis enim tam dirus, ut in te
dirigere immitem, nisi nescius, audeat hastam ?"

where "*vulneret tua pectora imprudens*" and "*nescius audeat dirigere hastam in te*" are put forward by no less an authority than Ovid as equivalents.

SALTUS.—Ravines, narrow passes, fauces, generally wooded.

See Rem. on 11. 522. I think this word means essentially a rough, difficult, almost impassable place, a place which is rendered difficult or impracticable by wood, rock, or water, or both by wood and water, or by wood and rocks, or by all three together; where there are no roads, and which is in the state of nature. Therefore, both the pass of Thermopylae and the Caudine Forks are saltuses (Liv. 28. 7; 9. 2); therefore the Ardennes are a saltus (Tacit. *Annal.* 3. 42); therefore flocks and herds graze the saltuses of Tarentum (*Georg.* 2. 197); therefore the ford of a river is a saltus (*Stat. Theb.* 7. 440); and, therefore, in our text, the deer SALTUS DICTAEOS PERAGRAT. If this view be correct, a saltus is neither necessarily woody, as indeed sufficiently appears from the frequent junction of the term *woody* to saltus (as “*nemorum iam claudite saltus*,” Virg. *Ecl.* 6. 57; “*saltus duo alti angusti silvosique sunt*,” Liv. 11. 2) and from the very SILVAS SALTUSQUE of our text, nor necessarily fit for pasturage, and Gesner’s definition is erroneous: “*silva in qua pasci et aestivare pecudes solent, ut ait Valla.*”

HAERET LATERI LETHALIS ARUNDO.—Imitated by many; especially, and with much elegance, by Racine, *Phèdre*, 2. 2 (Hippolyte speaking):

“portant partout le trait dont je suis déchiré.”

INCIPIT EFFARI, MEDIAQUE IN VOCE RESISTIT.—So Thomson, *Spring*:

. . . “from the tongue
th’ unfinished period falls.”

Nature is ever the same. The whole of Thomson’s masterly description of the symptoms of love may serve as a commentary on Virgil’s admirable picture of the manifestation of the passion. in Dido.

80-89.

POST UBI DIGRESSI LUMENQUE OBSCURA VICISSIM
 LUNA PREMIT SUADENTQUE CADENTIA SIDERA SOMNOS
 SOLA DOMO MAERET VACUA STRATISQUE RELICTIS
 INCUBAT ILLUM ABSENS ABSENTEM AUDITQUE VIDETQUE
 AUT GREMIO ASCANII GENITORIS IMAGINE CAPTA
 DETINET INFANDUM, SI FALLERE POSSIT AMOREM
 NON COEPTAE ASSURGUNT TURRES NON ARMA IUVENTUS
 EXERCET PORTUSVE AUT PROPUGNACULA BELLO
 TUTA PARANT PENDENT OPERA INTERRUPTA MINAEQUE
 MURORUM INGENTES AEQUATAQUE MACHINA CAELO

VICISSIM (vs. 80).—Burmann (quoting Hor. *Od. 1. 12. 46*) understands VICISSIM of the moon (whose light had been obscured by the sun during the day), obscuring in her turn the light of the stars; an interpretation sufficiently disproved by the words SUADENTQUE CADENTIA SIDERA SOMNOS, which indicate, not that time of night when the moon shines bright among the stars, but that time (towards morning) when both moon and stars become dim. Noehden (*“Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Virgil’s Aeneis”*) renders VICISSIM by “wechselweise,” and adds the following gloss: “erst war der mond hell, LUMEN; dann dunkel, LUNA OBSCURA, *i.e.*, LUMEN lunae obscuritas VICISSIM sequitur;” a *fudge*, unmeaning truism, which few readers will permit to be palmed upon Virgil. The interpretation of Wunderlich, “*Vicissim ponitur etiam ubi altera res, quo vicissim refertur, non est nominata; tum notat secundum vicissitudinem naturae,*” although elegant and poetical (as Wunderlich’s interpretations almost always are), is yet considerably remote from the truth, for the “altera res, quo VICISSIM refertur” is actually named in the preceding LABENTE DIE; the obvious meaning and connexion of the whole passage being: *now, LABENTE DIE, at the close of day, she seeks the same banquets, &c., and afterwards, UBI*

DIGRESSI, LUMENQUE OBSCURA VICISSIM LUNA PREMIT, SUADENTQUE CADENTIA SIDERA SOMNOS, *when the banquet is over, and night too in her turn is near a close*, SOLA DOMO MAERET VACUA, &c.; the words LUMEN OBSCURA LUNA PREMIT SUADENTQUE CADENTIA SIDERA SOMNOS, in the second clause of the passage, exactly corresponding to the words LABENTE DIE in the first, and expressing, only with an elegant variety of imagery, the exactly similar idea of the night closing, VICISSIM, *in her turn*. Compare 5. 827 :

“ hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda *vicissim*
gaudia pertentant mentem ”

[*blatd joys in their turn*, viz. (see vv. 700 and 720), after his previous anxieties.] Cic. *de Senect.* : “ ubi enim potest illa aetas [viz., senectus] aut calescere vel apricatione molius, vel igni; aut *vicissim* umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius ? ” And again, *ibid.* : “ et refrigeratio aestate, et *vicissim* hieme, aut sol aut ignis hibernus. ” In like manner Claudian, Seneca, Ovid, and the author of the *Dirae*, of the alternate succession of night to day: *Rapt. Proserp.* 3. 404 :

“ iamque soporiferas nocturna silentia terris
explicuere *rices*. ”

Troad. 1141 : “ astra cum repetunt *rices*. ” *Met.* 4. 217 :

“ dumque ibi quadrupedes caelestia pabula carpunt ;
noxque *vicem* peragit ”

[whilst the sun's horses are feeding, and night is taking her turn in the sky]. *Dirae*, 142 :

“ sidera per viridem redeunt cum pallida mundum,
inque *vicem*, Phoebe, excurrunt. ”

And still more *à propos* to our text, Lucretius, 5. 761, where, having first treated of the manner in which the rays of the sun are intercepted from the earth by the moon in a solar eclipse, he proceeds to consider how the earth “ *vicissim*, ” *in her turn*, intercepts the solar rays from the moon in a lunar eclipse :

“ et cur terra queat lunam spoliare *vicissim*
lumine. ”

As Virgil in the passage before us speaks of the setting of the moon succeeding the setting of the sun, so Lucan (5. 424) speaks of the shadows of the moon, *i. e.* the shadows cast by the moon, succeeding to those cast by the sun :

“ sidera prima poli, *Phoebo* labente sub undas,
exierant, et *luna* suas iam fecerat umbras,”

where Lucan’s “*suas*” is Virgil’s *vicissim*. Compare the same author, 4. 282 :

“ substituit merso dum *nox* sua lumina *Phoebo*.”

Addison, in his beautiful and well-known hymn, uses the corresponding English expression in nearly the same manner :

“ while all the stars that round her burn
and all the planets *in their turn*.”

STRATIS RELICTIS (vs. 82).—Deserted; where, Aeneas and the company having departed, there was no one but herself. Compare 2. 454: “*postes relictis*,” where see Rem.

INFANDUM SI FALLERE POSSIT AMOREM.—“Expellere in praesens curas amoris,” Wunderlich, Forbiger. “Fallit amorem qui facit ut in praesens non sentiatur amor,” Wagner. Neither explanation clearly conveys the meaning of our author, which is simply and according to the usual force of the word fallere (compare Horace’s “*postico falle clientem atria servantem*”) *tries to cheat, beguile, overreach, give the slip to* her love for Aeneas, viz., by fixing all her thoughts on another object, viz., on Ascanius. The identical words are applied by Silius, 6. 191, to the endeavour of Avens to cheat, beguile, give the slip to (*do*, as we say vulgarly in English) the serpent at the river Bagraa, by climbing up into a tree :

. . . “at subita formidine caecus
et facti dammandus Avens (sed fata trahebant)
antiquae quercus ingenti robore sese
occultat, *infandum si possit fallere monstrum*.”

Compare also Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 3 :

“ saepe eadem mandata dedi; meque ipse *fecelli*,
respicens oculis pignora cara meis,”

and the examples quoted by Forbiger, of a similar use of the word. Also Epigr. Meleagri, *Anthol. Pal.* γ. 195 :

ακρις, εμων απατημα ποθων, παραμυθιον υπνου,
ακρις, αρουραιη Μουσα, λιγυπτερυγε,
αυτοφνες μιμημα λυρας, κρεκε μοι τι ποθεινον,
εγκρουουσα φιλοις ποσσι λαλους πτερυγας,
ως με πονων ρυσαιο παραγρυπνοιο μεριμνης,
ακρι, μιτωσαμενη φθογγον ερωτοπλανον,

where the song of the cicada performs towards Meleager the same office as the face of Ascanius in our text performs towards Dido, *i. e.*, beguiles his love. But, above all, compare Metast. *Cantat.* “Il primo amore” :

. . . “le Ninfe intesse,
che a vagheggiar per ingannarmi io torno,
fan ch’ io pensi al mio ben.”

INFANDUM AMOREM.—Exactly the *ερως απορρητος* of Aristaenet. 1. 16: *ερωτι περιπεσων απορρητω, κατ’ εμavτον εφασκον απορων* with this difference only, that the “amor” of our text is the affection, whereas the *ερως* of Aristaenetus is the god of love—if there be even this difference—and the “amor” which Dido strives in vain to cheat is not, after all (who shall prove it is not ?), as much the god of love, the reprobate god, as the *ερως* of Aristaenetus. See Rem. on “infandum,” 2. 3.

MINAEQUE MURORUM INGENTES.—Minæ are, generally, crests, combs, eminences, whatever projects or points upwards, Germ. *emporragt*. Compare, (α), Claud. *Rapt. Proserp.* 2. 344 :

“Eumenides cratera parant, et vina feroci
erine bibunt: flexisque *minis* iam lene canentes
extendunt socios ad pocula plena cerastas,
ac festas alio succendunt lumine taedas,”

where “minis” are the serpents (“cerastæ”) on the heads of the Eumenides, and presenting there the appearance of crests, or combs, or toppings. These serpents the poet represents as “flexæ,” no longer standing erect (arrectæ), but bending downwards to drink the wine. Also (β), Stat. *Theb.* 1. 103

(of the head-dress of Tisiphone) :

“centum illi *stantes* umbrabant ora cerastæ,
turba minor diri capitis.”

(*•*), *Ibid.* 89 (of Tisiphone) :

. . . “inamoenum forte sedebat
Cocyton iuxta, *resoluta*que vertice crines
lambere sulfureas permiserat anguibus undas.”

(*•*), Avien. *Or. Marit.* :

“rigidæque rupes atque montium *minæ*
caelo inseruntur”

[the crests or combs of the mountains, the pinnacles of the mountains]. And (*•*), Solin. *Polyh.* 45. 8 : “Bucephalus, Alexandri Magni equus, dicta ita est, sive de aspectus torvitate sive . . . quod in fronte eius quædam existentium corniculorum protuberabant *minæ*” [upright rising points, prominences, spikes]. The *minæ* of a wall are, therefore, its battlements, parapets, or other toppings, as Ammian. 20. 6 : “cuius propugnatores viso hoste longissime, clausis ocius portis, ingentibus animis per turres discurrebant et *minas*, saxa tormentaue bellica congerentes.” Id. 24. 2 (de arce urbis Pyrisaboræ) : “excellebant *minæ* murorum, bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatæ, quo ædificii genere nihil tutius esse constat.” Id. 29. 6 : “reterisit obrutas ruderibus fossas, murorumque maximam partem pacis diuturnitate contemptam et subversam adusque celsarum turrium *minas* expediit.”

Perhaps *θριγκιον* is the corresponding Greek expression for *minæ* as applied to the walls. Luc. *Micyll. & Gall.* : . . . ουτε ληστην, μη υφεληται το χρυσιον, υπερβας το θριγκιον, η διορυξας τον τοιχον, where Stock : “απο του θριγκος, quod etymologista dicit esse το ανωτατον της του τοιχου οικοδομησης.” See Rem. on l. 166.

MACHINA (vs. 89).—“Moles, ædificium,” Heyne. “Die gerüste,” Gossrau. “Turres per muros dispositæ,” Wagner (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861), Ladewig. “A crane,” Conington. None

of all these, as I think, but the Greek μηχανη, in its sense of *contrivance, artificium, kunstwerk*. Compare, (α), Aesch. Pers. 722 :

μηχαναῖς ἐξέτελλεν Ἑλλης πορθμον, ὥστ' εἶχειν πορον

[“operibus iunxit Hellespontum”], where μηχαναῖς is the bridge itself, not machines upon the bridge, exactly as in our text MACHINA is the walls themselves, not a machine upon them. (β), Venant. Fortun. 3. 12 (in De la Bigne, vol. 6, part 2, p. 332) :

“aula tamen nituit constructa cacumine rupis,
et monti imposito mons erat ipsa domus.
complacuit latum muro concludere campum,
et prope castellum haec casa sola facit.
ardua marmoreis suspenditur aula columnis,
qua super aestivas cernit in anne rates.
ordinibus ternis extensaue *machina* crevit,
ut postquam ascendas ingera tecta putes,”

where “machina” is the building. (γ), Stat. Silv. 2. 1. 210 :

. . . “obennt noctesque diesque
astraque, nec solidis prodest sua *machina* terris,”

where “machina” is the artificium of the “terrae,” the mechanism of the earth ; and the sense, that the earth is not saved from perishing by its being a work of skill, of consummate art, a machina, a *kunstwerk* ; exactly as in our text MACHINA is the *kunstwerk*, the mechanism, the artificium which the just-mentioned walls presented to the eye of the observer. (δ), Claudian, 3 Cons. Honor. 169 (of Theodosius entering heaven) :

“*machina* laxatur caeli, rutilaeque patescunt
sponte fores ;”

(ε), Stat. Silv. 3. 1 :

“nam templis nunquam statuatur terminus aevi,
dum me flammigeri portabit *machina* caeli,”

in both which passages (δ and ε) “machina caeli” is the curi-

ously built heaven, the mechanism of heaven, the *kunstwerk* heaven, exactly as “*machina* [terrarum]” in the previously quoted passage of Statius is the *kunstwerk* of the earth, the ingenious building of the earth, the machine of the earth. (*f*), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 280 (Dis speaking):

“ ille ego Saturni proles, cui *machina rerum*
servit,”

where “*machina rerum*” is the *kunstwerk* of the world, the ingeniously constructed or built world, the machine of the world. (*g*), Iscan. 1. 483 (of the re-building of Troy after its overthrow under Laomedon):

“ iamque arces cecidisse iuvat, iam *machina* maior,
et lucro iactura fuit: muralia primas
propulsura manus, pinnarum culmine denso
conspicuos tollunt apices, nec moenia munit
rarior exubias turris factura secundas,”

where “*machina maior*” is the building of the “arces,” now more complete and greater than before. (*h*), Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 61 (of the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, being erected in the Forum):

“ nec longae traxere morae; iuvat ipsa labores
forma Dei praesens; operique intenta iuventus
miratur plus posse manus. Strepit ardua pulsu
machina continuo; septem per culmina montes
it fragor, et magnae vincit vaga murmura Romae,”

where “*machina*” is the colossal statue itself (as explained by Barth), the statue considered as a *kunstwerk* or work of art, just as in our text *MACHINA* is the wall itself, the wall considered as a *kunstwerk*, or work of art. (*i*), Venant. Fortun. 2. 11 (de Ecclesia Parisiaca):

“ si Salomoniaci memoretur *machina* templi,
arte licet par sit, pulchrior ista fide,”

where “*machina templi*” is the *kunstwerk*, the ingenious building of the temple, *i. e.*, the temple regarded as an ingenious

work of art. (*J*), *Ibid.* 1. 19 (de Vereginis villa Burdigalensi):

“*machina celsa casae triplici suspenditur arcu,
quo pelagi pictas currere credis aquas,*”

where “*machina casae*” is the *kunstwerk*, the ingenious building of the house, *i.e.*, the house regarded as an ingenious work of art. **And**, above all, (*K*), Val. Flacc. 6. 383:

“*tunc ruit, ut montis latus, aut ut machina muri,
quae scopulis trabibusque diu, confectaque flammis,
procubuit tamen, atque ingentem prodidit urbem,*”

where “*machina muri*,” exactly the MACHINA (MURORUM) of our text, is the *kunstwerk* wall, the ingeniously constructed wall, the construction of the wall, the machine of the wall.

That the MACHINA of our text is precisely the “*machina*” of all these examples, and, standing in immediate connexion with the immediately preceding MURORUM, means the artificium, the building, the ingenious structure, the *μηχανη* of those muri, *i.e.*, means the muri themselves considered as a *kunstwerk* or *μηχανη*, appears further and seems to be placed beyond doubt by the circumstance that *μηχανασθαι* is the very word applied by Homer, *Il.* 8. 177, to the walls built by the Greeks to protect their tents and shipping at the siege of Troy:

νηπιοι, οι αρα δη ταδε τειχεα μηχανασοντο.

MINAE MURORUM INGENTES and AEQUATA MACHINA CAELO are thus our author’s so usual particularization of the previously expressed, more general and abstract idea, OPERA. I do not say variations of the theme OPERA, because the terms theme and variation belong, in my use of them, to propositions only, and in the case before us there is but one proposition, *viz.*, PENDENT INTERRUPTA, and the variations are not of this proposition, but only of its subject, OPERA.

That the general misunderstanding of the expression AEQUATA CAELO MACHINA is less owing to the necessary difficulty we denizens of a different era, and speakers of a different language, have to understand Latin than to the peculiarly artificial style

of our author, appears at once from the lucidity with which the identical thought, *walls as high as the sky*, is expressed by a poet very much Virgil's inferior, viz., Statius (*Theb.* 4. 356):

“ Bellator nulli caluit deus ; ipsa vetusto
moenia lassu situ magnaeque Amphionis arces
iam fessum senio nudant latus, et fide sacra
aequatos caelo surdum atque ignobile muros
firmat opus.”

93-95.

EGREGIAM VERO LAUDEM ET SPOLIA AMPLA REFERTIS
TUQUE PUERQUE TUUS MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE NUMEN
UNA DOLO DIVUM SI FEMINA VICTA DUORUM EST

VAR. LECT.

NUMEN ■ *Vat.* (but this part of the MS. is written in the Lombard hand), *Rom.*, *Pal.*, *Med.* “NUMEN eruditis placet quod etiam in Mediceo (*i. e.*, Mediceo Pierii) prius scriptum fuerat,” Pierius. ■■ 3^o. ■■■ Ven. 1470 ; Moden. ; Brese. ; Ascensius ; Junta ; P. Manut. ; Burm. ; Heyne ; Wunderlich ; Jahn ; Wagn. (1832, 1861) ; Gossrau ; Forb. ; Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribb.

NOMEN ■■ 4^o ; *cod. Canon.* (Butler). ■■■ *Cynth.* *Cenet.* ; *Princ.* ; Ven. 1475 ; *Fabr.* ; *La Cerda* ; *D. Heins.* ; *N. Heins.* (1671, 1676, 1704) ; *Philippe* ; *Brunck* ; *Wakef.* ; *Pott.* ; *Scheller* ; *Dietsch.*

For the above passage compare Ovid, *Met.* 3. 654 :

. . . “ quae gloria vestra est,
si puerum iuvenes, si multi fallitis unum ? ”

Epigr. Dionysii Andrii, *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 533 :

και Δι και Βρομω με διαβροχον ου μεγ' ολισθειν,
και μονον εκ δειων, και βροτον εκ μακαρων.

I think that the reading in verse 94 is NUMEN, and not NOMEN; first, on account of the so much greater MS. authority; secondly, because whereas MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE NOMEN had been little more than a repetition of EGREGIAM LAUDEM, MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE NUMEN affords a suitable climax to the otherwise bald TUQUE PUERQUE TUUS. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 4. 450 (of the Furies):

. . . "illa sorores
Nocte vocat genitas, grave et implacabile numen,"

alike example of, and authority for, the application of the singular numen to a plurality of deities. Happy for our author's meaning, the existence of this so exact parallel! "sorores Nocte genitas, grave et implacabile numen:" TUQUE PUERQUE TUUS, MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE NUMEN. Who that perceives that the reading in the first of these passages is "numen," and can by no possibility be nomen, and that the "numen" in the first of these passages is in apposition with, and the climax of, "sorores Nocte genitas," does not conclude at once that the reading in the second of these passages must be NUMEN, and can by no possibility be NOMEN, and that the NUMEN of the second of these passages can only be in apposition with, and the climax of, TUQUE PUERQUE TUUS? nay, that does not conclude at once that as there is no irony, nothing but respect, in the apposition and climax of the first passage, viz., "grave et implacabile numen," so there is no irony, nothing but respect, in the apposition and climax of the second, viz., MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE NUMEN; and still further, that the irony which commentators imagined they found in the second of those passages had been as unsuitable and out of place in the second as it would have been in the first? For why—for what conceivable reason—should Juno, whose object was conciliation (as evidenced by

SED QUIS ERIT MODUS? AUT QUO NUNC CERTAMINA TANTA?
QUIN POTIUS PACEM AETERNAM FACTOSQUE HYMENAEOS
EXERCEMUS?),

provoke **either** (with Heyne, J. H. Voss, Wunderlich, Jahn, and Forbiger) both divinities at once ["NUMEN, sc. 'erit ves-

trum,' *h. c.*, 'vos dei, si circumveneritis duo unam feminam'": Heyne.

"traun, vorragendes lob und herrliche beute gewannt ihr,
du und der knabe mit dir! O gross und erhaben die obmacht,
wenn ein weib durch den trug zwei himmlischer götter besiegt wird!"

(J. H. Voss.)

"Egregie vicistis et NUMEN vestrum MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE factum est, si a vobis duobus UNA FEMINA VICTA EST," Wunderlich, Jahn. "NUMEN vestrum MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE fecistis, si a vobis duobus UNA FEMINA EST VICTA," Forbiger] **or**, with Thiel, the last-mentioned divinity only ["ich bin hier in der interpunction abgewichen, und halte es dem bittern tone, den Juno absichtlich hält, angemessener MAGN. ET MEM. NUM. als apposition zu PUERQUE zu nehmen, so dass Juno den kleinen muthwilligen gott, der ihr so viel zu leide schon gethan hat, höhnet"], with a personal affront? No, no; the victory of Venus and her son over Dido might be made light of, might be held up as unworthy of two so great divinities, but the divinities themselves were not to be insulted, personally insulted. What tactician, what politician, what merest dolt and clown ever began the canvass of the person whose assent and consent was indispensable to his purpose with an unprovoked personal insult? Dido was insignificant, as much beneath the notice of the two divinities as you please, but the two divinities themselves were MAGNUM ET MEMORABILE NUMEN; and the more MAGNUM, the more MEMORABILE, the NUMEN, the loss and the more easily granted the favour Juno sought.

MEMORABILE NUMEN.—Compare Hosidii Getae *Medea* (a Virgilian cento), *Anthol. Lat.* (Meyer), 235. 335: "Hecaten et non memorabile numen;" and Eur. *Hipp. 1*: πολλή κοῦκ ανωνυμος θεα Κυπρις. *Mavortii Iudicium Paridis* (a Virgilian cento), *Anthol. Lat.* (Burm.), 147:

"pietūs acū tunicas et barbara tegmina crurū,
forto recensebat numerum sub tegmine fugi:
horrescit visu subito, et memorabile numen
aut videt aut vidisse putat."

REFERTIS (vs. 93).—The appropriate term for bringing back (*i. e.*, home) spoils, victory, and triumph. Compare 10. 541 :

. . . “arma Serestus
lecta *refert* humeris, tibi, rex Gradiue, *tropaeum*.”

10. 862 :

. . . “aut hodie victor *spolia* illa cruenta
et caput Aeneae *refers*.”

9. 208 :

. . . “ita me *referat* tibi magnus *oculentum*
Iupiter.”

Georg. 3. 10 :

“primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas :
primus Idumacas *referam* tibi, Mantua, *palmas*.”

Lucret. 1. 76 :

“unde *refert* nobis *victor*, quid possit oriri
quid nequeat”

(where see Wakefield). We find even *referre nomen* in Virgil himself, *Aen.* 11. 688 :

. . . “*nomen* tamen haud leve patrum
manibus hoc *referes*, telo cecidisse Camillae.”

104-110.

DOTALESQUE—FEROR

DOTALESQUE TUAE TYRIOS PERMITTERE DEXTRAE.—The meaning is : “hand over to thee the Tyrians, the empire of Carthage, in dower, as her dower,” exactly as Claudian, *Laus Serenae Reginae*, 177 :

“te non Hesperidum pomis, non amne subacto,
non socerum fallente rota, sed iudice dignus
Augusto, variis Stilicho spectatus in armis
accipit, et *regni dotes* virtute paravit,”

where "dotes regni" is the DOTALES TYRIOS of our text, and where the meaning is not, with Gesner, "Munera quae debebantur domui regiae pro puella regina," but—as plainly appears no less from the nature of dower, a thing brought by the bride, not conferred on the bride by the husband, than from a comparison of vv. 184, 185 :

" solus militiae mera mercede iugalem
promeruit Stilicho, socero referente, coronam "—

the very opposite, viz., "has earned by his virtues the kingdom thou Serena bringest him in dower."

DOTALES.—"Quasi dotis nomine traditos," Wagn. (*Præst.*). It may be doubted whether either Juno or Virgil was very solicitous to be understood as speaking only figuratively, or as distinguishing very accurately between handing over in actual dower and handing over as it were in dower. Kings and queens don't care much about such nice distinctions. To get, to acquire, to have handed over to them, is all they are very anxious about, and the Trojans were scarcely less assets of the crown, scarcely less transferable property in those days than the Savoyards, Nozzans, or Venetians are in these. Compare Claudian's "regni dotes" just quoted, where, as it happens, it is the Romans themselves who are the dower; also Ovid, *Mét.* 8. 67 :

" coepta placent, et stat sententia tradere necum
dotalem patriam, finemque imponere bello,"

where it is her betrayed country which Scylla meditates to hand over to Minos as her dower.

QUIS TALIA DEMENS ABNUAT, AUT TECUM MALIT CONTENDERE BELLO? (vs. 107).—Compare Xenoph. *Anab.* 2, p. 160 (ed. Hutchins.) (Clearchus to Tissaphernes) : *τουτων δε τοιουτων οντων, τις ουτω μαινεται, οστις ου σοι βουλευται φιλος ειναι ;*

SEQUATUR (vs. 109).—See Rem. on "secundo," l. 160, and compare Seneca *de Ira*, 3. 7: "Negotia expedita et habilia sequuntur actorem; ingentia et supra mensuram agentis nec dant se facile, et si occupata sunt, premunt atque adducunt administrantem." Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2. 3 :

“ par vigor est membris, promptaeque ad fortia vires
sufficiunt animo, atque ingentia iussa *sequuntur*.”

Ovid, *Epist. Phaedr.* 9 :

“ qua licet et *sequitur*, pudor est miscendus amori.”

FATIS INCERTA FEROR (vs. 110).—“Cum incertus cum ablativo eius rei, de qua dubitatur, iunctum sine exemplo sit, apparet FATIS ab INCERTA FEROR ita pendere, ut Venerem se propter fata de Iovis voluntate dubitare dicat. Quare sic locus interpretandus: ‘propter ea quae de fati audiavi dubitavi num Iupiter,’ &c.,” Dietsch, *Theolog.*, p. 26. “‘FATIS fit ut ferar INCERTA,’ sive: ‘quae mea est scientia factorum, INCERTA sum si,’ &c.,” Wagner. (*Praest.*) I think not; but, *de FATIS INCERTA FEROR*, *i. e.*, *de FATIS INCERTA sum*, for even although the objection of Dietsch be just: “incertus cum ablativo eius rei, de qua dubitatur, iunctum sine exemplo est,” it by no means follows, but, on the contrary, remains yet to be shown, that incertus feror is governed by the same laws as incertus; and I am of opinion that it is not FEROR, INCERTA *de* FATIS, but, INCERTA and FEROR being closely united (blended) into one notion, INCERTA-FEROR DE FATIS.

119-125.

RADIUSQUE—ADERO

RADIUSQUE RETEXERIT ORBEM.—“It is worth considering whether RETEXERIT may not be from retexo, ORBEM being the orb of the sun which having been unwoven at night is rewoven in the morning. The expression is likely enough to have been suggested by Lucr. 5. 390: ‘radiusque retexens aetherius sol,’ where the absorption of water from the sea by the sun is spoken of . . .

Virgil himself (12. 763) has 'retexunt orbes' of reweaving a circle, *i. e.*, performing a circular movement a second time," Conington. The interpretation is not tenable even for one single moment, if it were only because in both of the places cited by Conington (no less than in every other instance in which the word is used elsewhere) *retexere* is never to reweave, or do again that which has been done before, but, as in the passage quoted by Mr. Conington himself from Ovid, *Met.* 7. 530 :

" dumque quater iunctis implet cornibus orbem
luna, quater plenum tenuata retexit orbem,"

to unweave, or undo that which has been already done. In Lucret. 5. 389 :

. . . " quoniam verrentes æquora venti
dominant, radiisque retexens aetherius sol,"

the sun is described not as reweaving or refilling the "æquora" with his rays, but the very contrary, viz., as in common with the winds which sweep over them, unweaving or unmaking them, viz., by absorption; and in *Aen.* 12. 763 :

" quinque orbes explent cursu, totidemque retexunt,
huc illuc,"

the riders are described not as making five circles first once, and then the same five circles a second time, but as first making and then unmaking five circles; in other words, as first making five circles, and then unmaking them, viz., by going over them in the opposite or reverse direction—unweaving them. The RETEXERIT of our text comes, therefore, by no possibility from *retexere*, but very certainly from *retegere*; and Virgil has not stultified himself by describing the sun as reweaving in the morning that orb of his which has been unwoven the night before. Compare 9. 461 :

" iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce retectis."

Sil. 6. 1 (ed. Ruperti, who, however, reads "diffusus" not "defessus," and gives no variant) :

“ iam Tartessiaco quos solverat aequore Titan
in noctem defessus equos, iungebat Eois
littoribus, primique *nova Phaethonte recreti*
Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis,
et foeda ante oculos strages, propiusque patebat
insani Mavortis opus.”

Lucan, 7. 786 :

. . . “ tamen omnia passo
postquam *clara dies* Pharsalica damna *rexitit*.”

Ovid, *Met.* 8. 1 :

“ Jam nitidum *retegente diem* noctisque fugante
tempora *Lucifero*, cadit Eurus.”

Lucan, 8. 202 :

“ ostendit terras *Titan*, et sidera *texit*.”

See Rem. on “totidemque reflexunt,” 12. 763.

DUM TREPIDANT ALAE SALTUSQUE INDAGINE CINGUNT (vs. 121).—I agree with Servius and Ladewig against Heyne, Wagner, and Forbiger, that ALAE are the equites and not the pinnae, or *federlappen* ; and interpret Silius’s parallel (2. 418) :

. . . “ subitoque exterrita nimbo
occultant alae venantium corpora silvis,”

not, with Forbiger, “Venantes latebant post alas indaginum,” but simply, and, I think, according to the plain construction, “alae venantium occultant corpora [sua], *i. e.*, equites venatores occultant se.” Scoppa (in Gruter’s *Thesaurus*, 1. 625) informs us, on the authority of an ancient fragment, that there were four species of huntsmen : “investigatores, indicadores, insidiatores, et alati, qui equo feras in casses urgent.” Compare Sil. Ital. 2. 84 : “sed virgine densior *ala* est.” The term is preserved in Italian ; see Manzoni’s *Promessi Sposi*, cap. 4 : “con gli occhi a terra, col padre compagno al fianco, passò la porta di quella casa, attraversò il cortile tra una folla che lo squadrava con una curiosità poco ceremoniosa, salì le scale, e di mezzo all’ altra folla signorile che fece *ala* al suo passaggio, seguito da

cento sguardi, giunse," &c. Also *ibid.* cap. 10: "si smontò fra due *ale* di popolo che i servi facevano stare indietro."

ADERO.—Exactly parallel is Ovid, *Met.* 10. 295 (of Venus present at the marriage of Pygmalion and the statue): "conjugio, quod fecit, *adest* dea."

127-132.

HIC HYMENÆUS ERIT NON ADVERSATA PETENTI
ANNUIT ATQUE DOLIS RISIT CYTHEREA REPERTIS
OCEANUM INTEREA SURGENS AURORA RELIQUIT
IT PORTUS IUBARE EXORTO DELECTA IUVENTUS
RETIA RARA PLAGAE LATO VENABULA FERRO
MASSYLIQUE RUUNT EQUITES ET ODORA CANUM VIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 127).

ADVERSATA ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Servius (cod. Dresd.); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Lad.; Ribb.

ADVERSATA ■ *Rom.* (Ribb.) ■■■ "Legitur et ADVERSATA," Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Voss.

"Hic aderit [mecum] Hymen," Wagner (*Praest.*), and so I once thought myself ("Twelve Years' Voyage," "Advers. Virg."). I am now, however, of a different opinion; for, firstly, why ADERO to express her own presence, and only ERIT to express Hymen's? It should have been "ego ADERO et HYMENÆUS mecum," not "ego ADERO" and HYMENÆUS HIC ERIT; and secondly, the almost identical words, "hic Hymenæus erat," are used by Manilius, 5. 544 (Jacob.), not in the sense of *Hymenæus was present here*, but in the other sense of which the words are capable, *this was her marriage*:

. . . "vesano dedere ponto
Andromedan, teneros ut bellua manderet artus.
hic hymenæus erat."

And so our author, HIC HYMENAEUS ERIT, *this shall be her marriage* ("hae erunt nuptiae," Servius). The words so understood are intimately connected with the immediately preceding

CONNUBIO IUNGAM STABILI PROPRIAMQUE DICABO,

and serve to round and complete the apodosis to the protasis

ADERO, ET TUA SI MIHI CERTA VOLUNTAS.

Compare also Stat. *Achill.* 2. 263 (Deidamia speaking to Achilles):

. . . "thalamis haec tempora nostris?
hinc est liber *Hymen*?"

Peerlkamp's and Ribbeck's omission of CONNUBIO IUNGAM STABILI PROPRIAMQUE DICABO, and junction of HIC HYMENAEUS ERIT with TUA SI MIHI CERTA VOLUNTAS, as sole and total apodosis, inadmissible, because HIC HYMENAEUS ERIT by itself is too weak and too unemphatic even for an ordinary apodosis, not to say for an apodosis which winds up and perorates an entire speech.

NON ADVERSATA PETENTI ANNUIT ATQUE DOLIS RISIT CYTHEREA REPERTIS.—Let us take the oldest interpretation we have of this passage, viz., Donatus's, first: "consensit ridens adversariae dolos evidentissime patuisse, quae sic insistebat, ut fieret aliquid quod esset Aeneae Troianisque contrarium, s. ut REGNUM ITALIAE LIBYCAS AVERTERET ORAS." According to this interpretation, (*a*) the "doli" of Juno were the design, contrivance, or plot of keeping Aeneas in Africa, in order that the empire of the world might be fixed there rather than in Italy, and (*b*) Venus smiled with pleasure at her detection (Venus's own detection) of these her adversary's "doli," smiled (with pleasure), the "doli" (of Juno) being detected. And so Servius (ed. Lion): "REPERTIS: vel *compertis* vel *deprehensis*. Cur autem DOLIS REPERTIS RISIT, qui altius intelligunt sic tradunt, hoc est quos iampridem compererat, cum Ilium oppugnaretur." La Cerda: "ANNUIT Venus, *deprehensis* DOLIS, nolens adversari Iunoni, tantum risu dolos a se intellectos indicans. RISIT vero, quia vidit inane esse consilium Iunonis, cum iter Aeneae in Italian

impediri non posset." Peerlkamp : "Doli Iunonis Venerem non latebant : ex Hymenaeo illo' nasceretur matrimonium ; Aeneas maneret in Africa ; regnum mundi ab Italia averteretur ; Carthago non deleberetur." So also Burmann, Gossrau, and Conington. To this interpretation there is the very obvious objection, that the discovery by Venus of the roguery of Juno was not made now, but had been already made—see verse 105 :

SENSIT ENIM SIMULATA MENTE LOCUTAM
QUO REGNUM ITALIAE LIBYAS AVERTERET ORAS—

and if such discovery was to produce a smile, the smile should have been then when the discovery was made, not now.

Rejecting, whether for this or whatever other reason, the interpretation of Donatus and Servius, modern commentators, with the exceptions just mentioned, understand Venus to smile at, in the bad sense, *i. e.*, to deride, viz., in her own mind, the "doli" devised by Juno : "Venus RISIT insidiosam Iunonis orationem, quum scilicet eius consilia eventum non habitura esse bene nosset . . . Malim *dolos repertos*, excogitados a Iunone, inventos, intelligere, ut *consilia reperta* et similia," Heyne, and so Wagner (1861), Forbiger, Ladewig, and myself in my "Twelve Years' Voyage"—all, as it appears to me now, after some twenty years' additional study of this not easily understood author, no nearer the mark than Donatus and Servius, if it were only because—and the objection has been made even by Heyne himself to his own interpretation : "'RISIT dolos' fuisset vulgaris ratio"—the object which is smiled at in the bad sense, *i. e.*, which is derided, is invariably put not in the dative, but in the accusative. Compare *Ecl.* 6. 23 :

"ille *dolum videns* : 'quo vincula necitis?' inquit."

Æn. 5. 181 :

"illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem,
et salsos *vident veramentem* pectore fluctus."

Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 18. 15 :

"*risit* Amor *pallantem* meam pictosque *cothurnos*
sceptraque privata tam bene sumpta manu."

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 311 :

“ conscia mens recti famae *mentacū risit*.”

Ibid. 2. 105 : “ rident moram.” *Ibid.* 2. 354 : “ ridet amato-rem.” Id. *Heroid.* 19. 203 : “ nec tu mea somnia ride.” Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16. 5 :

“ si non Acrisium virginis abditae
custodem pavidum Iupiter et Venus
risissent.”

Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 168 : “ ridebit funera.” Lucan, 9. 11 (of the soul of Pompey) :

“ illic postquam se lumine vero
implevit, stellasque vagas miratur, et astra
fixa polis, vidit quanta sub nocte iaceret
nostra dies, *risitque* sui lachryis trunci.”

Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* 1. 5 : “ Ticini eursoriam (sic navigio nomen) ascendi. Qua in Eridanum brevi delatus et cantatas saepe commessaliter nobis *Phaethontiadas*, et commentitias arborei metalli *lacrymas risi*” [ridiculed the Phaethontiadae, &c.] Pseudo-Egesippus *de Eccid. Hierosol.* 2. 2 : “ Deinde ad Caesarem deductus aperuit illico impunitate promissa, fretum specie similitudinis, quod esset Alexander simulasse, ut innumerabilia munera ibi quasi regis filius a Iudaeis consequeretur. Caesar *dolum risit* sed et ipsum immunem dimitti iubet, et eos qui ultra privatum modum quasi regis filios detulerant satis multatos esse pronunciavit, quod superfluis sumptibus infinita dispendia toleravissent” [Caesar ridiculed the trick].

What, then, is the true interpretation of the passage, if the old interpretation, or that of Donatus and Servius, and the new interpretation, or that of Heyne, are alike false? I reply, *RISIT* is to be understood as it has been understood by Donatus and Servius, viz., in the good sense, *Venus smiled with pleasure, bestowed her approving smile, but* *DOLIS REPERTIS* the object of *RISIT*, and correctly (and as usual for the object of *ridere* in the good sense) in the dative case (as *Aen.* 5. 358 : “ *risit* pater

optimus olli." *Ecl.* 4. 62 :

. . . " *cui non risere parentes,
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.*"

Lucr. 1. 8 :

. . . " *tibi [Veneri] ridet acquora ponti,
placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum*"),

is not to be understood as it was understood by Donatus and Servius, viz., as meaning (Juno's) artifice detected by Venus, but in that very opposite sense in which it was understood by Heyne, viz., artifice contrived by Juno.

So far so good with respect to the sense both of RISIT and REPERTIS: *Venus smiled approvingly on the invention of Juno, on Juno's contrivance* (RISIT REPERTIS); say, rather—REPERTIS not being the object of Venus's smile, but only the descriptive adjective of the object DOLIS—*Venus smiled approvingly on the artifice or stratagem devised by Juno*. Now, what were these "doli," what was this artifice or stratagem? Hear Donatus: "ut fieret aliquid quod esset Aeneae Troianisque contrarium, s. ut REGNUM ITALIAE LIBYCAS AVERTERET ORAS." Hear Peerkamp: "doli Iunonis Venerem non latebant: ex Hymenaeo illo nasceretur matrimonium; Aeneas maneret in Africa; regnum mundi ab Italia averteretur; Carthago non deleretur." Far from it. These are the objects of Juno, well known, and for a long time, to Venus, and with a view to which Juno has been acting ever since the war of Troy (1. 17):

. . . "hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque."

1. 283 :

. . . "quin aspera Iuno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam."

1. 666 :

"urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat."

4. 96 :

"nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra
suspectas habuisse domos Carthaginis altae."

What have been pointed out by Donatus and Peerlkamp as the “doli” of Juno are not “doli” at all, still less “reperi doli;” they are objects in view, aims; and the “doli” of our text are the artifice or stratagem which has been excogitated by Juno in order to accomplish those objects, those aims; viz., the establishment of universal empire at Carthage, instead of at Rome. And what is this artifice or stratagem just concocted by Juno, and which has on the instant won Cytherea’s approving smile? Juno herself has this moment told us, if we have only ears to hear, eyes to read, or sense to understand, as explicit an enunciation as ever was made:

COMMUNEM HUNC ERGO POPULUM PARIBUSQUE REGAMUS
AUSPICIIS: LICEAT PHRYGIO SERVIRE MARITO,
DOTALESQUE TUAE TYRIOS PERMITTERE DENTRAE.

. . . . NUNC QUA RATIONE QUOD INSTAT
CONFERI POSSIT, PAUCIS—ADVERTE—DOCEBO.
VENATUM AENEAS, UNAQUE MISERRIMA DIDO,
IN NEMUS IRE PARANT, UBI PRIMOS CRASTINUS ORTUS
EXTULERIT TITAN RADIISQUE RETEXERIT ORBEM.
HIS EGO NIGRANTEM COMMIXTA GRANDINE NIBUM,
DUM TREPIDANT ALAE SALTUSQUE INDAGINE CINGUNT,
DESUPER INFUNDAM, ET TONITRU CARLUM OMNE CIEBO.
DIFFUGIENT COMITES ET NOCTE TEGENTUR OPACA:
SPELUNCAM DIDO DUX ET TROIANUS EANDEM
DEVENIENT. ADERO, ET TUA SI MIHI CERTA VOLUNTAS,
CONNUBIO IUNGAM STABILI PROPRIAMQUE DICABO.
HIC HYMENAEUS ERIT.

These are the “doli,” this the stratagem, just devised by Juno, and which has on the moment received the approbation and won the smile of the queen of love and beauty:

NON ADVERSATA PETENTI
ANNUIT, ATQUE DOLIS RISIT CYTHEREA REPERTIS.

But how is it that Venus thus cordially approves of and smiles on the “doli” of her adversary; approves of and smiles on the stratagem by which her adversary proposes to fix Aeneas, and with Aeneas the kingdom of the world, in Africa? Nothing can be plainer. That union with Dido which Juno regards as

a marriage :

CONNUBIO IUNGAM STABILI PROPRIAMQUE DICABO ;
HIC HYMENÆUS ERIT,

and reckons on as sure to fix Æneas, and with Æneas the fated empire of the world, in Carthage, Venus accepts and approves of as an amour, very agreeable and useful to Æneas, but not to detain him in Africa one moment longer than it may suit his and her (Venus's) convenience. The parts performed by the two goddesses are thus in perfect keeping with their respective characters. While staid and matronly Juno, "pronuba Iuno," is intent on a marriage, Venus thinks only of an amour, a little bit of gallantry to make the winter pass over more pleasantly :

" nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos : "

while the clever and cunning queen of heaven prosecutes her plot for the securing of the empire of the world to Carthage, she is overreached and caught in her own net by the still more clever, still more cunning Paphian queen, as Claud. *Rapt. Pres.* 2. 11 :

" prima dolo gaudens et tanti callida voti
it Venus, et raptus metitur corde futuros."

Nor is the part which we find Venus here playing merely in the strictest keeping with her character as queen of love and beauty : it is the very part we have seen her playing all through. Even before the fatal banquet, and more fatal narrative of Æneas, she is busy with Cupid concocting "doli" for the seduction of Dido (1. 677) :

" quocirca capere ante *dolis* et cingere flamma
reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,
sed magno Æneae mecum teneatur amore,"

not vague and misty "doli" to be imagined by each reader for himself, as best he can, but concrete "doli," minutely particularized and described : Ascanius is to be spirited away, and Cupid personating him is to present to the queen the seducer's love gifts, to sit on her lap, and from that convenient position

instil the love poison into her veins. These are Venus's own "doli" [compare Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* l. p. 302 (Jupiter to Venus) :

. . . " nunc matre remota
(rem peragi tempus) fines invade Sicanos
et Cereris prolem patulis illudere campis
crastina puniceos cum lux detexerit ortus
eoge tuis armata *dolis* "],

the fit and proper "doli" of the goddess of seduction. They have been eminently successful; the queen is deeply enamoured, is preyed on by a devouring fire unseen ("vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni")—nay, no longer makes a secret of her passion, but, lost to the sense of shame ("solvitque pudorem"), roams over the whole city furious as a wounded deer flying through the woods with the arrow sticking in her side ("uritur infelix Dido, totaque vagatur urbe furens, qualis," &c.). The political, no less than personal, adversary of Venus and the Italian kingdom espies the favourable conjuncture and makes overtures to Venus of a compromise of all differences by an *ipso facto* marriage to be brought about between Dido and Aeneas, the very next day, on occasion of a royal hunting. How was it possible that Venus should not be charmed to receive from her adversary a proposal by which the "doli" with which she had herself ensnared the unhappy queen—

" quocirca capere ante *dolis* et cingere flamma
reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,
sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore "—

were to be consummated and brought to perfection, a proposal no less than that she should lend a helping hand to unite in marriage the pair whose hearts she had already united? How was it possible that she should not—not only not oppose (NON ADVERSATA), but—nod assent to the proposal (PETENTI ANNUIT), and smile with her sweetest Cytherean smile on "doli" of her adversary which jumped to such a nicety with her own? With what good reason Venus smiled, how effectual for the promotion of her own views, how ineffectual for the promotion of Juno's, were the "doli" which Juno had devised, appears from the

commencing lines of the next book :

“interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter, fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat,
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elisae
colluecent flammis.”

RISIT CYTHEREA.—If, as I have said above, it is in the strictest conformity with the respective characters of the two goddesses that one of them, “pronuba Iuno,” the goddess of matrimony, is represented as proposing a marriage, and the other, Venus, the goddess of illicit love, as accepting the proposal without holding herself bound by the marriage bond longer than suited her convenience, it is no less in accordance with the character of the latter that she, the (Hom. *Hymn. in Vener.* 48) ηδὺ γελοισάσα φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδίτη, should accompany her acceptance of the proposal with an approving smile. Compare Hesiod. *Theog.* 203 (of Venus) :

ταυτην δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς τιμὴν ἔχει, ἡδὲ λελογχε
μοῖραν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
παρθενίους τ' ὄαρους, μεῖδημα τ' ἑξάπατας τε,
τέρψιν τε γλυκερὴν, φιλοττὰ τε μελιχίην τε.

Hor. *Carm.* 1. 2 :

“sive tu mavis, *Erycina ridens*,
quam *ioeus* circumvolat et Cupido.”

Ovid, *Heroid.* 16. 83 :

“dulce *Venus risit* : ‘nec te, Pari, munera tangant,
utraq̃ue, suspensi plena timoris,’ ait.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 5 :

. . . “*risit* [*Venus*] : et aether
protinus ex illa parte serenus erat.”

Sil. 7. p. 109 :

. . . “postrema nitenti
affulsit vultu *ridens Venus*, omnia circa
et nemora et penitus frondosis rupibus antra
spirantem sacro traxerunt vertice odorem.”

Johan. Gramm. Gazaei *Anacr.* 5. 1 (in part 2, Matraunga, *Anecdota Graeca*, Rome, 1850) :

ο γελως ο της Κυθηρης
απαθως βρυων γαληνην,
γενεσεις αι λοχευων,
αχεςιν λιην κρατειται
τι παθω, πατερ, τι ρεξω :

φιλιας ανασσα πηγης.
ζαθew βρεμουσα κεντρw.
φιλομειλιχος γελωσα, .
Παφιη, γεμω μεριμνης
τι παθω, πατερ, τι ρεξω :

ANNUIT ATQUE DOLIS RISIT — *nodded assent and, much more (ATQUE — imo etiam), smiled approbation.*

DOLIS REPERTIS.—Compare Tacit. *Ann.* 13. 16 : “ Illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusque eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne omitteretur institutum, aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis *dolus repertus* est.” Eurip. *Cycl.* 463 (the chorus exulting in the device of Ulysses, viz., to blind the Cyclops) :

ιων. ιων
γεγηθα, μαινομεσθα τοις ευρημασιν

[“ insanius hoc *invento*”]. Philostr. *Heroica*, p. 154 (ed. Boissonade) : *ευρηται δε μοι κατ’ αυτον τεχνη, δι ης μισηθησεται τε υπο των Ελληνων, και απολειται υπ’ αυτων.* Seneca, *Herc. Oct.* 272 (Dejanira to Juno) :

. . . “ quid cessas, dea ?
utere furente. Quod iubes fieri nefas ?
reperi. quid haeres ?”

IT PORTIS IUBARE EXORTO DELECTA IUVENTUS.—IUBARE, “Lucifero,” Servius.

“ rasch in dem frühlicht geht aus dem thor die erlesene jugend.”
(Voss.)

This is altogether a mistake. First the day breaks (OCEANUM AURORA RELIQUIT), and then the sun rises, and then the hunt sets out. The daybreak and the rising of the orb of day are

distinguished from, and opposed to, each other. Iubar is always a bright, beaming, radiant object, either the globe of the sun itself, or a planet, or some such radiating object; therefore EXORTO, *the orb of day having risen, having shown himself* (EX, viz., out of the sea, out of which the AURORA, or light, had previously arisen). The “iubar” is that of the sun, not of Lucifer, because Lucifer precedes, not follows, the day (2. 802: “ducebatque diem”). Voss did not understand the meaning of the word “iubar” when he rendered it “frühlucht.” What kind of a picture would the hunt have made going out in the dim twilight under the rays of Lucifer—stealing out as if it was afraid to be seen? No, no. Virgil knew better, and brings forth his splendid array under the fresh bright beams of the just-risen sun. Compare Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, 1. 1:

“The stag at eve had drunk his fill
 where danced the moon on Monan’s rill,
 and deep his midnight lair had made
 in lone Glenartney’s hazel shade;
 but when the sun his beacon red
 had kindled on Benvoirlich’s head,
 the deep-mouthed blood-hound’s heavy bay
 resounded up the rocky way,
 and faint, from farther distance borne,
 were heard the clanging hoof and horn.”

On the contrary it is in the grey dawn, under the rays of Lucifer, Æneas flies from Troy to take refuge in Mount Ida:

“iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idæ
 ducebatque diem.”

IUBARE, *the iubar*, par excellence, *i. e.*, the glowing brightness of the orb of the sun; *αυγη ηλιου, σελας*, as Aesch. *Agam.* 254 (ed. Davies):

τορον γαρ ηξει συνορθρον αυγαις.

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 167:

. . . “spectansque ad *lamina solis*,
 ‘per *iubar* hoc,’ inquit, ‘radiis insigne coruscis,
 nato, tibi iuro.’”

Coripp. *de Laud. Iustin. 3. 182* :

“ aurea convexi veluti rutilantia caeli
sidera mensura numeris et pondere cursus
perficiunt librata suo, stabiliq[ue] recessu
firma manent, *atq[ue] iubar* super omnia fulget.”

Ibid. 2. 92 :

“ haud secus ut, nubes cum se rescindere densam
coeperit et caelum monstraverit aethra serenum,
ardentes radios mittit *iubar*.”

Iubar denotes also any other object bright and shining like the disk of the sun, as Coripp. *Johan. 4. 457* :

“ dixerat, et saltu sese super ardua terga
composuit sublatus equi. sonnere verendi
arma viri, cassisque novo splendore *coruscans*
sole repercusso radios in lumina misit,
loricæq[ue] iubar rutilum per castra ecurrit.”

VENABULA (vs. 131) = Gr. *ακοντια, προβολια*.

ODORA CANUM VIS.—“Aut ad multitudinem, aut ad naturam retulit,” Serv. “Canes robusti,” Heyne. “Multitudo,” Voss. “Voc. vis et magnum numerum et robur CANUM indicat,” Forbiger. “Quorum vis imprimis in sagacitate spectatur,” Wagn. (1861). “Tüchtige schweisshunde,” Ladewig. What kind of VIS is meant, is clearly pointed out by ODORA. ODORA CANUM VIS, literally *the smelling or scenting talent or instinct of dogs—dogs having the smelling talent—keen-scented dogs; the power or talent of hunting by the scent, following the scent* (Liv. Andron. : “odorisequos canes,” i. e., *hounds, jagdhunde*). Compare (α), Lucret. 6. 1220 :

. . . “*fida canum vis*
strata viis animam ponebat in omnibus aegram”

[the faithful talent, energy of dogs—the faithfulness of dogs—faithful dogs]. (b), *Ibid. 3. 297* :

“quo genere in primis *vis* est *violenta hominum*”

[the violent energy of lions—the violence of lions—violent lions]. (c), *Ibid. 3. 7* :

. . . “quidnam tremulis facere artibus hoedi
consimile in cursu possint ac *fortis equi vis* ?”

and also, *Ibid.* 3. 763 :

“ nec tam doctus equae pullus quam *fortis equi vis* ”

[the strong energy of the horse—the strength of the horse—the strong horse]. (*d*), *Ibid.* 6. 802 :

“ *carbonumque gravis vis* atque odor insinuat
quam facile in cerebrum ”

(where Wakefield : “ *Hendiadys est pro gravis vis odoris* ”). (*e*), *Ibid.* 2. 215 : “ *cadit in terras vis flammea vulgo* ” (where “ *vis flammea* ” is ignis, as in our text *vis odora* is odoratus). (*f*), Sall. *Bell. Jug.* 89 (ed. Dietsch) : “ Nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, *quarum vis*, sicuti omnium ferarum inopia cibi acrior, ad hoc siti magis quam alia re accenditur.” (*g*), Hor. *Epod.* 6. 5 :

“ nam, qualis aut Molossus, aut fulvus Lacon,
amica vis pastoribus ”

(where not the smelling faculty of dogs is indicated, but their strength and courage, those being the faculties which render them useful to the shepherds, viz., for the protection of the sheep from the wolves). (*h*), Lucr. 4. 684 :

. . . “ tum fissa ferarum
ungula quo tulerit gressum, *permissa canum vis*
ducit ”

(where the context equally clearly shows that it is the smelling faculty, not the strength and courage of dogs, which is meant). And so (*i*), Prudent. *Cathem.* 11. 33 :

“ nam *cæca vis* mortalium
venerans inanes naenias,
vel aera, vel saxa algida,
vel ligna credebat Deum ”

[not, with Cellarius and Dressel, *the blind multitude of men*, but *the blind instinct of men*, *man guided by his blind instinct*, the “ *vis humana* ” (*human instinct*) of Virgil himself, *Georg.* 1. 197 :

“ vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore
degenerare tamen, ni *vis humana* quotannis
maxima quacque manu legeret ”]

Compare also, (*J*), Pind. *Ol. 6. 22* (ed. Boeckh) :

Ω Φιντις, αλλα ζευξον ηδη μοι σθενος ημιονων

(where Boeckh : “robur mularum”). (*K*), Pind. *Pyth. 2. 10* (ed. Boeckh) :

. . . ξεσπον οταν διφρον
εν θ' αρματα πεισιχαλινα καταζεγγυνη
σθενος ιππιον

(where Boeckh : “robur equinum,” *i. e.*, ιππους ; and where Dissen : “constructio : οταν εν(εις) διφρον αρματα τε καταζεγγυνη ιππους”). (*I*), Avien. *Orb. Terr. 394* :

“nunc tibi et Europae fabor latus ; haec, ubi terras
intrat Atlantei vis aequoris, accipit ortum”

[the sea force, or energy]. **And** (*m*), *Ibid. 448* :

“inde Borysthenii vis sese fluminis effert
Euxinum in pelagus”

[the river force, or energy].

138-150.

CRINES—ORE

NODANTUR IN AURUM (vs. 138).—*Are tied into gold, i. e., are tied with a golden nodus, band, or tie* ; see Rem. on “nodoque sinus collecta fluentes,” 1. 324 ; and compare Claudian, in *Rufin. 1. 119* (of Megaera) : “nodavitque adamante comas” [tied her hair with adamant].

QUALIS UBI, &c., . . . ORE.—Not only is the hero of the *Aeneid* modelled after the hero of the *Argonautics* (see Rem. on *Aen. 3. 10*), but he is made the subject of the selfsame comparisons. See *Apoll. Rhod. 1. 307* :

οιος δ' εκ νηιοιο θυωδεος εισιν Απολλων
Δηλον αν' ηγαθεην, ηε Κλαρον, η ογε Πυθω,
η Λυκιην ευρειαν επι Ξανθοιο ροησι,
τοιος ανα πληθυν δημου κιν [scilz. Ιησων].

Apollo was celebrated for his gait no less than for his beauty (*Hymn. ad Apoll.* *καλα και υψι βιβας*), and Aeneas is compared with him in our text in both respects, just as the *Ludus Troiae* (5. 588) is compared with respect to its intricacy to the Cretan Labyrinth, with respect to the rapidity and elegance of its motions, to dolphins at play.

HIBERNAM (vs. 143).—“NON *δυσχειμερον*, sed *ευχειμερον* (ut vocat Aristot. *Polit.* 7), i. e., aptam hiemantibus, ita enim regionis est ingenium,” Lemaire, after Servius. I think, however, with Heyne, that HIBERNAM is here neither *δυσχειμερον* nor *ευχειμερον*, does not directly express either the clemency or inclemency of the Lycian winter or of the Lycian climate, but simply that Lycia was the winter residence of Apollo; *ubi hibernabat*. Of this use of hibernus we have numerous examples, as: “sol aut ignis hibernus,” Cic. *de Senect.* 14; “hibernum cubiculum,” Cic. *Ep. ad Q. Fr.* 1. 3. 1; “hiberna pira,” Plin. 46. 26; “hibernus calceatus feminarum,” *Ibid.* 8; “hiberni agni,” *Ibid.* 8. 47 [not the sun, fire, chamber, pears, shoeing, lambs, *having the character of winter*, but the sun, fire, chamber, &c., *in or for the time of winter*]. So, in English, “winter clothing,” “winter provisions,” “winter quarters,” &c.; and so in the text, HIBERNAM LYCIAM: not *wintry* (having the character of winter) *Lycia*, but *winter* (the adjective *winter*, i. e., of winter, belonging to the season of winter) *Lycia*; as if Virgil had said: “hiberna sua in Lycia.”* Accordingly Servius: “Constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae civitatem, dare responsa, et sex aestivis apud Delum.” In this statement, however, Servius can hardly be perfectly correct, for if Apollo spent one half the year in Lycia and the other half in Delos, when was he to be found in his famous shrine at Delphi? It is much more probable that having spent the winter in Lycia he paid only a passing visit to MATERNAM DELON, on his way to spend the summer at Delphi; and accordingly Avienus (*Orb. Terr.* 705) represents the festivities at Delos in honour of

* But Statius, *Theb.* 1. 696, has “Phoebe parens, seu te Lyciae Pateraca nivosas exercent dumeta iugis;” and in 6. 311, we have “frigidus annus.”

Apollo as taking place early in the spring, “*vere novo*”:

“ omnes fatidico curant solennia *Phoebo*.
 nam cum *vere novo* tellus se dura relaxat.
 culminibusque cavis blandum strepit ales hirundo,
 gens devota choros agitat [cratituque] sacratio
 ludunt fasta die, visit sacra numen alumnus.”

Compare the account which Virgil here gives us of the rejoicings with which Apollo was greeted at Delos on his arrival there in the spring, after having passed the winter in Lycia, with the account given us by Himerius* (*Orat. 14. 10*), after Alcaeus, of his festal reception at Delphi in summer on his return from his visit to the Hyperboreans; an account not only full of beauty in itself, but highly illustrative of the passage before us, and for which, whether it be genuine Alcaic or not, no less than for the numerous other charming fragments of his own as well as of other authors which he has handed down to us, I gladly render Himerius the humble tribute of my thanks; and to my thanks would add my recommendation of the fine old rhetorician (easily accessible since the publication of his works at Göttingen by Wernsdorf, in 1790) to the attention of scholars, if I did not feel how little likely to be of much effect such recommendation from one less known in the literary world than even Himerius himself.

MATERNAM.—“*Sein muttergefeld*,” Voss. No, not *where he was born*, but *belonging to his mother, sacred to his mother*. See “*materna myrto*,” 5. 72; “*maternas aves*,” 6. 193; *myrtle, birds, belonging to his mother, sacred to his mother*—the only sense in which the word has ever been used by Virgil.

IMPLICAT AURO.—Golden dress and ornaments specially belonged to Apollo. Compare Callimachus, *Hymn. in Apoll. 32*:

χρυσέα τῷ πρῶτῳ τὸ ἐνδυτόν, ἡ τ, ἐπιπορπίς,
 ἡ τε λυρή, τὸ τ' αἶμμα τὸ λυκτίον, ἡ τε φαρετρή·
 χρυσέα καὶ τὰ πεδίλα· πολυχρυσὸς γὰρ Ἀπολλών,
 καὶ τε πολυκτεάνυς.

See also La Cerda's numerous citations to the same effect.

154-159.

TRANSMITTUNT—LEONEM

TRANSMITTUNT CURSU CAMPOS.—“TRANSMITTUNT, *celeriter trans-eunt*,” Servius. “*Transcurreunt*; eadem ratione dictum, qua *flumen mare transmittere*, omisso pron. reflexivo *se*,” Forbiger. The meaning assigned by Servius is unquestionably the true one. I doubt that so much can be said of Forbiger’s etiology. In this, so ordinary, use of *transmittere* in the sense of *pass* (*pass over*, or *cross*), the analysis is not send one’s self (*se*) past the object, but send the object past one’s self, *i. e.*, send the object past in the opposite direction to that in which one is oneself going; the apparent effect of all motion being to send the surrounding objects in the opposite direction. In the expressions *transmittere pontem*, *transmittere fluvium*, *transmittere campum*, the verb operates upon its object in the same manner as in the expressions, Plin. *N. H.* 9. 38 [22]: “*Lacus est Italiae Benacus in Veronensi agro Mincium amnem transmittens*.” Plin. *Jun.* 2. 17: “*Cryptoporticus . . . patentibus fenestris furonios accipit transmittitque*.” Ovid, *Met.* 4. 708:

. . . “*quantum Balearica torto
funda potest plumbo medii transmittere coeli*.”

Lucan, 7. 622:

. . . “*quis corruat ictu;
quis steterit, dum membra cadunt; quis pectore tela
transmittat, vel quos campis affixerit hasta*.”

The only difference is that in the former category it is the subject which moves, while the object remains stationary, whereas in the latter it is the object which moves, while the subject remains stationary. In our own language there is a similarly double use of the corresponding verb *pass*, inasmuch as we say not only “pass the river *or* bridge,” but “pass the bottle,” “pass the watchword,” “pass the cards,” “pass the hours.” TRANS-

MITTUNT CURSU CAMPOS therefore, *send the plains past them, viz., by running, i. e., run across the plains.*

SPUMANTEMQUE DARI . . . LEONEM (vv. 158, 159).—The son of a hero cannot begin too soon to show his heroic proclivities. Achilles while yet only six years old killed not only wild boars but lions, and carried their panting carcasses to Chiron, Pind. *Nem. 3. 41* (ed. Boeckh):

ξανθος δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τα μὲν μὲνων Φιλυράς ἐν δομοῖς,
παῖς ἔων ἀθύρε μεγάλα ἔργα, χερσὶ θαμῖνα
βραχυσιδάρων ἀκόντα παλλῶν, ἰσα τ' ἄνεμοις
μαχα λείοντες σὶν ἀγροτεροῖς ἐπρασσεν φόνον,
καπρούς τ' ἐν αἶρε, σώματι δὲ παρα Κρονίδαν
Κένταυρον ἀσθμαίνοντι κομίζεν,
ἐξέτης τοπρωτον, ὅλον δ' ἐπειτ' ἀν' ἥρονον.

And that Hercules should begin even while he was in his cradle (it is not said that he was even out of his swaddling clothes) was no more than was to be expected from the son of Jove.

160-168.

INTEREA MAGNO MISCE RI MURMURE CAELUM
INCIPIT INSEQUITUR COMMIXTA GRANDINE NIMBUS
ET TYRII COMITES PASSIM ET TROIANA IUVENTUS
DARDANIUSQUE NEPOS VENERIS DIVERSA PER AGROS
TECTA METU PETIERE RUUNT DE MONTIBUS AMNES
SPELUNCAM DIDO DUX ET TROIANUS EANDEM
DEVENIUNT PRIMA ET TELLUS ET PRONUBA IUNO
DANT SIGNUM FULSERE IGNES ET CONSCIUS AETHER
CONNUBIIS SUMMOQUE ULULARUNT VERTICE NYMPHAE

VAR. LECT. (vs. 166).

PRIMA ET ■ *Rom., Pal., Med., Ver.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

PRIMA UT * ■■■ Dr. W. Hecker, *Muenosyne* (a Dutch periodical not in Dresden library), vol. 1, p. 204.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 168).

CONNUBIIS ■ *Med.* ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$. ■■■ Princ.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); † Lachm., ad Lucret. 5. 85; Lad.; † Haupt; † Ribb.

CONNUBIT ■ *Rom.* (thus, CONUBIISUMMO, with a dot at the top of the line between the S and the U), *Pal.* (thus, CONUBIISUMMO, with a dot between the second I and the first S, which latter is crossed out), *Ver.* (CONVBIISVMMOQ.). ■■ $\frac{3}{4}$. ■■■ Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1486; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; Pierius; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Phil.

The storm not only is the immediate occasional cause of the union between Aeneas and Dido, and hides it from the eyes of the company present, but it is emblematical of it. There is a union taking place at the same time between Aeneas and Dido and between the air and the earth. Compare *Georg.* 2. 325 :

“tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnes
magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus.”

Stat. Silv. 1. 2. 185 :

. . . “ipsum in connubia terrae
Aethera, cum pluviis rarescunt nubila, solvo [Venus].”

Pervigilium Veneris, 55 :

“cras erit, quo primus Aether copulavit nuptias,
ut pater totum bearet vernus annum nubibus.
in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
unde fetus aleret omnes mixta magno corpore.”

The union of Dido and Aeneas is plainly modelled after that of Medea and Jason. Both are brought about specially by Juno herself; both take place in a cave, and the nymphs officiate at

* Quoted by Ribbeck, *PRIMUM UT*.

† CONUBIIS (CONUBIS, Lachmann, quoted by Ribb.).

both. See Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1130, *et seqq.* :

αυτονυχι κουρη θαλαμηϊον εντυον ευνην
 ανθρω εν ηγαθεω
 ενθα τυτ' εστορεσαν λεκτρον μεγα' τοιο δ' υπερθε
 χρυσειον αιγληεν κωας βαλον, οφρα πελοιτο
 τιμηεις ο γαμος και αιδιμος. ανθεα δε σφι
 νυμφαι αμεργομεναι λευκοις ενι παικιλα κολποις
 εσφορεον
 αι μεν τ' Αιγαιου ποταμου καλεοντο θυγατρες·
 αι δ' ορεος κορυφας Μελιτηϊου αμφεγεμοντο·
 αι δ' εσαν εκ πεδιων αλσηιδες. ωρσε γαρ αυτη
 Ηρη Ζηνος ακοιτις, Ιησωνα κυδαινουσα.

It has been generally supposed that our author represents the union of Aeneas and Dido as taking place under unlucky omens; that the *SIGNUM* spoken of was an earthquake, and that an earthquake was in a high degree unlucky (“*Nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli,*” Servius), that the flashing of aether was unlucky (“*Cum enim ait fulsisse ignes, infaustum connubium videtur ostendere,*” Servius), and finally, that the “*ululatus*” of the nymphs prognosticated death: “*Ideo medium elegit sermonem [ululare, sciz.] quia post nuptias mors consecuta est,*” Servius. And so Henry Stephens: “*ULULARUNT, mortem hoc connubium secuturam significantes.*” And Alfieri:

. . . “all’ aure
 varj auspicj s’udiro; il suol tremò.”

And Heyne: “*Mala nuptiarum omina enarrare debebat poeta et videtur enarrare: motum terrae, aeris fragorem vento concitati, fulmina, et per montium iuga auditos clamores vel ululatus; quae omnia, cum tempestate et procella magna interdum coniuncta, nunc praeclare ad deas pronubas Tellurem et Iunonem, et ad nymphas tanquam carmen nuptiale canentes referuntur.*” And again: “*Ululant adeo prae terrore et sensu magni mali.*”

I hold all this to be not merely incorrect, but directly contrary both to common sense and the author’s whole drift and intention. **First**, the signal given was not the act of Tellus singly (in which case, indeed, there might have been some

grounds for supposing it to be an earthquake), but the act of Tellus conjointly with Juno, who in the ancient cosmology has nothing to do with earthquakes, and who besides, being the friend and protectrix of Dido and Carthage, and acting on the present occasion in her special character of *pronuba* (compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 43 (Hypsipyle to Jason) :

“ non ego sum furto tibi cognita : *pronuba Iuno*
affuit, et sertis tempora vinctus Hymen”),

in a marriage brought about by her herself for their advantage, cannot be supposed to, be a party to the production of a bad omen. The erroneous supposition of an earthquake has no doubt arisen out of the previous erroneous assumption that the Tellus spoken of was the material tellus, *the earth* ; this being once assumed, the **second** error followed as a necessary consequence, there being no conceivable way in which the material earth could give a signal except by motion, *i. e.*, earthquake. Avoiding this error—keeping clear of the manifest absurdity that the solid material earth and the person Juno united to give the signal, and understanding the meaning to be that the two personally present goddesses, Tellus and Juno, gave the signal together, all ground or pretext for an earthquake vanishes, and, with the earthquake, the first of the bad omens.

PRIMA TELLUS.—The epithet PRIMA is applied to Tellus, not (with Wagner) in place of the adverb primum and to signify “*primum* TELLUS ET IUNO DANT SIGNUM, *tum* ULULARUNT NYMPHÆ,” (for why should such extraordinary care and emphasis be used to inform us that the signal *preceded* the act which it commanded?), but as declaratory of the character in which Tellus was present at the wedding, viz., as the first spouse and first mother (“Der himmel ist der vater, die erde die mutter aller dinge,” Confucius. See Du Halde, vol. 2, p. 349 ; Klemm, *Cultur-Geschichte*, vol. 6, p. 321). Compare *Aen.* 7. 136 : “*primamque deorum tellurem nymphasque*” (where it will be observed further that Tellus is introduced, as in our text, in the company of the nymphs). *Georg.* 1. 12 :

. . . “*cui prima frementem*
fudit equum magno Tellus percussa tridenti.”

Varro, *R. R.* 1. 1 : “itaque quod ii parentes magni dicuntur, Iupiter pater appellatur, *Tellus terra mater.*” Id., *de Lingua Latina*, 5. 10 (ed. Spengel) : “*principes dei Caelum et Terra* : hi dei idem qui Aegypti Serapis et Isis.” Hesiod, *Theog.* 43 :

. . . αι δ' [Musae] ἀμβροτον ὄσσαν ιεῖσαι,
θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον πρῶτον κλείουσιν αἰοδη
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ἐτικτον,
οἷτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο θεοὶ, δῶτῃρες ἑαῶν.

Ibid. 116 :

ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα Χάος γενετ', αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τα
Γαί' ευρυστερνός, πάντων ἐδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
[ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἐχούσι κερὴ νιφέντος Ὀλύμπου],
Τάρταρα τ' ἡεροεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς ευρυοδείης,
ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς καλλίστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
λυσίμελῆς, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νουν καὶ ἐπιφρονα βούλην.

Pausanias, 10. 12. 5 :

Γὰ καρπὸς ἀνιεῖ, διὸ κλησέτε μητέρα γαίαν.

Johan. Gramm. Tzetzae, *Theogon.* 431 (Matranga, *Anecd. Graec.* vol. 2) :

τὸ Χάος μὲν ἦν πρῶτιστον παντοσε κεχυμένον,
τοῦτο τὴν γῆν ἐγέννησε, τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἡ Γῆ δέ
ω καὶ μιγείσα περισσούς γεῖνα μὲν ἀλλοὺς παῖδας¹
καὶ Κρόνον δὲ γεγεννηκεν ὅστις γεῖνα τὸν Δία.

Ibid. 340 :

ἡ γῆ το πρὶν συν Οὐρανῷ θεῶν ἐκυρίαρχουν.

And above all, Eurip. fragm. ex *Chrysis*. :

Γαῖα μεγίστη, καὶ Διὸς αἰθρῇ,
ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενετῶρ,
ἡ δ' υἱροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίους
παράδεξαμένη τικτεῖ θνατούς,
τικτεῖ δὲ βόραν, φυλά τε θηρῶν,
ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως

μητὴρ πάντων νενομίσται.
χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίης
φυντ' εἰς γαίαν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου
βλαστοντα γούνης εἰς οὐρανίον
πολὸν ἤλθε παλιν· θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν
τῶν γιγνομένων, διακρινόμενον δ'
ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλου
μορφὴν ἰδίαν ἀπεδείξε.

Also Aesch. *Eum.* 1 :

πρωτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβευω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτομαντιν Γαίαν.

Lucian, *Prom.* 7 : καὶ οὐ δηποῦν δια τοῦτο αἰτιασαίτ' αὐ τις τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, οὐτὶ ἡμᾶς συνεστήσαντο. Pind. *Nem.* 11. 7 (of Vesta) : πρωτὰν θεῶν. Liv. 8. 6 : "Ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum diis manibus matricque Terrae deberi." Metast. *La Strada della Gloria*, v. 1 :

"gia l'ombrosa del giorno atra nemica
di silenzio copriva e di timore
l'immenso volto alla gran madre antica."

PRIMA being so understood, each of the two divinities present has a title, not only of honour, but appropriate to the rôle which she was then playing.

PRONUBA IUNO.—Had Virgil intended to represent the marriage as attended with bad omens, we should not have had Juno, the very goddess of matrimony ("cui vincla iugalia curae") acting as pronuba, as Ovid, *Met.* 6. 428 (of the marriage of Procne and Tereus) :

. . . "non pronuba Iuno,
non Hymenaeus adest, non illi gratia lecto,"

but the Eumenides, as Ovid, *ibid.*, in continuation :

"Eumenides tenuero faces de funere raptus,
Eumenides stravere torum ;"

or Tisiphone, as Id., *Heroid.* 2. 117 :

"pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis,
et cecinit moestum devia carmen avis.
affuit Allecto, brevibus torquata colubris ;
suntque sepulerali lumina mota face ;"

• or Bellona, as *Aen.* 6. 318 (Juno apostrophizing Lavinia) : "Bellona manet te pronuba."

PRONUBA.—For a very detailed and interesting account of the marriage ceremony of the present native inhabitants of the island Sardinia, very much resembling the ancient Roman, and still retaining the pronubus and pronuba, see "Corografia

dell' Italia e delle sue isole," di Attilio Zuccagni-Orlandini, vol. 12, p. 256 (Firenze, 1842).

DANT SIGNUM.—A signal at the commencement of a ceremony, or when a number of persons is to be set in motion at once, is of obvious necessity, and frequently mentioned by ancient writers. See the procession in the *Achilleis*, 2. 153 :

" iamquo movent gressus ; thiasisque Ismenia buxus
signa dedit, quater aera Rheae, quater Evia pulsant
terga manu."

Also *Aen.* 5. 578 :

. . . " *signum* clamore paratis
Epytides longe *dedit*, insonuitque flagello."

And, exactly parallel to our text, Jupiter's giving the signal to the lightnings to play in honour of Probinus's and Olybrius's entering on the consular office, Claud. in *Prob. et Olybr. Cons.* 205 :

" ut sceptrum gessere manu, membrisque rigentes
aptavere togas, *signum* dat summus hiulea
nube pater, gratamque facem per inane rotantes
prospera vibrati tonuerunt omina nimbi."

Also Val. Flacc. 2. 497 (fable of Hesione) :

" *dat* procul interea *signum* Neptunus et una
monstriferi mugire sinus."

The signal spoken of in our text is the similar signal necessary for the setting out of the nuptial procession to bring the bride home. The principal part of this ceremony consisted in the carrying and waving of lighted torches, and chanting the hymenæus. These follow on the signal being given, the flashings of the lightning representing the nuptial torches, and the "ululatus" of the nymphs the hymenæus.

The signal was either a note of the tibia or some such instrument, or it was the first strain of the hymenæus raised by the pronuba to be taken up from her and continued by the whole procession. See Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 95 (Dido speaking) :

" audieram vocem, *nymphas* ululasse putavi.
Eumenides fatis *signa* dedere meis."

On the present occasion the signal was given not by a single pronuba only, but conjointly by two pronubas, Juno and Tellus, the emblematic representatives of the only actual witnesses, the air and the earth.

FULSERE IGNES ET CONSCIUS AETHER, &c.—Immediately on receiving the signal from Juno and Tellus, Aether (personally present no less than Tellus) lights the nuptial torch (held by Juno herself at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Apoll. Rhod. 4. 808). [compare Himer. Orat. in Severum Connub. 20: ΑΠΤΕΩ τις δαδα μεγαλην. Claud. de Rapt. Proserp. 2. 230 :

. . . "nimbis Hymenaeus hiuleis
intonat, et testes firmant connubia flammae."

Id. de Quart. Cons. Honor. 170 :

. . . "nec certius unquam
hortati superi; nullis praesentior Aether
affuit ominibus."

Claud. Idyl. 7. 35 :

"senserunt elementa fidem; pater affuit Aether,
Terraque maternum sedula iuvit onus"];

and the nymphs (also personally present) raise, **not** a melancholy cry or howl, **but**, as is perfectly plain from the manner in which both Ovid (*Heroid.* 7. 95, Dido herself speaking :

"audieram vocem; nymphas ululasse putavi;
Eumenides fatis signa dodere meis")

and Statius (*Silv.* 3. 1. 73 :

. . . "qualem Ilibyae Saturnia nimbum
attulit, Iliaco dum dives Elis. parito
donatur, testesque ululant per devia nymphae")

refer to our text and quote the word ululare from it, *the nuptial huzza*. Compare Hom. *Hymn. in. Apoll.* 119 (rejoicing of the goddesses at the birth of Apollo): *θαι δ' ολολυξαν πασαι*. Also Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 253 (ed. Blomf.):

. . . *επειτα συ
ολολυγμον ιερον ευμενη παιανισον,
Ελληνικον νομισμα θυσταδος βοης,
θαρσος φιλοις, λουσα πολεμιων φοβον.*

Hom. *Il.* 6. 301 :

αἰδ' ολολυγη πασαι Αθηνη χειρας ανεσχον,

where the Scholiast : ολολυγη. φωνη δε αυτη γυναικων ευχομενων θεοις. Pollux, 1. 28 : το γαρ ολολυξαι, και ολολυγη χρησασθαι, επι γυναικων. Ovid, *Heroid.* 2. 117 :

“pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis”

(where, the ill omen being solely in the word “Tisiphone,” “ululare” corresponds, as in our text, to the German *jauchzen*). Lucan. 6. 261 : “lactis ululare triumphis.” Ovid, *Met.* 3. 528 :

“Liber adest; festisque fremunt ululatibus agri.”

Stat. *Theb.* 9. 177 :

. . . “iam gaudia magnae
testantur voces, victorque ululatus aderrat
auribus.”

Xenoph. *Anab.* 4 (ed. Hutch. p. 252) : Επαιανιζον παντες οι στρατιωται και ανηλαλαζον, συνωλολυζον δε και αι γυναικες απασαι. And Virgil himself, *Aen.* 11. 662 :

. . . magnoque ululante tumultu
femineæ exultant lunatis agmina peltis.”

Nor let it be objected that it seems somewhat unusual for the nymphs to be thus brought to rejoice and huzza at a marriage; for not only they, but the Nereids, and even wild Pan himself, are brought by Himerius (*Orat. in Severum Connub.* 20) to the wedding of Severus : ηγαγον δ' αν εκ μεν Αθηνων τας Μουσας . . . τας Νηρηιδας δε εκ του γειτονος, νυμφων τε χορους και Δρυαδων ηχω και Σατυρους σκιρτωντας και Πανα συριζοντα και παντα τον Διονυσου θιασον εντευθεν, οπου τα δρωμενα . . . Αλλα που μοι παρθενων, που δε ημθων χοροι; Υμιν των λοιπων παραχωρουσιν οι λογοι. Απιτω τις δαδα μεγαλην. ο δε τις ηχειτο. ωδη δε εχετω τα συμπαντα. The Nereids sing, even, while she was yet a child, the future happy marriage of Serena, Claudian, *Laus Serenae*, 79 :

“quaeque relabentes undas aestumque secutae
in refluos venire palam Nereides amnes,
confessae plausu dominam, cecinere futuris
auspiciis thalamis.”

And Apollonius (see above) represents Juno as bringing for the especial honour of Jason (Ἰησὸνα κυδαινουσα) not only the nymphs of the mountains, but those of the rivers and of the woods, to officiate at his union with Medea; while Valerius Flaccus (2. 536), going a step farther, brings the very rivers themselves, and makes them huzza :

. . . "Idaeaque mater,
et chorus, et summis ulularunt collibus amnes."

Claudian, too (*Rapt. Proserp.* 11. 361) marries Dis and Proserpine in pretty much the same manner. Night is pronuba, and, like Terra in the marriage of Dido, *personally* present; Hesperius corresponds to Virgil's Aether, and the pious souls in Elysium to Virgil's nympheae; and at the wedding feast of Achilles and Helen, all the Nereids, all the rivers and river gods of the Maeotis and Pontus, even Neptune himself and Amphitrite, are merry-makers, Philostr. *Heroic.* (ed. Boisson.) p. 246 : καὶ γαμον ἐδαισαντο σφῶν, Ποσειδῶν τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη, Νηρηίδες τε ζυμπασαὶ καὶ ὅποσοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ἐρχονται τὴν Μαιωτικὴν τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον. Compare Stat. *Achill.* 1. 640 :

"sic ait et densa noctis gavisus in umbra
tempestiva suis torpere silentia furtis,
vi potitur votis, et toto pectore veros
admovet amplexus; risit chorus omnis ab alto
astrorum, et tenerae rubuerunt cornua lunae."

If every marriage was not honoured by the presence of heavenly visitants, every marriage had at least its ululare, its willeleu of singing, dancing, and huzzaing, and was only the happier and better-omened the louder the willeleu was. See Eustath. *de Ism.* 11, p. 448 : ὀρθὴ γοῦν πᾶσα πόλις . . . ὀρχουμένη προ τῆς παστάδος, προ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, προ τῶν νυμφίων ἡμῶν, ὡδὴν ὑμεναίων ἀδουσα, ἐπιθαλαμίων ἀλαλαζουσα, καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀγαλλομένη γαμήλιον.

SUMMO VERTICE.—These words compared with the corresponding words of Apollonius (from whom, see above, the whole scene is very exactly copied), αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφὰς Μελιτηίου ἀμφεγεμοντο, seem to determine the nymphs spoken of, to be, not the Hamadryads (who are separately mentioned

by Apollonius), but the Oreads or mountain nymphs: *αι μεν οσαι σκοπιας ορειων λαχον* (Apollon. Rhod. 1. 1226).

DANT SIGNUM; FULSERE IGNES; ULULARUNT NYMPHAE.—Not three co-ordinate acts, but, as shown by the change of tense, the two latter dependent on, and the consequence of, the first. Tellus and Juno give the signal, and in consequence of the signal the lightnings play, and the nymphs huzza. The change of tense shows also the quickness of the action: the signal is given, and the lightnings not merely play, but have already played; the nymphs not merely huzza, but have already huzzaed. Compare the similar consequence and similar quickness of action indicated in vss. 161, *et seqq.*: INSEQUITUR NIMBUS, TYRII COMITES PETIERE; the shower comes on, the company in consequence not merely seeks, but has already sought, shelter.

So far all has been prosperous. The marriage planned and desired by Juno for the benefit of Dido and Carthage has been solemnised in the immediate presence of herself and Tellus, the nuptial torch kindled by Aether himself, the nuptial huzza raised by the nymphs; Venus, so far from placing any impediment in the way, actually consenting, and (at verse 425) giving, as it were, her proxy to Juno. But all is insufficient; Juno's intentions are, as Venus (verse 128) well knew they would be, all frustrated; the Fates are more powerful than she; what she intended as the first step towards the aggrandizement of Dido, and consequently of the Carthaginian empire, is, as we are informed in the very next line, the first step towards Dido's ruin:

ILLE DIES PRIMUS LETI PRIMUSQUE MALORUM.

The report of what has happened spreads far and near; Iarbas becomes jealous, complains to Jupiter; Mercury is sent down, Aeneas hurried off to Italy, and unfortunate and betrayed Didō (betrayed, observe, not by Juno, who is herself disappointed and frustrated, but by Venus and Aeneas) kills herself in despair. These views—so point-blank opposed to those entertained by previous critics—of the whole import of the phenomena attendant on Dido's marriage, were published first in my "Twelve

Years' Voyage" (Dresden, 1853), and afterwards in my "Adversaria Virgiliana" (Göttingen *Philologus*, 1857). That they are now pretty well known to scholars, not, indeed, as my views, but as the true interpretation of the Virgilian meaning, I can hardly doubt; the following faithful abstract of them having been published by Wagner, *sub silentio nominis auctoris*. "In his Virgilii carmina breviter enarravit Philippus Wagner, Lipsiae, 1861: 'PRIMA TELLUS, antiquissima deorum, Hes. *Theog.* 44, sq., quae ut prima coniugio iuncta, parensque omnium, et ipsa praesidebat nuptiis. *Dato signo* fiunt ea quae continentur verbis FULSERE—NYMPHAE. FULSERE IGNES ET AETHER, *i. e.*, AETHER fulsit ignibus. IGNES illi caelestes sunt pro facibus, quae in nuptiis praeferabantur, laetus ululatus nympharum pro hymenaeo.' " To the English scholar they have had the benefit of an introduction in the "Bibliotheca Classica" of a critic who has never been known to forget the fundamental maxim of literary, indeed of all, morality, *suum cuique*, Prof. Conington.

The lightnings represent the nuptial taedae, the fire always present at a wedding; the nymphs, the water, as Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 3 (Epithal. Stellae et Violentillae):

. . . "procul ecce canoro
demigrant Helicone deae, quatiuntque novena
lampade solemnem thalamis coeuntibus ignem,
et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam."

169-184.

ILLE—UMBRAM

ILLE DIES PRIMUS LETI PRIMUSQUE MALORUM CAUSA FUT (vv. 169-70).—Ill understood by the commentators: "ILLE DIES PRIMUS FUT LETI *et* MALORUM und auch ILLE DIES *prima* CAUSA FUT LETI *et* MALORUM," Thiel; and so Conington: "We might

have expected *prima* agreeing with CAUSA, but Virgil seems to have mixed up two expressions, *that day was the first day of ruin, and that day was the cause of ruin.*" On the contrary, I think the two thoughts are very well distinguished, if we do not ourselves confound them by taking LETI for the genitive of CAUSA, not of DIES : ILLE DIES PRIMUS FUT *dies* LETI, ILLE DIES PRIMUS FUT CAUSA MALORUM. Analysing the sentence so, we are no longer at a loss to perceive either why the word PRIMUS is repeated, viz., because there are two distinct propositions, each requiring its own PRIMUS, or why the repetition is in the masculine, not the feminine form, viz., because *prima*, inasmuch as belonging to CAUSA, would have signified *that day was the first cause of troubles*, thereby implying that there were other causes of trouble, whereas PRIMUS, inasmuch as belonging to DIES, affords the better sense *that first day already spoken of was the cause of troubles*, implying sole and entire cause.

DIES LETI, as "dies irae, dies illa." Joel, 2. 31 : "The great and the terrible day of the Lord."

CAUSA MALORUM, as Ovid, *Met.* 3. 139 : "causa luctus." With the sentiment compare Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield* :

" when lovely woman stoops to folly,
and finds, too late, that men betray,
what charm can soothe her melancholy ?
what art can wash her guilt away ?

the only art her guilt to cover,
to hide her shame from ev'ry eye,
to give repentance to her lover,
and wring his bosom, is to die."

Milton, *Par. Lost*, 9. 901 (of Eve, after she has eaten the forbidden fruit) :

" defaced, deflowered, and now to death devote."

HOC PRAETEXIT NOMINE CULPAM (vs. 172).—Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 4. 138 (Phaedra to Hippolytus) :

" cognato poterit nomine culpa tegeri."

Culpa is as nearly as possible the French *faux pas*. See verse 19 :

“ huic uni forsā potui succumbere *culpae*.”

Ovid, *Met.* 2. 37 (Phaethon to Sol) :

“ nec falsa Clymene *culpam* sub imagine colat.”

And still more clearly and unequivocally, Tacit. *Ann.* 3. 24 :
 “ nam *culpam* inter viros ac feminas vulgatam, gravi nomine laesarum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando, clementiam maiorum suasquē ipse leges egrediebatur.” It seems a little unfair towards Dido to designate even by so gentle a term of reproach as *culpa* the act brought about by the instrumentality and direct interference of heaven itself, and our sympathy with the unfortunate victim of the two designing goddesses is kindred with the sympathy the reader of *Paradise Lost* feels for unfortunate Eve

“ defaced, deflowered, and now to death devote,”

according to the inscrutable will of heaven, operating through its agent of all ill. It is curious to observe the identity of the morality in the two cases so widely separated by time and space; and it is not without a sigh that the conclusion is forced upon us, are we then indeed no better than this? and is man indeed everywhere, and under all circumstances, essentially the same?

IRA IRRITATA DEORUM (vs. 178).—Compare Apoll. Rhod. 2. 40 : *χωρομένη Δα*. For the structure see Remm. on 2. 413; 3. 181.

CAELI MEDIO TERRAEQUE (vs. 184).—Why in the middle between the sky and the ground? The answer is, I think, supplied by Val. Flacc. 2. 119 :

. . . “ illa [Fama] fremens habitat sub nubibus imis,
 non Erebi, non diva poli, terrasque fatigat
 quas datur ;”

and still more explicitly by Ovid, *Met.* 12. 39 :

“ orbe locus medio est, inter terrasque fretumque
 caelestemque plagam, triplicis confinia mundi ;

unde, quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit,
 inspicitur; penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures.
 fama tenet, summaque domum sibi legit in arce:

 ipsa quid in caelo rerum, pelagoque geratur,
 et tellure, videt; totumque inquit in orbem."

In the middle between heaven and earth, therefore, that she may see what is going on in both places.

206-220.

IUPITER—TORSIT

VAR. LECT. (vs. 217).

SUBNIXUS ■ *Pal.*, * *Med.* ■■ §§. ■■■ Rom. 1469, 1471, 1473; Strasb. 1470 (Mentell.); Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1486; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Turneb.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Jahn; Dorph.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861).

SUBNEXUS ■■ $\frac{1}{69}$ (viz., † cod. Basil. F. 3. 3), cod. Leidens. (Heyne). ■■■

"CRINEMQUE MADENTEM SUBNIXUS: hoc est CRINEM unguentatum subnixum habens," Serv. (cod. Dresd.), where SUBNIXUS and SUBNIXUM are plainly errors of the scribe, and should be SUBNEXUS and subnexus, inasmuch as "CRINEM subnixum habens" makes no sense; Isidorus ("Redimicula sunt quibus mitra alligabatur"); Gevartius (*El. l. 7*); Ruacius; Philippe; Cunningham; Brindley; Bask.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribbeck; Conington.

* The Roman MS. is deficient from verse 217 inclusive, as far as the end of the book.

† F. 3. 3: "*descriptus ex ed. Rom. 1473*," a statement contradicted by F. 3. 3, reading (as we assured ourselves by a second examination of this passage when in Basel, in 1862) SUBNEXUS, whereas the Rom. ed. 1473 (printed by Udalric Gallus and Simon de Luca) reads SUBNIXUS, as we satisfied ourselves in Paris, Aug. 1864.

NUNC (vs. 206).—Observe the emphasis in this word : *now and never before ; thy worship having, until introduced by me* (see vs. 198), *been unknown to the Maurusian nation.* Compare 1. 271 : “cui nunc cognomen Iulo,” and Peckkamp’s note on that passage.

GENITOR (vs. 208).—Observe Virgil’s usual correctness. Iarbas, the son of Jupiter (see vs. 198), addresses Jupiter not (as Anchises, 2. 691) with the ordinary term *pater*, a term so vague and general as to be applicable by any junior or inferior, to any senior or superior (see 2. 2), but with the proper and distinctive appellation GENITOR (*ο γεννησας πατηρ*, Soph. *Electr.* 1432). Compare 1. 241 (Venus to Jupiter) : “quae te, *genitor*, sententia vertit ?” 2. 657 (Aeneas to Anchises) :

“mene efferre pedem, *genitor*, te posse relicto
sperasti ?”

MAEONIA MENTUM MITRA CRINEMQUE MADENTEM (vs. 216).—The reproach of effeminacy expressed in SEMIVIRO in the preceding line is justified in MITRA and CRINEM MADENTEM, the mitra and perfumed hair being the costume of women. Compare Isidor. 19. 31. 4 : “pileum virorum, *mitrae* autem *feminarum*.” *Verba Achill. in Parthenone, 21* (Achilles on the island of Seyros throwing off his woman’s attire) :

“terrificumque caput praefixa casside *mitram*
pellat, et in gracili decorentur tempora ferro :
arma legant nostrum potius, quam suppara, corpus.”

For a similar justification of the same reproach see 9. 614 :

“et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula *mitrae*.
o vere Phrygiac, neque enim Phryges . . .
. . . sinite arma viris et cedite ferro,”

and 12. 97 :

. . . “da sternere corpus
loricamque manu valida lacerare revulsam
semiviri Phrygis et fodare in pulvere *crines*
vibratos calido ferro *murraque nudentes*.”

Cicero, *Orat. in Pisonem*, 11 : “Gabinium denique si vidissent
duumvirum vestri illi unguentarii, citius agnovissent. Erant

illi *compti capilli*, et *madentes* cincinnorum *finbriae* et fluentes *cerussataeque buccae*, dignae Capua, sed illa vetere."

SUBNEXUS (vs. 217).—"CRINEM unguentatum subnixum et subligatum habens; aut SUBNIXUS, fiducia elatus," Servius. "SUBNIXUS: Salmasius, ad Solinum, p. 392, SUBNEXUS, *perperam*," N. Heins. ap. Burmann. "SUBNIXUS. Sic membranae nostrae," Brunck. "Habens subnixum, *i. e.*, subligatum MENTUM," &c., La Cerda. "SUBNIXUS, mento ac crine subnixo, MITRA; scilicet MITRA subligatum habens MENTUM . . . Potest SUBNIXUS exquisitius dictum videri; quodcumque enim subligatum sibi habet aliquam rem, illud subnixum ea re videri potest," Heyne. "Pileo quodam incurvo, unde pendebant fasciae, quae subter mentum colligari solebant; itaque MENTUM CRINEMQUE MADENTEM SUBNIXUS, *i. q.* MITRA subligatum habens MENTUM," &c., Wagner. "Leidens. cod. SUBNEXUS . . . sed alteram lectionem SUBNIXUS recte defendunt Heynius, et Gronov. in *Diatr. Stat.* c. 54, p. 543," Jahn.

Perhaps in the whole annals of criticism there is no instance of an equal number of scholars agreeing, not merely to accept a solecism from the MSS., but to defend it by argument, while there was at hand a reading not only wholly unobjectionable with respect to grammar, but affording a better, clearer, and stronger sense, and at the same time abundantly confirmed by the use of the author in other places. SUBNIXUS, having an active signification, cannot by any possibility exist in connexion with MENTUM; and Virgil must have written not SUBNIXUS, but, as found in the Basel D and Leyden MS., SUBNEXUS; a reading, besides, preferable to SUBNIXUS (supposing SUBNIXUS possible) for these two additional reasons; first, as presenting the idea of *subligation*, or *tying underneath*, an idea not at all expressed by SUBNIXUS, as is sufficiently shown by Silius's "*galeamque coruscis subnixam cristis*," where the helmet (which is below) is represented as "*subnixa*" on the crests (which are above); and secondly, as the precise word which our author has elsewhere used on two very similar occasions, *Aen.* 10. 137:

. . . "fusos cervix cui lactea crines
accipit, et molli subnectens circulus auro."

Georg. 3. 166 :

“ ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos
cervici *subnecte.*”

Compare Copa, 1 :

“ *copa* Syrisca, caput Graia *redimita mitella.*”

Aen. 9. 616 :

“ et tunicae manicas, et habent *redimicula mitrae.*”

Val. Flacc. 6. 699 :

“ at viridem gemmis et Eoae stamine silvae
subligat extrema patrum cervice *tiaram.*”

Val. Flacc. 2. 102 :

. . . “ neque enim alma videri
iam tumet, aut tereti *crinem subnectitur* auro,
sidereos diffusa sinus.”

Lucret. 4. 1125 :

“ et bene parta patrum fiunt *anademata, mitrae.*”

Statius, Silv. 5. 3. 115 (Markland) :

. . . “ *specieque comam subnexus* utraque”

(where, however, Gronovius (*Diatrib. Stat.*) reads and defends “subnexus).” And especially Lucian, *Dial. Deor. 18. 1*: *Μίτρα αναδεδεμενος την κομην*. In every one of these places the *tyings* of the head-dress are prominently presented to the view of the reader. Compare also *Aen. 7. 669*: “Herculeo humeros *innerus* amictu.”

I do not hesitate, therefore, to discard from the text a reading which, although recommended by the vast majority both of MSS. and of editors, bears a manifold falsehood on its forehead, and to adopt a reading to which there is no other objection than the slender support afforded it by MS. authority; no MS., so far as I know, being in its favour, except Basel D and the Leyden MS. quoted by Heyne.

FAMAMQUE FOVEMUS INANEM (vs. 218).—Heyne, Forbiger,

and Conington adopt Servius's first interpretation, "quia frustra te credimus mundi esse rectorem;" Wunderlich and Wagner, Servius's second, "quia me tuum filium esse confido." The latter interpretation is undoubtedly the true one, first, because evidenced by the word FOVEMUS, less properly applied to a mere belief in a religious doctrine, to a mere theoretical acknowledgment of the existence of Jupiter, than to the conviction that he was himself the son of that great being; secondly, because the reproachful doubt that there really existed any such being as Jupiter has been already and sufficiently* expressed in the words NEQUICQUAM HORREMUS and INANIA MURMURA MISCENT; and thirdly, because the further doubt that there was any real ground for his considering himself the son of Jupiter was necessary to complete his argument: "I doubt that you exist; but if you do exist, I am surely not your son or you would not treat me so."*

TORST (vs. 220).—Simply *turned*, as in Italian *torcere* and *torto*. Compare Dante, *Infern.* 13. 64 :

“ la meretrice, che mai dall' ospizio
di Cesare non *torse* gli occhi putti.”

Id. *Purg.* 9. 45 :

“ e il viso m' era alla marina *torto*.”

See Rem. on 6. 547.

229-242.

SED—ORCO

GRAVIDAM IMPERIIS (vs. 229).—"Parituram imperia, vel unde multi imperatores possent creari," Servius. "Multos habituram populos potentes, quibuscum postea Romani de imperio certa-

Forcellini, however, says that Non. c. 4, No. 193, interprets the passage to mean: "speciem profuturi numinis."

runt, Latinos, Etruscos, Samnites, Campanos," Wagner (*Praest.*) This is certainly not the meaning. Aeneas was wanted for two purposes, (1), to rule Italy, full at present of great and turbulent empires (QUI GRAVIDAM IMPERIIS BELLOQUE FREMENTEM ITALIAM REGERET); (2), to found a dynasty (GENUS AITO A SANGUINE TEUCRI PRODERET), which dynasty should rule the world (TOTUM SUB LEGES MITTERET ORBEM).

GRAVIDAM is **not** to be taken in the sense of foetam, or *which should at a future time give birth to empires*, for in that case there were no parallelism between the two characters assigned to Italy, viz., *at a future time to produce empires, and now roaring with wars*, **but** in the sense of plenam (as Hor. *Od.* 1. 22. 3 :

" nec venenatis gravida sagittis
Fusce, pharetra ")

which affords the excellent sense, *Italy at the present moment full of empires, and roaring with wars*, to rule which empires and put an end to which wars is the mission of Aeneas; as if Jupiter had said : " a man who should take into his hands and become the head of these warring Italian states, and whose posterity should, from this united Italy as a centre, extend its sway over the whole world." To understand IMPERIIS of Italian empires yet to come into existence is to destroy not only this climax, but the fine effect of REGERET, by reducing the " regere," the rule of Aeneas, from a rule over the warring empires of Italy to a rule over Italy at war, and in future time to produce states which were, and only with extreme difficulty, to be conquered, and conquered not by Aeneas himself but by his descendants.

NAVIGET (vs. 237).—This imperative placed first in the verse, and separated from both preceding and subsequent context by a complete pause, and therefore constituting in itself an entire sentence, is in the highest degree emphatic; see Remm. on 2. 246; 4. 274.

ET PRIMUM PEDIBUS, &c., . . . PORTANT (vv. 239-241).—It seems to have been anciently the custom not to wear shoes in the house, at least not to wear as strong and coarse shoes in the

house as out of it. Compare Hom. *Od.* 16. 154 (of the swine-herd) :

η ρα, και ωρσε συφορβον, ο δ' ειλετο χερσι πεδιλα·
δησαμενος δ' υπο ποσσι πολινδ' ιεν·

and Aesch. *Agam.* 953 (Agamemnon declining to walk on the carpet Clytemnestra had spread for him on his return from Troy, until he had taken off his boots) :

αλλ' ει δοκει σοι ταυθ', υπαι τις αρβυλας
λυοι ταχος, προδουλον εμβασιν ποδος.

The custom, being general, is seldom noticed, except for some particular reason—in our text, on account of the singular quality and marvelous agency of Mercury's *chaussure*.

EVOCAT ORCO (vs. 242).—Compare *Sam.* 1. 28. 15 : “And Samuel said to Saul : ‘Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?’ And Saul answered : ‘Therefore I have *called* thee that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do.’”

244-246.

DAT SOMNOS ADIMITQUE ET LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT
ILLA FRETUS AGIT VENTOS ET TURBIDA TRANAT
NUBILA

LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT.—“Claudit, perturbat,” Servius—an interpretation which we cannot entertain for one moment, inasmuch as it is in direct opposition to the constant use of the word, which is never “claudere,” never “peturbare,” but always *aperire*. Forcellini, following the second interpretation of Servius, says “*resolvere oculos, labefactata eorum structura.*” This is equally inadmissible as Servius’s first interpretation, (a) because equally opposed to the constant use of *resignare*, and (b) because LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT were then but a repe-

tition of, and much weaker form of expression for, SUB TARTARA TRISTIA MITTIT. Burmann, unable to unravel, would cut the knot, and following two MSS. of very inferior authority, substitutes LIMINA for LUMINA, thus giving us a *fade* repetition either of SUB TARTARA TRISTIA MITTIT, or of EVOCAT ORCO, or of both; and, not content himself with his own proposition, ingenuously subjoins: "Qui melius se ex hoc loco expedierit, illi lubens accesserim." Jahn follows Servius, with only a very slight deviation: "Mihi placet ratio, *oculos MORTE claudit*, ut huius versus sententia sit, *virga ILLA DAT somnum et mortem*. RESIGNAT enim poeta propter praecedens ADIMIT scripsisse videtur. ADIMIT oculis somnum, et denuo eos (alio tempore) MORTE ocludit," and is answered by the same argument. "Aperit LUMINA in rogo; in quo allusum ad morem Romanorum," Turnebus and La Cerdà, referring to the rite which Pliny has described, 11. 37 ("Morientibus illos [oculos] operire rursusque *in rogo patefacere*, Quiritium *magno ritu sacrum* est; ita more condito, ut neque ab homine supremum eos spectari fas sit, et caelo non ostendi"), and followed by myself both in my "Twelve Years' Voyage" and my "Adversaria Virgiliana." "Post mortem aperit," Jacob and Lucil. *Aetn.* 112. "Vom tode, vom todesschlummer entsiegelt; d. i. die schon sterbenden in's leben zurückführt, nicht die gestorbenen," Voss. "Hanc esse persuasum habeo sententiam: LUMINA *aperit iamiam se claudentia*; ut Mercurius dicatur in vitam revocare iam morientes," Wagner (ed. Heyn.), an exposition to which, besides the strong objection raised by Wagner himself, "nihil tale a ceteris scriptoribus [de Mercurio sciz.] traditur," there is the no trifling obstacle, that it represents Mercury as opening the eyes before they are closed. "Schliesst die augen wieder durch den tod," Ladewig. "Aperit oculos MORTE clausos, s. revocat mortuos in vitam," Wagner (1861). "I follow Henry in accepting Turnebus' explanation," Conington.

To all this long list of conflicting opinions there is, besides the objections to which each is specially liable, the general objection, that they all represent our author as interrupting his account of Mercury's office of *ψυχοπομπος* by an account of his

other office of putting to sleep and awakening, that they all represent our author as speaking first of the dead, then of the sleeping, and then again of the dead or dying, and that *LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT*, instead of being, as we should expect it to be according to Virgil's usual manner, a variety or explanation of the immediately preceding *SOMNOS ADIMIT*, becomes a variety or explanation of the wholly separated and left-behind

*ANIMAS ILLE EVOCAT ORCO
PALLENTEs, ALIAS SUB TARTARA TRISTIA MITTIT.*

Let us see if it be not possible, and very easy too, to assign a meaning to the passage which shall not be liable to this capital objection, and whether Heyne may not have been premature in wishing, with his usual politeness however, the passage at the devil: "equidem malim hemistichium abesse, *ET LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT*; quocunque te interpretatione veritas, sententia est a loco aliena."

I understand your smile. A lock is not so easily picked which has baffled not Heyne alone, but every locksmith of the guild, myself included. Well! we shall see. Suppose we cease to understand *MORTE* of the literally dead—they have been disposed of in the two immediately preceding verses and we have done with them—and begin at last to understand it of the figuratively dead, the sleepers, those from whom the god has just revoked his gift of sleep (*ADIMITQUE SOMNOS*). Those it is, and no others, whose eyes the god unseals. "You are perfectly right. I have no longer any difficulty." Nor is there any. *LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT* is, according to our author's usual manner, the variety or explanation of *SOMNOS ADIMIT*. There is no confusion, no mixing-up of different pictures, no ascription of a never-before-heard-of rôle to Mercury, who opens the sleeper's eyes as a matter of course, and inasmuch as he *ADIMIT SOMNOS*. The train of thought is plain, and easy to follow. Mercury puts to sleep, into a state which so long as it continues is to all intents and purposes a state of death—[compare *Aen.* 6. 424 :

"occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto."

Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 1072 (Chorus praying Sleep to conquer the fury of Hercules) :

“ pater o rerum, portus vitae,
 lucis requies, noctisque comes,
 qui par regi famuloque venis,
 placidus fessum lenisque fovens ;
 pavidum leti genus humanum
 cogis longam discere *mortem* ;
 preme devictum torpore gravi,” &c.]—

nay, which is only not death, because the god who has put you into it brings you out of it—SOMNOS ADIMIT ET LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT, *i. e.*, LUMINA *somno sepultis* RESIGNAT. And the parallelism in which the god's two functions are placed is as perfect as it is striking : he consigns to the real Orcus and brings back from it : he consigns to sleep—that mimic Orcus—and brings out of it. Strip the passage, so understood, of Mercury and his *caduceus*, and you have the Sophoclean (*Ajax*, 675) “all-conquering sleep does not hold always, but after a while looses the fetters with which he has bound you :”

. . . εν δ' ο παγκρατης υπνος
 λυει πεδησας, ουδ' αει λαβων εχει.

Still further. The figure by which *mors* is used in place of *somnus*—the thing which so much resembles sleep for sleep itself—is the very figure which is so familiar to us in the expression *dead-asleep* ; nor is such substitution of the one word or idea for the other in any respect more objectionable or less justifiable than the converse substitution of sleep for death in every sermon and on every tombstone. Add to all which, (*α*), **that** if there be nothing (and what is there ?) overstrained in the application vernacularly of the term *mortuus* to the Hyperborean sea on account of the so small share it enjoys of the sun's rays, Priscian, *Periegesis*, 37 :

“ circuit oceani gurgis tamen undique vastus ;
 qui quamvis unus sit, plurima nomina sumit.
 finibus Hesperiiis Atlanticus ille vocatur ;
 at Boreae, qua gens fervens Arimaspa sub armis,
 dicitur ille Piger, necnon Saturnius ; idem
Mortuus est aliis, minimo quod lumine solis
 perfruitur ; tarde radios nam suscipit ortus,
 nubibus et crassis premitur, nimisque gravatur,”

there is *à fortiori* nothing overstrained in the poet's application of the same metaphor to those whom the god has with his wand deprived not only of sight but of all sensibility, **and (b), that** the identical metaphor has been applied by other poets even to those who have lost no sense except sight only, as Stat. *Theb.* 1. 46 :

“ impia iam merita scrutatus lumina dextra
merserat aeterna damnatum nocte pudorem
Oedipodes, longaue animam sub morte tenebat.”

LUMINA RESIGNAT.—The opening of the eyes is the natural and proper accompaniment, completion, or climax of the act of awakening; not only because it is on the eyes the operation of sleep is most remarkable and conspicuous (see Rem. on “*membra deo victus*,” 9. 336), but because, as it is the closing of the eyes which is the first sign of the individual's passing into the state of temporary death and stillness, so it is the opening of them again which is the first sign of his returning out of that state into his ordinary state of life and activity. So intimate is this connexion of the eyes with sleep, that the mention by a poet of a falling asleep, or an awakening out of sleep, without at the same time some mention of the eyes is a rare occurrence, and that there is, perhaps, not a single instance of the special god of sleep performing his function in person, without some account at the same time of the pains he takes to close the eyes. “*Pone caput*,” says Somnus to Palinurus (5. 845), “*fessosque oculos furare labori* ;” and lest Palinurus's sense of duty should interfere with his obedience to the command

“ ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.”

The relation between sleep and the eyes being so close, so intimate, it is only with the strictest physical as well as mythological propriety Mercury is represented in our text as opening the eyes of the sleeper when he awakens him. On this, as on so many other occasions, our author has followed, *mutatis mutandis*, the example of his prototype, who represents Mercury as composing (*θελγων*) the eyes of the waking man when he puts him

to sleep, *Il.* 24. 343 :

ειλετο δε ραβδον, τη τ' ανδρων ομματα θελγει,
ων εθελει, τους δ' αυτε και υπνωοντας εγειρει.

Nor is this operation of Mercury, with his rod, on the eyes, a mere accidental or indifferent accompaniment of the act of putting the individual to sleep. That it is an essential part of the act is shown by its being insisted on every time the soporific virtue of the rod is mentioned, as, for example, *Od.* 5. 47, just quoted, and also *Od.* 24. 2 :

. . . εχε δε ραβδον μετα χειρσι
καλην, χρυσειην, τη τ' ανδρων ομματα θελγει,
ων εθελει, τους δ' αυτε και υπνωοντας εγειρει.

The Greek poet is not content with saying : Mercury, with his rod, puts to sleep and awakens ; he is more particular ; he sets the sleeping person visibly before us in the words *composes the eyes*, viz., to sleep. It would have been strange if Virgil had contented himself with generalities where his master had entered into particulars. On the other hand, Virgil was not at liberty to take the same identical particular which his master had taken. That would have been to Latinize the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, to give us another *Homerus Latinus*. He takes, therefore, the particular omitted by Homer. His Mercury does not with his rod compose the eyes, viz., to sleep, and awaken, but with his rod puts to sleep and awakens, and opens the eyes of the mimic dead. If Virgil owes to Homer, as Homer no doubt owed to a predecessor, the wand wherewith to compose the eyes to sleep and open them again, he is at least not indebted to Homer for the extraordinary—if the paradox be allowed me—life, expression, and poetic truthfulness bestowed on the picture by the figurative death he has introduced into it, in *LUMINA MORTE RESIGNAT*.

Perhaps the most striking example with which antiquity has furnished us of the actual application of the Mercurial wand for the production of sleep is in the case of Argus, first made to doze by the sweet music of the syrinx, and then the doze converted into profound sleep by the waving of the wand, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 682 :

“ sedit Atlantiades, et euntem multa loquendo
 detinuit sermone diem, iunctisque canendo
 vincere arundinibus servantia lumina tentat.
 Ille tamen pugnat molles evincere somnos,
 et quamvis sopor est oculorum parte receptus,
 parte tamen vigilat

 talia dicturus vidit *Cydenius* omnes
 succubuisse oculos, adopertaque lumina somno.
 suppressit extemplo vocem, *firmatque soporem*
 languida *permulcens* medicata *lumina virga.*”

Who does not see the most ancient of all magnetisers of whom we have any account making the passes of his wand before the drooping lids of the already dozing watchman? Who doubts that those passes to bring on the mesmeric trance were made in the same direction as the passes of the mesmerizer of the present day? or who doubts that the passes made on other occasions with the contrary object, viz., to open the eyes of (LUMINA RESIGNAT), and bring back from apparent death (MORTE) to life and activity, those who had been put into the mesmeric trance by virtue of such downward passes, were made in the opposite direction, viz., from below upwards?

MORTE.—Sleep, under the image, semblance, or metaphor of death. The absence of any expression to show that the word is used in this extended sense, has deceived all commentators. Yet such use of it was at least as much to be expected as either our author's own similarly figurative use of *sepultus*, 6. 424:

“ occupat Aeneas aditum custode *sepulto,*”

or Homer's similarly figurative use of *κωδεῖα*, *Il. 14. 499*:

. . . ο δε φη κωδεῖαν ανασχων,
 πεφραδε τε Τρωεσσι, και ευχομενος επος ηυδα,

without word of explanation; and a thousand times more to be expected than that sleep—presented, be it observed, even by Shakespeare under the very figure under which it is presented in our text—should be said by that poet to be murdered by Macbeth in his murdering Duncan:

“methought I heard a voice cry : sleep no more,
Macbeth doth murder sleep, the innocent sleep,
 the death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
 balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
 chief nourisher in life's feast.”

If, notwithstanding, the metaphor still seem to anyone too brief, harsh, and un-Virgilian, I beg to refer (**a**) to verse 529 :

“at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque unquam
 solvitur in *somnos*, oculsive aut pectore *noctem*
 accipit,”

where by a metaphor no less brief, harsh, and un-Virgilian than that by which the immediately subsequent MORTE in our text repeats the immediately preceding SOMNOS, another immediately preceding “somnos” is repeated in an immediately subsequent “noctem;” in other words, where the night (*i.e.*, the darkness) of sleep is used as an equivalent and agreeable variety for sleep, just as in our text the death (*i.e.*, the insensibility) of sleep is used as an equivalent and agreeable variety for sleep, and where the night (*i.e.*, the darkness) of sleep is spoken of as receivable into the eyes and feelings, just as in our text the death (*i.e.*, the insensibility) of sleep is spoken of as having sealed the eyes; and (**b**), to Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 647 :

“sunt quoque quae faciant altos medicamina *somnos*,
 victaque *Lethaea* lumina *nocte* premant,”

where the sleep with which opiates subdue the eyes is styled “*Lethaea nox*,” exactly as in our text the sleep removed from the eyes by the passes of the Mercurial wand is styled “*mors*”; and (**c**), to Cic. *Somn. Scip.* : “‘immo vero,’ inquit, ‘*ii vivunt qui ex corporum vinculis tanquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est,*’” where not only are the dead said ‘to live,’ but even life itself is called death.

RESIGNAT, *unseals*, *i.e.*, *uncloses*, *opens*. Signare and its diminutive sigillare (“*ut signare autem anulo claudere est, ita et sigillare quoque pro eodem; nam sigillum ex signo diminutivum, ut ligillum ex ligno, tigillum ex tigno,*” Salmasius *de modo Usur.* p. 455, ed. Elzev.) being the very words used by the

Romans to express the operation of closing (sealing) the dead man's eyes ("Hae pressant in tabe comas, hae *lumina* signant," Statius, *Theb.* 3. 129. "Lex Maenia est in pietate, ne filii patribus luce clara *sigillent oculos*," Varro, in his lost treatise entitled *Gemini*, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, lib. 2. 785), Virgil could hardly have chosen a more proper, clear, or forcible word to express the unclosing (unsealing) of the eyes of the sleeper, the metaphorically dead, than *resignare*.

ILLA, referring back to the parenthesis HAC . . . RESIGNAT, shows that the parenthesis is carried on no farther than this last word (viz., RESIGNAT). Had the parenthesis been carried on past RESIGNAT, we should not have had ILLA, but a second hac: HAC EVOCAT, MITTIT, ADIMIT, RESIGNAT, *hac* FRETUS AGIT. The change to ILLA marks the resumption of the direct narrative, broken off at CAPIT.

AGIT VENTOS.—The embarrassment of commentators, and especially of Servius, interpreting this passage, amounts almost to the ridiculous. "AGIT VENTOS, non vocat aut transit, nam sequitur. An ergo ducit atque moderatur? An excludit ac pellit? An sequitur? An ante se AGIT ne reflectant. An in actu est?" Servius. "Ut sessor agit equum quo vehitur, ita Mercurius VENTOS AGIT, idque auxilio virgae, quasi illa ut freno uteretur ad ventos moderandos," La Cerda. "AGIT *ante se*, quis dubitet, dum volatu per auras fertur?" Heyne, Wagner (1845, 1849). "AGIT VENTOS erklärt Herr Heyne mit 'quis dubitet?' ihm voranzuwehen. Wozu das? Hat denn der erklärer vergessen, dass er nur eben vorher (vs. 223) den wind *in die flügel*, also nicht *coram*, zu hauchen bestimmt? AGIT, *er treibt*, was kann es wohl anders sein als, 'er bewegt sie durch die magische kraft des stabes, ihm nachzuwehen?'" J. H. Voss, *Mythol. Br.* No. 58. "ILLA FRETUS AGIT VENTOS, *i. e.*, nimia celeritate persequitur, et paene occupat praevenitque," Donat. ad Ter. *Adelph.* 3. 2. "Illius ope impellit ut volatum suum secudent," Wagner (ed. 1861), doing me, as usual, the favour of appropriating *sub silentio*, and almost word for word translating, the erroneous interpretation of my "Twelve Years' Voyage," 1853.

Not one of all these interpretations, long as is the list of them.

is as I think the right one ; not one of all these commentators has hit the nail upon the head, or, as a Roman would have said, “rem tetigit acu.” Mercury does not drive the winds before him (“AGIT ante se, quis dubitet?”), for to what purpose should he so drive them? Sent upon a message, how would it further him to drive the winds before him? They would arrive before him, that is all. Neither does Mercury draw the winds after him (“bewegt sie ihm nachzuwehen”), for, first, how is this agere VENTOS? and, secondly, he is not an inert ship, which in order to move onward must be blown onward, but a winged flying god (see vs. 239, TALARIA QUAE SUBLINEM ALIS SIVE AEQUORA SUPRA SEU TERRAM PORTANT; 246, VOLANS; 255, VOLAT; 256, VOLABAT). The picture of Mercury preceding the winds, blown by the winds from behind, like a ship in full sail, has indeed been presented to us by Statius, *Theb.* 1. 292 (Jupiter to Mercury):

. . . “quare impiger ales
portantes praecede notos, Cyllenia proles,
aera per liquidum;”

but who of my readers will accept as from the hands of Virgil such picture of the nimble flying god, the speedy messenger *par excellence*, passive like a ship, and driven before the winds? Neither does Mercury pursue and try to get before the winds, “persequitur, et paene occupat praevenitque,”—an explanation which, however well it may suit with the notion of nimbleness, suits not at all with the notion of being bound for a particular spot, from which, instead of towards which, the winds might happen to be blowing. To which must be added that it is not as going faster than, and overtaking and getting before, the winds, but as going as fast as the winds (RAPIDO PARITER CUM FLAMINE PORTANT), he is represented verse 241. Neither does he ride upon the winds, as a horseman on a horse, using at the same time his wand as a bit (“ut sessor agit equum . . . illa ut freno uteretur”), for he is flying, using his TALARIA, not seated. How then? how is he placed with respect to the winds? what use does he make of them? in what manner does he drive them with his wand (ILLA FRETUS AGIT VENTOS)? Put our author’s words

together, and they give us the whole picture. First, he calls the winds (VOCA ZEPHYROS), next he flies down (LABERE PENNIS), viz., by means of his TALARIA (TALARIA NECTIT); the TALARIA carry him (PORTANT) with swiftness equal to that of the winds (RAPIDO PARITER CUM FLAMINE); with his rod he drives the winds (AGIT VENTOS), and so driving with his rod the winds, sails or swims or floats through the turbid sky (TURBIDA TRANAT NUBILA). All these separate items put together make up the simple, intelligible, consistent picture of Mercury flying by means of his TALARIA down from heaven, *on the winds*, as we say, supported and borne on by the winds, which he drives (AGIT, urges to greater speed and at the same time directs) with his “virga,” used as the emblem or instrument of his authority, or both, in the same way as a rider drives (agit, urges on and directs) with his whip the horse on which he is mounted, or a charioteer the currus in which he is carried; in the same manner as a general drives (agit, urges on and directs) with his truncheon the troop in the midst of which he is marching, or as the captain or admiral, with a handkerchief or handflag (agit, urges on and directs) the ship or fleet which is carrying him, or in the midst of which he is moving forward. [†] In this picture, their respective proper uses are assigned both to the TALARIA, the winds, and the wand. By means of the TALARIA the god flies, by means of the winds the effect of the flying TALARIA is increased without increased exertion on the part of the god, by means of the wand the speed and direction of the flight are regulated at the god’s pleasure. We may compare Mercury thus using the double motive power of his own TALARIA and the winds to a steamboat of the present day using both paddles and sails, impelled forward by its own exertion (that of its paddles), while at the same time that exertion is rendered more effectual by a fair wind. The “virga” with which Mercury regulates both the direction and the force (— the speed) of the winds corresponds to the sails and rudder by the various positions of which the effect of the winds on the boat is regulated. Unfortunately for our comparison the steamboat is not in the sky but on the water. Imagine it in the sky,

and the parallelism is complete. Compare Ovid, *Mel.* 1. 673 :

. . . "patria Iove natus ab arce
desilit in terras ; illic tegimenque removit,
et posuit pennas ; tantummodo *virga* retenta est :
hac agit, ut pastor, per devia rura capellas,"

where the same Mercury, who in our text *ILLA FRETUS AGIT VENTOS*, "*hac agit capellas*;" and where, the Mercury being the same, and the wand the same, there can be little doubt that the "*agit*" is the same also, so far as the different circumstances of the case permit. But Ovid's "*agit*" is *drives* (impels forward and at the same time directs) as with a rod or switch, therefore Virgil's *AGIT* is *drives* (impels forward and at the same time directs) as with a rod or switch ; and Virgil's *ILLA FRETUS AGIT*, *drives* (*i.e.*, impels forward and at the same time directs) with his wand : the sole difference between the two drivings being that Ovid's Mercury drives that which is before him, Virgil's that which is under him, that which is bearing him up, that on which he is flying, verse 223 :

VADE AGE, NATE, VOCA ZEPHYROS ET LABERE PENNIS,

"call the zephyrs and fly down," *i.e.*, "fly down on the zephyrs." Obeying which command, Mercury calls the zephyrs and flies down on them, driving them on, as he flies down on them, with his *caduceus*, and so *TURBIDA TRANAT NUBILA*, floats or swims across the turbid sky. Compare also Ennod. *Carm.* 1. 4 (Epith. Maximi) (of Cupid) :

"ille volat celeri tranans per nubila vento"

[he (Cupid) flies, floating through the sky, on a swift wind], where the parallelism is so perfect that the passage seems to be a paraphrase of our text. Sen. *Here. Fur.* 5 (Juno soliloquizing) :

"tellus colenda est ; pellices caelum tenent.
hinc, *Arctos* alta parte glacialis poli
sublime *classes* sidus *Argolicas agit*.
hinc," &c.,

where *Arctos* which does not go near the *Argolic* fleet, or even

leave the sky, but only serves as a beacon, or light-house, “agit Argolicas classes.” Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 66 (ed. Boeckh):

φιλεων φιλεοντ', αγων αγωντα προφρονως

(translated by Boeckh: “amans amantem, ducens ducentem amice”). Also Sil. 3. 488:

“nullum ver usquam, nullique aestatis honores,
sola iugis habitat diris, sedesque tuetur
perpetuas deformis *hiems*; illa undique *nubes*
huc atras *agit* et mixtos eum grandipe *nimbos*.”

where “*hiems*” drives the gloomy clouds and the hail and the rain from all quarters round to the Alps.

In order still further to realize the picture presented by *AGIT VENTOS ET TURBIDA NUBILA TRANAT*, we must recollect that age, age, age, corresponding to the French *allez, allez, allez*, and our own English *go on, get on*, and the vulgar *g' out o' that*, was the word of exhortation commonly used by the rider to his horse, by the driver of the chariot to his team, and by the *hortator remigum* to his rowers. Keeping this in mind we see Mercury flying along, borne by the winds, which he directs and at the same time urges to despatch both by the flourish of his *caduceus* and by his incessantly repeated age, age, age. Exactly in the same sense in which Mercury is described in our text as “agens ventos,” Juno is described, 10. 634, as “agens hiemem,” driving a storm which she uses at the same time as a vehicle (viz., as a chariot); and Iris is described, 9. 18, as “nubibus actam,” = agens nubes, *i. e.*, driven on the clouds — driving the clouds, *i. e.*, making use of the clouds as a vehicle.

These are less poetic times, and our language is less metaphorical, yet the images of riding on the clouds and riding on the wings of the wind are familiar to us, and there are few readers of English poetry who can have forgotten Thomson's charming invocation to Spring to descend on our plains: “veiled in a shower of shadowing roses.” How much more graphic the flying messenger of heaven borne along by the winds whom he directs at the same time and urges on with his “*virga*” and oft repeated age, age, age!

ET TURBIDA TRANAT NUBILA.—That NUBILA, generally *clouds*, is here not used in that sense, but in the sense of *sky*, viz., the locality of the clouds, appears first from the adjunct TURBIDA, a useless adjunct to NUBILA understood to mean *clouds*, the clouds being always, and by necessity of nature, *turbida*; and secondly from 7. 699 :

“ceu quondam nivei *liquida* inter *nubila* cecni,”

where the epithet “*liquida*” *clear, transparent*, is absurd and contradictory unless we understand “*nubila*” to be used not in the sense of *clouds*, but in that of *sky*; and thirdly, from the precisely similar use of “*nubibus*” in the sense not of *clouds*, but of *sky* (the locality of the clouds), 5. 525: “*liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo.*” TURBIDA NUBILA in our text is, therefore, *turbid sky*, TURBIDA being added to NUBILA to enhance the magical power of the rod, FRETUS on which the messenger is able to swim or float across not merely the sky, but even the turbid sky, *i.e.*, when the way through the sky is impeded by clouds—a thoughtful prevision of the poet, inasmuch as the messenger had been but a sorry messenger who could travel only in clear weather. There is, as I think, a similar use of “*nubila*,” (A), *Georg. 4. 196* (of the bees): “his sese per *inania nubila* librant” [the void sky, the skiey void], where the bees are described as balancing themselves with a ballast of little pebbles “*per inania nubila*,” and where (inasmuch as the sky is more *inanis* than the clouds) *the void sky, the skiey void*, affords a better picture than *the void clouds, the cloudy void*. There is also a similar use of “*nubila*,” (B), *Stat. Theb. 1. 310*:

“nec mora; sublimes raptim per inane volatus
carpit, et ingenti designat *nubila* gyro,”

where *sky* affords a better, wider, more open field for mighty gyration (“*ingenti gyro*”) of the same Mercury than *clouds*. Also, (C), *Stat. Theb. 1. 550* (of Ganymede’s dogs):

“frustra que sonantia laxant
ora canes, umbramque petunt, et *nubila* latrant,”

where not *clouds*, but a *clear sky*, must be meant, else there would

be no “umbra” of Ganymede for his dogs to run after. **And** (**d**), line 177 of the present book :

“ingrediturque solo, et caput inter *nubila* condit,”

where “nubila” is the translation of the Homeric *ουρανο* (*Il. 4. 443*) :

ουρανω εστηριξε καρη, και επι χθονι βαυει.

TURBIDA.—The *sky*, **NUBILA**, is said to be turbid in the identical sense in which the Italians, using the selfsame word, say the moon is turbid, as Goldoni, *Pamela* : “La luna è turbida,” where we would say the moon is overcast, muddy, or even turbid, and where the expression is equally correct whether understood literally, viz., of the actual moon, or emblematically, of the mind, typified by the moon. See Remm. on 5. 525 ; 6. 437.

246-253.

4

IAMQUE VOLANS APICEM ET LATERA ARDUA CERNIT
ATLANTIS DURI CAELUM QUI VERTICE FULCIT
ATLANTIS CINCTUM ASSIDUE CUI NUBIBUS ATRIS
PINIFERUM CAPUT ET VENTO PULSATUR ET IMBRI
NIX HUMEROS INFUSA TEGIT TUM FLUMINA MENTO
PRAECIPITANT SENIS ET GLACIE RIGET HORRIDA BARBA
HIC PRIMUM PARIBUS NITENS CYLLENIUS ALIS
CONSTITIT

ATLANTIS.—This is not a personification of the mountain Atlas, but a description of the transformed king Atlas—of the mountain under its former human character. Therefore (vs. 258 :

MATERO VENIENS AB AVO CYLLENIA PROLES

[not from Mount Atlas, but from the man Atlas, Mercury's

grandfather]. Compare Ovid's account of the transformation, corresponding almost word for word with our text (*Met.* 4. 657):

“quantus erat, mons factus Atlas: iam barba comaeque
in silvas abeunt: iuga sunt humerique manusque.
quod caput ante fuit, summo est in monte caecumen;
ossa lapis fiunt. Tum partes auctus in omnes
crevit in immensum (sic, di, statuistis) et omne
cum tot sideribus caelum requievit in illo.”

Compare also Val. Flacc. 5. 411:

“stat ferreus Atlas
oceano, genibusque tumens infringitur unda:
at medii per terga *senis* rapit ipse nitentes
altus equos.”

The historical description agrees with the poetical (Solinus, *Polyhistor*, 24): “Atlas mons e media arenarum consurgit vastitate; et eductus in viciniam lunaris circuli, ultra nubila caput condit: qua ad oceanum extenditur, cui a se nomen dedit, manat fontibus, nemoribus inhorrescit, rupibus asperatur, squallet ieiunio, humo nuda nec herbida . . . vertex semper nivalis . . . apex Perseo et Herculi pervius, ceteris inaccessus: ita fidem ararum inscriptio palam facit.”

IAMQUE VOLANS, &c.—In order to account for Mercury's descent to Carthage by way of Atlas, Voss (*Mythol. Brief.*, vol. 1, p. 27) supposes that the god left heaven by the western gate, to which, of course, Atlas on the earth's western limits (*πειρασιν εν γαιης*, Hesiod, *Theog.* 518) was the nearest elevation. Adopting this supposition, we perceive, it is true, a reason for Mercury's taking Atlas in his course, that mountain lying directly between the western gate of heaven and Carthage. But the view taken by Voss is too narrow, matter-of-fact, and prosaic. Atlas is chosen for Mercury to alight on, not as lying directly in the way between the western, or any other, gate of heaven, and Carthage, but as that point of the earth's surface which presents itself first on the descent from no matter what part of heaven to no matter what part of the earth. Mercury sets out from heaven bound for the earth. What point of the earth should so soon present itself as “caelifer Atlas,” that Atlas on whose shoulder

spins the sky with all its burning stars (6. 797)? Mercury makes for it, alights on it, and considers his journey performed, Carthage being, in comparison of the distance he has made, just at hand, washed by the sea which washes the mountain's foot. The choice of Atlas for Mercury to descend upon, in preference to Olympus, or Caucasus, or Aetna, or any other mountain, was peculiarly proper for two other reasons also, first on account of the blood relationship (vs. 258, MATERNO VENIENS AB AVO), and secondly, on account of the inaccessibility, loneliness, and not too well-known situation of the mountain, and the consequent mystery attaching to it. See Solin. *Polyhist.*, quoted above: "Apex Perseo et Herculi pervius, ceteris inaccessus;" Lucet. 5. 36:

"propter Atlanteum litus, pelagique severa,
quo neque noster adit quisquam, nec barbarus audet."

NITENS (vs. 252).—"II. l. de volatu, pro: *sustinens, librans se in aere*," Forbiger, Thiel, Heyne. I think not. Neither in the expression nitens pedibus (Hom. *Od.* 5. 399: *επιγόμενος ποσσιν*), alluded to in the above interpretation, nor in the expression nitens alis, is the meaning "se sustinens" (viz., in pedibus *vel* in alis); but the meaning is nitens (cum) pedibus, (cum) alis, making muscular exertion with feet, with wings, exerting feet or wings, performing the motion of lifting and putting down the foot, of expanding and closing the wing. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 565 (of Hercules breaking into the cave of Cacus):

"nititur hic humeris (caelum quoque sederat illis),
et vastum motu collabefactat onus"

[*not* supports himself with his shoulders, or poises himself on his shoulders, *but* makes muscular exertion with his shoulders, pushes with his shoulders]. Id. *Met.* 4. 361 (of Salmacis):

"denique nitentem contra, elabique volentem
implicat, ut serpens quam regia sustinet ales"

[making a muscular exertion against, struggling against].

PARIBUS NITENS ALIS CONSTITIT, *performing* [viz., during his flight] *the motion of expanding and closing his even wings, winging his way* as we would say, *stood still*. The NITENS refers not to the moment in which he stood still, but to the time of his flight, the time during which he was flying, exactly as “volvens,” l. 309, refers not to the moment when Aeneas resolved, but to the time preceding his resolution—a use of the present participle arising less from the want in the language (except in the so-called deponent verbs) of a past participle active than from the appropriateness of the present participle to express an action which, although past at the moment the new action begins, has yet continued up to that very moment, and merges in the new action.

PARIBUS ALIS.—“*Leni volatu*; cogita de eo temporis momento, cum inhibetur volatus, ut subsidat ales,” Heyne. “*Expansis tantummodo, non commotis*; quippe leni utitur volatu demittens se ad terram, prorsus ut aves sidere volentes. Iridi (9. 14) satis est ad volandum expandere tantum alas aequaliter,” Wagner (ed. 1861). The explanation is altogether and in every respect erroneous. The smooth motion of a bird alighting with expanded wings, which are not flapped, but only held out, extended as the bird lets itself down through the air, descends through the air by its own gravity, is expressed not by *pares alae*, but by *alae non commotae*. See 5. 216:

. . . “*mox aere lapsa quieto*
radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas,”

where, if anywhere, we should have had *pares* if the smooth descending motion without flapping of the wings had been expressible by that word. But it is not expressible by that word, and accordingly that word is not used. Even without going beyond our text it is clear that *pares* as applied to *alae* signifies something very different from “*expansae tantummodo, non commotae*,” for, first, it is joined with NITENS, which always signifies exertion, especially the exertion which is used in motion, and *par* *excellence* that kind of exertion which is

used in the motion of limbs, as 2. 443: "*postesque sub ipsos nituntur gradibus*;" 12. 386:

"*alternos longa nitentem cuspidē gressus*."

And secondly, how or in what respect are wings which are held out "*expansae, non commotae*," more *pares* than wings which are flapped? Is not the parity of the wings the same whether they are flapped together or held out motionless together?

In what sense, then, are the wings of Mercury in our text "*pares*" (*PARIBUS NITENS CYLLENIVS ALIS*)? I reply, in the sense in which all wings are *pares*; Mercury's wings are "*pares*" in the sense in which Iris's wings are "*pares*," 5. 657:

"*cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis*,"

and 9. 14:

"*dixit et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis*,"

where it will be observed the goddess is not alighting, but soaring upwards, exactly the action in which, if in any, the wings are not steadily spread out ("*expansae, non commotae*"), but most agitated, most rapidly flapped. But why apply either to Mercury's wings or the wings of Iris an epithet common to all wings? Why so insist on a character in which there is nothing extraordinary? Mercury's wings and Iris's wings are "*pares*" only in the same sense in which the wings of any bird are *pares*, *pares* at any moment, whether ascending, or alighting, or soaring in mid heaven. The reason I think is plain, viz., because it is by this character wings are contrasted with limbs, the locomotion of birds with the locomotion of other animals. The wings of birds when they fly are *pares*, move both together at the same instant and with like force, are expanded and contracted simultaneously, and so in the most striking manner contrast with the locomotive organs of other animals which alternate their action, the right leg being put forward while the left remains behind, and the left being put forward while the right remains behind. Therefore we have Mercury *NITENS*

PARIBUS ALIS when descending, and Iris “tollens se paribus alis” when ascending, right and left wings in both cases being equally “pares,” equally balanced, moving exactly alike and at the same moment on the opposite sides of the body.

, 256-263.

HAUD ALITER TERRAS INTER CAELUMQUE VOLABAT
LITTUS ARENOSUM LIBYAE VENTOSQUE SECABAT
MATERNO VENIENS AB AVO CYLLENIA PROLES
UT PRIMUM ALATIS TETIGIT MAGALIA PLANTIS
AENEAN FUNDANTEM ARCES AC TECTA NOVANTEM
CONSPICIT ATQUE ILLI STELLATUS IASPIDE FULVA
ENSIS ERAT TYRIOQUE ARDEBAT MURICE LAENA
DEMISSA EX HUMERIS

VAR. LECT. (vv. 256-258).

HAUD—PROLES ■ *Vat.*,* *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■■ *P. Manut.*; *D. Heins.*; *N. Heins.* (1670); *Philippe*; *Brunck*; *Wakef.*; *Pottier*; *Lad.*; *Haupt.*

HAUD—PROLES OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ *Wagner* (ed. *Heyn.*, *Lect. Virg.*, and ed. 1861); *Ribbeck.*

*

ERCAELUMQ· VOLABAT
YAE· VENTOSQUE SECABAT.

The preceding part of both lines is torn away, and the next page, which should commence with MATERNO, is wanting. Ribbeck's statement that the MS. contains the first word of the first of the three lines, viz., HAUD, is incorrect. That word not only is wanting in the MS. at present, but, as appears from Bottari's work, was wanting even in the time of Bottari.

[The following is an exact copy of the words in Bottari's transcript of the *Vat. Fr.*:

. TER· CAELUMQUE VOLABAT.
. YAE VENTOSQUE SECABAT.—J. F. D.]

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*, &c.] (vs. 256).

VOLABAT ■■■ Brunck; Weichert; Voss; Wagn. (1861); Ribb.

VOLABAT • ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Heyne; Wagn. (ed. Heyn.); Lad.

LEGEBAT ■■■ Wakef.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 257).

ARENOSUM AC LIBYAE ■ *Med.* (HABERENOSVM, ACLYBYAE,* the BE after HA being crossed out). ■■■ Wagn. (ed. Heyn.)

ARENOSUM LIBYAE ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Wakef.; Voss.

ARENOSUM AD LIBYAE ■ *Pal.* (originally AO altered into AD). ■■■ Brunck; Weichert; Lad.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

STELLATUS IASPIDE FULVA ENSIS ERAT (vv. 261-262).—Not *studded or starred with jasper*, but *having at the end of the handle a knob of jasper which shone like a star*. See Salmas. ad Spart. in *Adrian*. For a print of a French rapier having a round knob or ball at the end of its hilt, see Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 453; and see "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries," vol. 12, p. 215, for representations of two *wedding knives*, at the end of the handle of one of which there is a single, and at the end of the handle of the other, a double round knob (*i. e.*, two round knobs).

LAENA (vs. 262).—The season being winter (vv. 193, 309), Aeneas has on his winter cloak. That the *χλαίνα* was a thick, warm, heavy muffle, worn in the winter season, appears from Hom. *Od.* 14. 500, 521, 530; II. 16. 224; 10. 133, and the proverb *ἐν θέρει τὴν χλαίναν κατατριβείς*, applied to a person whose act is unreasonable. That the *laena* was the same appears from Martial's epigram "Laena," and curiously enough

* The C is plainly a correction, and seems to have been originally a narrow letter, such as I or E.

from the modern Italian proverb: "fabbricate la vostra elena mangiando i cocomeri," that is to say, "prepare your winter dress while the weather is still warm;" in other words, "make provision before you feel the want." See Rem. on 6. 301.

DEMISSA EX HUMERIS.—Not by any means *hanging from his shoulders*, but *let down off his shoulders*, lowered so as no longer to cover his shoulders, viz., in the same way as ladies now-a-days sometimes wear their shawls, *let down behind*, and only kept by the arms from falling off. Ex, as usual, expresses the change of position: *from off the shoulders*; no longer in its usual place on the shoulders, but let down (DEMISSA), EX, off them. Contrast 8. 460:

"*demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens*,"

where, there being no leaving of the shoulder exposed, but the panther's skin continuing to hang *from* the shoulder, it is *ab* which is used, not *ex*.

[**Aliter**] DEMISSA EX HUMERIS.—Not *let off his shoulders*, or *fallen down so as no longer to cover his shoulders*, but equivalent to "*demissa ab humeris*," 8. 460, and meaning simply *hanging from his shoulders*, *depending from his shoulders*. Compare Philostr. *Epist.* 7 (in Orphēi statuam): καὶ πεπλος κατὰ νωτοῦ αφετος εἰς σφυρα κατηεῖ. Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 43 (of the statue of Domitian):

"*it tergo demissa chlamys: latus ense quieto
securum.*"

Apul. *Met.* 11. 24 (Hildebr.): "et [qu? *ex*] *humeris dependebat pone tergum talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamyda.*" Pendere is sometimes followed by a similar *ex* in place of the ordinary *ab*, as Vitruv. 5. 10: "*ex eo clipeum aeneum catenis pendeat.*"

273-284.

NEC—SUMAT

CLAR. LECT. (vs. 273).

NEC—LABOREM ■■■ P. Manut. ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Philippe ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg. and Præst.*)

NEC—LABOREM OMITTED ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ cod. Canon. (Butler).

NEC—LABOREM OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ Lad. ; Haupt ; Ribbeck ("Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.," 1854, p. 39).

RESPICE and DEBENTUR (vv. 275, 276) are both highly emphatic, particularly DEBENTUR, the first word of a verse and at the same time the last word of Mercury's speech, and followed by a complete pause. We may suppose both words, especially the last and parting word, accompanied by a significant action : *are his rightful due and must be his.* See Remm. on 2. 246 ; 4. 22, 237.

ASCANIUM SURGENTEM (vs. 274), theme ; SPES HEREDIS IULI (- Iulum), variation : exactly corresponding to 1. 543, "genus humanum," theme ; "mortalia arma," variation.

HEU, QUID AGAT ? QUO NUNC REGINAM AMBIRE FURENTEM AUDEAT AFFATU ? QUAE PRIMA EXORDIA SUMAT ?—"Explica : incertus est QUID AGAT," Wagner—an explanation so insufficient as to be worse than none. To be sure, Aeneas is uncertain—and he must be a dull reader, indeed, who does not know that, without being told by a commentator—but what the reader wants to know is, not whether Aeneas is uncertain or not, but what it is he is uncertain about, and why the poet does not tell us that at once and in plain terms, without going about the bush with so many questions, questions which if they are to be asked at all should be asked by the reader, not, surely, by the poet, who knows from the beginning all about it, the whole story. This is what the reader would be obliged to the com-

mentator to tell him, not to tell him twice over (for immediately after the “*incertus est QUID AGAT*,” explanatory of *HEU ! QUID AGAT*, we have a second “*incertus est QUID AGAT*,” explanatory of *ATQUE* : “*Oratio ita per particulam ATQUE continuatur quasi praeceperit incertus est QUID AGAT*”) that Æneas is uncertain. The commentator having failed in this his bounden duty, I, who have always a sort of Quixotic fellow-feeling for the distress of the outraged, will endeavour to come, as I have so often come before, and hope so often to come again, to the rescue, and explain both matters to the perfect satisfaction of the intelligent and polite, but sometimes withal rather too liable to be puzzled and not a little inquisitive, reader. First, then, Æneas’s uncertainty is **not** whether he shall obey the divine ordinance or not—that question never enters into his head at all, for not even father Abraham himself knew better than father Æneas that divine commands explicitly conveyed, whether in dreams or otherwise, are to be obeyed in the first instance, there being time enough afterwards for examination of them in their moral bearings, if, indeed, such examination need ever be made at all, and is not mere supererogation, or at most and at the very outside amusement for commentators and people of that class, who have so much superabundant good-for-nothing leisure on their hands—but Æneas’s puzzle is whether to take French leave, as we say now-a-days, or to seek an audience of the queen and tell her that he is going, that he has received a command from heaven, and holds himself no longer bound by moral obligation of any kind, not even by his love, and is going forthwith, will be off the very next day, to-morrow, as soon as it is light. And so, I hope I have satisfied my reader on the first point. Let me now see if I cannot equally satisfy him on the second. These questions, then, this *HEU QUID AGAT* ? this *QUO AFFATU* ? this *QUAE PRIMA EXORDIA* ? are by no means a going about the bush, evince not even in the slightest degree a desire to shirk or evade telling the whole truth, but they are a direct appeal to the intelligence, candour, and congenial feeling of the reader :—What is he to do ? You see his position ; away he must go—leave everything, Dido, Carthage, Africa ; everything, and proceed on

his heaven-appointed way, but how, how set about it? How break it to the queen? how dare (AUDEAT) to come round her (AMBIRE)? how begin so as to get her to listen? Not that the poet expects answers to his questions, or that the questions are put solely to the reader, not equally to himself, to anyone; they are spontaneous, unpremeditated expressions of his own feelings, of his own sympathy with the embarrassment of his hero, the mere unburthening of his own mind; answering, however, at the same time the rhetorical purpose of placing before the reader not the mere uncertainty, but the almost stand-still, the almost absolute—to use a vulgar expression—fix in which Aeneas finds himself, and out of which he at last extricates himself by a flight as dishonourable as it was sure to be approved of by the grand-nephew of the deserter of Cleopatra.

285-294.

ATQUE—MODUS

VAR. LECT. (vv. 285-286).

ATQUE—VERSAT ■ *Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Weichert; Wakef.; Philippe; Pottier; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, and *Præst.*).

ATQUE—VERSAT OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ Heyne; Brunck; Haupt.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 286).

IN—VERSAT ■ *Val.* (*a. m. scr.*)

IN—VERSAT OMITTED ■ *Pal.*

IN—VERSAT OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED. ■■■ Lad.; Ribbeck.

ATQUE ANIMUM NUNC HUC CELEREM, NUNC DIVIDIT ILLUC; IN PARTESQUE RAPIT VARIAS, PERQUE OMNIA VERSAT.—A judgment as unfavourable to our author as favourable to his great prototype has been very generally founded on a comparison of these two lines with Homer's *διανδιχα μερμηριζειν* and *δαιζόμενος κατα θυμον διχθαδια*. Commentator after commentator, pointing to these two lines and the Homeric phrases, has exclaimed: see how brief and terse the Greek, how languid and tedious the Latin poet! Never was there false conclusion drawn from falser premises. There is no parallelism at all between the passages. Homer describes the choice between two things, and may easily despatch it in a hardly greater number of words; Virgil describes not the choice between two simple alternatives, but the selection of one way of acting out of an infinite number of ways, all equally difficult, and requires, therefore, many words. Homer should be concise, in order quickly to despatch a short and easy business; Virgil should be slow, the business being long and difficult. And so, I will venture to say, it is always the case in all these instances in which Virgil's prolixity is contrasted to his disadvantage with Homer's brevity. If Virgil is so often longer-winded than Homer, it is solely because he has more to say and says more. The people for whom he wrote mainly and in the first instance, the critics by whose judgment he was willing his poems should stand or fall, were persons not to be satisfied with the bare bold outline alone, the strong and massy strokes which were all that Homer's less civilized audience could appreciate. They required, besides, the fine touches, the delicate second shadings which distinguish the writings of Virgil from those of all who preceded, no less than, with the single exception of Milton, from those of all who followed him. The Virgilian thought of our text may with more propriety be compared with the *προς τασαυτας φροντιδας μεριζόμενος* of Lucian (*Micyl. et Gall.* 22), an expression brief enough indeed, but failing, on account of its very brevity, to set forth that which is so graphically set forth in the two lines of Virgil, viz., the continually renewed effort which the mind, disappointed in its last effort, makes to find an issue in a new direction. Let those who find fault with the prolixity

of Virgil express here or anywhere else the fulness of his thought more briefly in their own language. Let them try. I am greatly mistaken if their brevity does not turn out to be mere curtailment. See Rem. on the same words, 8. 19.

CLASSEM APERTENT (vs. 289), *rig the ships*, viz., with masts and sails; ARMA PARENT, *prepare oars*, as l. 556.

ARMA PARENT.—“Waffen bereit zu halten,” Voss. I think not, but oars: first, because it is plain from the whole context that what was in Aeneas’s mind was not a forcible, but a quiet, secret departure or flight; secondly, because in the account of the preparations actually made, verse 397, there is no mention whatever of arms; thirdly, because arma, when occurring elsewhere in a similar context, always means *oars*, and not *military arms*. See Rem. on 5. 15, and compare

“remigium supplet, socios simul instruit *armis*,”

where it is scarcely possible to doubt that “*armis*” means *oars*.

TENTATURUM ADITUS ET QUAE MOLLISSIMA FANDI TEMPORA, etc. (vv. 293, 294).—Compare Terent.:

“in tempore ad eam veni, quod rerum omnium est
primum.”

298.

OMNIA TUTA TIMENS

“Amans enim perpetuo ducitur metu, etiam si tuta sint omnia,” Donatus. “Deest *etiam*; nedum illa quae timebat [*lege* quae timeri debebant],” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Etiam TUTA, nedum formidanda,” Ascensius. “Scheu vor dem sicheren selbst,” Voss. “TIMENS etiam quae minime timenda erant,” Wagner (1861). “Fearing every safety, much more every danger—a

natural exaggeration of the unquiet suspiciousness of love," Conington. I object to this interpretation, first, that it has not been even so much as attempted to be supported by a single parallel; and, secondly, that it is in point-blank contradiction to the facts of the case, Dido not only not being a timid, suspicious lover, fearing everything, both what was to be feared and what was not to be feared, but bold, resolute, and high-minded, and with the most perfect undoubting confidence in the object of her affection, as testified only six lines previously by no less an authority than that object itself:

QUANDO OPTIMA DIDO
NESCIAT, ET TANTOS RUMPI NON SPERET AMORES.

To agree with the total absence of suspicion from the character of Dido, to agree with Æneas's own, only this very moment uttered, declaration, to agree with Dido's sudden burst of passion on hearing the news

(EADEM IMPIA FAMA FURENTI
DETULIT, ARMARI CLASSEM CURSUMQUE PARARI.
SÆVIT INOPS ANIMI, TOTAMQUE INCENSA PER URBEM
BACCHATUR, QUALIS COMMOTIS EXCITA SACRIS
THYIAS, UBI AUDITO STIMULANT TRIETERICA BACCHO
ORGIA, NOCTURNUSQUE VOCAT CLAMORE CITHÆRON.
TANDEM HIS ÆNEAN COMPELLAT VOCIBUS ULTRO:
DISSIMULARE ETIAM SPERASTI, PERFIDE, TANTUM
POSSE NEFAS, TACITUSQUE MEA DECEDERE TERRA? etc.,

every word indicative of instantaneous transition from complete repose to extremest alarm), **the meaning** of our text not only cannot be that assigned to it by the commentators, but must be the very opposite; and the very opposite it is, viz., that Dido's only ground of uneasiness is that things are too safe, going too smooth; she fears (TIMENS) the perfect safety (OMNIA TUTA) which she sees about her, viz., such perfect safety without even the slightest ground for suspicion as Æneas, on the point of issuing from the cloud, sees about him, l. 587, "omnia tuta vides;" the only difference between the two "omnia tuta," the two perfect safeties, being that the one is the object of Æneas's

vision, and the other of Dido's fear. Compare Seneca, *Troubl.* 262 :

“moderata durant ; quoque Fortuna altius
evexit ac levavit humanas opes,
hoc se magis suppressere felicem decet,
variosque casus tremere, *metuentem deus*
nimum forentes ;”

also the story of Polyerates' ring, Herodot. *Thalia* ; the exclamation of Philip of Macedon, when he received three joyful accounts in one day: Ω δαμουν, μετριοι τι τουτοις αντιθεις ελαττωμα (Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apollon.* 5) ; the reflection of Chimene (Corneille, *Cid*, 1. 2) when informed that her father had given his entire approbation to her marriage with Don Rodrigue :

“il semble toutefois que mon ame troublée
refuse cette joie, et s'en trouve accablée ;”

Schiller's

“darum in deinen fröhlichen tagen
fürchte des unglücks tückische nähe,”

of which fine passage see the whole (*Brant von Messina*, near the end) ; and (quoted by Forbiger in confirmation of the above interpretation adopted by him from my “Twelve Years' Voyage”) Tseanus, *Bell. Troj.* 5. 441 :

. . . “illa fidem visis nunc credula donat,
nunc negat, amissumque putans complexa maritum,
omnia certa timet, et nil tamen ausa fateri
armatum prohibere parat.”

This interpretation of OMNIA TUTA TIMENS and that which I have given (see Rem. on verse 419) of “Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, et perferre, soror, potero,” are confirmatory of each other. The commentators have confounded two widely different expressions, omnia timere and omnia tuta timere—the former meaning *to fear everything* (as Plut. *de Superstit.* cap. 3 : ου φοβειται θαλατταν ο μη πλεων, ουδε πολεμον ο μη στρατειομενος, ουδε ληστας ο οικουρων, ουδε συκοφαντην ο πενης, ουδε φθονον ο ιδιωτης, ουδε σεισμον ο εν Γαλαταις, ουδε κεραυνον ο εν Αιθιοψιν· ο δε θεους δεδιως παντα δεδιδε, γην,

θαλιτταν, αερα, ουρανον, σκοτος, φως, κληδονα, σιωπην, ονειρον.
Ovid, *Ep.* 19. 109 (Hero to Leander) :

“*omnia sed vereor* (quis enim securus amavit?)”,

the latter *to fear because there seems nothing to fear*. Unfortunately little light is thrown upon the meaning of the words by Venantius Fortunatus's quotation of them, *Poem.* 3. 6 (ad Felicem Episcopum de dedicatione ecclesiae suae) :

“*tempore qui longo adventu pendebat in isto,
despiciens aliud, hoc erat omnis amor ;
omnia tuta timens, suspecto in tramite vitae,
ne prius iret iter quam daret ista Deo.*”

For EADEM IMPIA FAMA, &c. (vs. 298), compare Corip. *Johann.* 6. 154 :

“*coniugis interea miseræ pervenit ad aures
hæc eadem pinnata ducis.*”

302-314.

THYIAS—FUGIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 302).

THYIAS ■ *Med.* ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.) ; Macrob. (*Sat.* 4. 5) ; Eutyeh. (“*THYAS* non *THYIAS*, in cod. Lindem.”) ; Jul. Seal. (*Poet.* 5. 15) ; P. Manut.

THYIAS ■ *Vat.* (THY AS. Impossible to determine what letter has formerly existed in the now vacant space between Y and A. The appearance is rather that of an erasure with a sharp-pointed instrument than of mere evanescence), *Pal.*, Pithou's *Fragm.*, according to the fac-simile* in Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica*, 2nd ed., p. 637 ; “*In Mediceo codice THYIAS, quanquam in aliis per Y tantum,*” Pierius. ■■■ Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 497 (ed. Dindorf) (*ενθεος δ' Αρει βακχα προς αλκην Θυιας ως*), and *ibid.* vs. 836 ; D. Heins. ; N. Heins. (1670) ; Heyne ; Brunck ; Wakef. ; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861) ; Lad. ; Ribb.

* The reading of the fac-simile is *THYIAS*, not as inadvertently stated by Pertz, page 115 of his *Memoir* (concerning which see Preface).

ULTRO (vs. 304), *of herself, taking the initiative*. Nothing can be plainer than that this is the true meaning of the word, nor need there be any stronger proof of the correctness of my argument, 2. 145.

DISSIMULARE ETIAM, &c. (vv. 305, *sqq.*)—Not only the general idea, but most of the particulars, of this fine scene are taken from the dialogue between Medea and Jason in the fourth book of the *Argonautics*. See Remm. on *Aen.* 3. 10; 4. 143. It is perhaps not unworthy of remark that while Virgil here (as in his other imitations with scarcely a single exception) greatly improves upon and surpasses his original, those who have re-copied from Virgil fall short, not only of the improved model with which he has furnished them, but even of the original itself; compare Tasso's tedious, spiritless, and unnatural dialogue of Armida and Rinaldo, in the 16th canto of *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

DATA DEXTERA (vs. 307).—Pledged to Dido, as Jason's to Medea, Apoll. Rhod. 4. 99:

ὡς ἡνθα, καὶ χεῖρα παρὰσχέδον ἤραρε χεῖρι
δεξιτερην.

MEDII AQUILONIBUS (vs. 310).—That the blowing of Aquilo, mentioned 7. 361 as favourable to Aeneas's leaving Latium, should be here mentioned as unfavourable to his leaving Carthage is not to be explained by the opposite geographical position of the two coasts, but by the opposite qualities of the two Aquilos spoken of; the Aquilo spoken of by Dido being the stormy winter Aquilo, and that spoken of by Amata being the spring Aquilo ("primo aquilone"), celebrated for the clear, fine, fit-for-sailing weather which it produced, or by which it was accompanied. See Rem. on 5. 2. Even Boreas, in winter a much more stormy wind than Aquilo, and therefore dreaded by sailors, was when it blew mildly favourable to them in the very highest degree, and that for the same reason as Aquilo, viz., on account of its being accompanied by that clear weather which before the invention of the compass was a necessity for the sailor.

CRUELIS (vs. 311).—This word, compared with the same

word, 1. 411, affords a striking example of the emphasis acquired to a word by its position at the end of a sentence and at the same time at the beginning of a verse. See vv. 237, 275, 276, and Remm.; also Rem. on 2. 247. Not only the word itself, but its very position, at the end of the sentence to which it belongs and at the beginning of a verse, is borrowed from Apoll. Rhod. 4. 389 :

. . . μαλα γὰρ μέγαν ἤλιτες ὄρκον,
νῆλεες.

ARVA ALIENA DOMOSQUE IGNOTAS (vv. 311, 312).—"ARVA ALIENA, blande; quasi, 'haec iam tua sunt.' DOMOSQUE IGNOTAS, ac si diceret: 'Carthago iam tibi nota est,'" Servius. No; ARVA ALIENA and DOMOS IGNOTAS are opposed not to the arva and domos of Carthage, but of Troy, those well-known arva and domos which he would not think of sailing for at such a season; how much less, then, should he think of sailing for a strange unknown country? as if she had said: "Even if it were not for a strange land, but for your old home you were bound, you would not set out at this season." Servius's error is so gross that I should hardly have thought of noticing it if it had not deceived other commentators.

UNDOSUM (vs. 313).—"UNDOSUM is of course emphatic," Conington. UNDOSUM does not indeed repeat HIBERNO SIDERE and MEDIIS AQUILONIBUS, and is so far emphatic (rather, is essential to the sense), but the principal emphasis falls on TROIA, the gist of the question being: "would Troy, even Troy itself, be sought at this season?" It is, accordingly, TROIA and not UNDOSUM which occupies the emphatic position. See Rem. on 2. 237; and compare Ovid, *Ep.* 13. 100 (Laodamia to Protesilaus) :

"non est, quo properes, terra paterna tibi."

MENE FUGIS? (vs. 314).—"Seems to mean not 'have you the heart to leave me?' but 'is it that you are flying from me?' 'is the object of your unseasonable departure not to reach Italy, but to rid yourself of me?'" Conington, perceiving, though scarcely sufficiently clearly expressing, the true meaning, viz.:

“is it from *me* you are flying?” MENE in this position is emphatic (see Rem. on 2. 247), and the sense is: “is it from *me* you are flying? from *me* who have sacrificed everything for you (QUANDO ALIUD MIHI IAM MISERAE NIHIL IPSA RELIQUI), from *me* your wedded wife (PER CONNUBIA NOSTRA, PER INCEPTOS HYMENAEOS), from *me* to whom you owe such a debt of gratitude (SI BENE QUID DE TE MERUI), from *me* of whom you were once so fond (FUIT AUT TIBI QUICQUAM DULCE MEUM), from *me* who will go to ruin as soon as you leave me (MISERERE DOMUS LABENTIS), from *me* whose preference for you has brought on me the enmity not merely of neighbouring nations but of my own people (TE PROPTER LIBYCAE GENTES NOMADUMQUE TYRANNI ODERE, INFENSI TYRII), from *me* who have through you lost that fair fame and spotless reputation for which I was celebrated to the stars of heaven?” No passage could better exemplify than the passage before us the effect of position not merely to make emphatic, but to point out the emphasis when made. Contrast ME, not only emphatic, but pointed out to be emphatic by its position, first word in the line, with TE, last word in the line, not only not emphatic, owing to its position, but, owing to its position, almost overlooked; nay, performing so unimportant a part that neither sense nor grammar would suffer much by its total omission; and then contrast this same obscure, unimportant TE with the same word occupying first place in verse 320, and pointed out by that place to be not only emphatic but the most important word in the verse, and enabled by the advantage of its position alone to balance the disadvantageously placed TE EUNDEM of the next verse. See Rem. on 2. 247, and compare 1. 621, and Rem.; 5. 848, and Rem.; also 1. 41, and Rem.

314-319.

PER EGO HAS LACRYMAS DEXTRAMQUE TUAM TE
 QUANDO ALIUD MIHI IAM MISERAE NIHIL IPSA RELIQUI
 PER CONNUBIA NOSTRA PER INCEPTOS HYMENAEOS
 SI BENE QUID DE TE MERUI FUIT AUT TIBI QUIDQUAM
 DULCE MEUM MISERERE DOMUS LABENTIS ET ISTAM
 ORO SI QUIS ADHUC PRECIBUS LOCUS EXUE MENTEM

Compare Shakespeare, *Jul. Cæs.*, 2. 1 (Portia to Brutus):

. . . “and upon my knees
 I charm you by my once commended beauty,
 by all your vows of love, and that great vow
 which did incorporate and make us one,
 that you unfold to me,” &c.

PER CONNUBIA NOSTRA, PER INCEPTOS HYMENAEOS.—“CONNUBIA h. l. furtivum indicant amorem et quasi praelusionem hymenaei, i. e. iusti coniugii mox ineundi, *incepti* igitur, *nondum initi*,” Wagner (*Praest.*). The meaning of which gloss, not remarkably clear of itself, will best appear from Conington’s explanation: “The CONNUBIA, as Wagner remarks, was the furtive union; the ‘hymenaei’ the formal rite to which she flattered herself it was a prelude—whence ‘incepti.’” Wagner is, as usual, wholly wrong. There is none of this hair-splitting either in Virgil or any other poet deserving of the name. CONNUBIA and HYMENAEOS are one and the same thing; viz., the marriage, as Dido called it (verse 172: “*coniugium* vocat, ‘hoc praetexit nomine culpam’”), in the cave. Dido adjures Aeneas by her marriage with him (PER CONNUBIA NOSTRA), and then recollecting that he might demur to that expression, modifies it by the addition of the word INCEPTOS; HYMENAEOS being used for CONNUBIA according to our author’s usual manner, and merely for the sake of variety and richness, and the sense being

exactly the same as if the words had been “PER CONNUBIA NOSTRA, PER incepta connubia nostra,” or “PER hymenaeos nostros, PER INCEPTOS HYMENAEOS nostros.”

FUIT AUT TIBI QUIDQUAM DULCE MEUM.—“Tetigit rem inhonestam,” Servius; a reproach often repeated since the time of Servius, and notably by Wakefield, who, in reply to the inquiry of Fox why he had omitted the fourth book of the *Aeneid* from his programme of a course of lectures on the Latin classics, assigned the indelicacy of this passage as his first and principal reason (Russell’s *Memorials of Fox*, vol. 4, p. 419): “because it contains passages (such particularly as verse 318, less delicate, perhaps, than its parallel, *Soph. Aj.* 521), which would lead to a discomposure of decorum in a miscellaneous assembly.” That there is here no indelicate allusion is shown not merely by the parallel adduced by Wakefield himself, viz., the words, never even so much as suspected of indelicacy, addressed by Teemessa to Ajax, by the wife to the husband, *Soph. Ajax*, 520 (ed. Brunck):

. . . ἀνδρι τοι χρεών
μνημην προσεῖναι, τερπνον εἰ τι πον παθοί,

but by those in which the pure and artless daughter coaxes her father, Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* (ed. Markl.) 1221:

πρωτῇ δὲ γονασὶ σοῖσι σῶμα δούς ἐμὸν,
φίλας χαρίτας ἐδῶκα, κἀντεδέξαυην·

also by Stat. *Theb.* 11. 367 (Antigone dissuading Polynices from his hostility to Thebes and his brother):

. . . “Argolicos, per te, germane, penates
(nam Tyriis iam nullus honos), per si quid in illa
dulce domo, submitte animos;”

and by Ter. *Andr.* 1. 1. 13 (Sosia to Simo):

. . . “gaudeo,
si tibi quid feci, aut facio, quod placeat, Sino, et
id gratum fuisse adversum te, habeo gratiam;”

and—appositely quoted by Wagner—*Aen.* 12. 882 (Juturna apostrophizing her brother):

. . . “aut quidquam mihi *dulce* meorum
te sine, frater, erit?”

and Otway, *Venice Preserved*, act 5 (Belvidera adjuring her father by the remembrance of her mother):

. . . “by all the *joys* she gave you,
when in her blooming years she was your treasure,
look kindly on me.”

FUIT AUT TIBI QUIDQUAM DULCE MEUM is, therefore, not particular and indelicate, but general and chaste; not an allusion to Dido's bed, but to Dido's society, hospitality, and friendliness, the *φίλας χάριτας* of Iphigenia, and the “mihi dulce meorum” of Juturna, and the

λίσσομαι, εἰποτε τοι τι πατρὸς ἐμός, ἐσθλὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἡ ἐπὸς, ἥ τι ἐργὸν, ὑποστὰς ἐξετελέσσειν

of Telemachus to Nestor (Hom. *Od.* 3. 98). And **even** had the allusion been more particular, and the DULCE referred to been the special DULCE of the *amour* she had had with Aeneas, **still** the expression is not to be stigmatized as indelicate, so indelicate as to render the book an unfit subject for a public lecture, **unless** every play, every novel, every romance which is founded on an *amour*, is, no matter how refined and delicate its expressions, *per se*, and in its very nature, indelicate, and all reference (even although as in our text, in its proper place, called for by the necessity of the subject, and couched in the most delicate terms), unless all reference, I say, to the union of the sexes, and, with it, all relation of lover and sweetheart, of bridegroom and bride, of husband and wife, of parent and child, and with this relation the entire history of mankind, physical and moral, political and social, religious and economical, **is** to be ignored, and treated as absolutely non-existent by all persons who would avoid the imputation of obscenity.

If it did not occur either to Servius or Wakefield, scholars by profession, that Dido's words might not after all contain the allusion they so severely condemned, it was still less likely that it should occur to Fox, not a professional scholar, but a politician who occasionally took up scholarship as a recreation. We find

him, therefore, in his rejoinder not at all calling in question the assumption that Dido did so allude, but with his usual good sense and correct taste declaring that he could not see the impropriety of the allusion: “your reason for omitting it [the fourth book] may be a very good one . . . I am much obliged to you for referring me to the passage in the *Ajar*, which is exceedingly beautiful and certainly more delicate [why, or in what respect?] than Virgil’s. And yet I own I should never have thought there was much indelicacy in *si quid dulce meum* [quoted, of course, *obiter* and from memory]; but perhaps I am not so nice upon such subjects as others are.” Many are too nice, and more pretend to be nicer than they are.

320-325.

TE PROPTER LIBYCAE GENTES NOMADUMQUE TYRANNI
 ODERE INFENSI TYRII TE PROPTER EUNDEM
 EXSTINCTUS PUDOR ET QUA SOLA SIDERA ADIBAM
 FAMA PRIOR CUI ME MORIBUNDAM DESERIS HOSPES
 HOC SOLUM NOMEN QUONIAM DE CONIUGE RESTAT
 QUID MOROR

TE PROPTER, &c., . . . TYRII (vv. 320, 321).—Exactly as Dido’s prototype, *Medea*, Eurip. *Med.* 506 :

. . . τοῖς μὲν οἰκοθεν φίλοις
 ἐχθρὰ καθεστήχ’ οὓς δὲ μ’ οὐκ ἐχρην κακῶς
 δρᾶν, σοὶ χάριν φερουσα, πολέμιους ἐχω,

of which our author’s words are, *mutatis mutandis*, a translation.

EXSTINCTUS PUDOR, &c., . . . HOSPES?—One of our author’s very numerous enthymemes, the suppressed proposition being *moriendum est*, thus: EXSTINCTUS PUDOR, ET QUA SOLA SIDERA ADIBAM FAMA PRIOR; *moriendum est*; CUI ME MORIBUNDAM DE-

SERIS, HOSPES? The reticence of the consequence of EXSTINCTUS PUDOR, viz., *morendum est*, and the proceeding at once to the question CUI ME MORIBUNDAM DESERIS, is not only in the highest degree dramatic, but shows more clearly and strongly than any statement to that effect the intimate connexion in the mind of Dido between death and the loss of fair fame. How tame in comparison, notwithstanding all its beauty and sweetness, is Goldsmith's

“ when lovely woman stoops to folly,
and finds, too late, that men betray,
what charm can soothe her melancholy?
what art can wash her guilt away?

the only art her guilt to cover,
to hide her shame from ev'ry eye,
to give repentance to her lover,
and wring his bosom, is to die”?

SIDERA (vs. 322), the sky, heaven. See Rem. on 5. 628; 2. 152; 5. 517.

SOIA (vs. 322).—“Etiam si aliam non habuissem dignitatem,” Wagner. No; but *quam solam habui*: which sole access *ad SIDERA* (i. e., to a place of honour in heaven) being now closed against her, there is nothing left for her but to die (CUI ME MORIBUNDAM DESERIS?). There were various paths, *aditus*, accesses to the sky, i. e., to heaven. The great access, the grand approach, was by heroic deeds. It was by this route Hercules, Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar, and other heroes ascended. See Senec. *Octav.* 472:

“ pulchrum eminere est inter illustres viros,
consulere patriae, parcere afflictis, fera
caede abstinere, tempus atque irae dare,
orbi quietem, seculo pacem suo.
haec summa virtus: petitur hac caelum via.
sic ille patriae primus Augustus parens
complexus astra est; colitur et templis deus.”

Valer. Max. 1. 7. 2: “sed iam alter [*i. e.*, Julius Caesar] operibus suis *aditum* sibi *ad caelum* instruxerat.” Our author himself, *Georg.* 4. 560:

“Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
per populos dat iura, *ciamque affectat Olympo.*”

It is to this approach the reference is made in “*sic itur ad astra*,” 9. 641 :

“*macte nova virtute puer, sic itur ad astra.*”

And it is this approach which is treated by Juvenal with his usual causticity, *Sat. 11. 63* (of Aeneas and Hercules) :

“*alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.*”

A second approach was by the Pierian road, through the favour of the Muses, *i. e.*, by poetry, as Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 2. 9. 62 :

“*lucida Pieria tendis in astra via.*”

Neither route being open to Dido, who was neither a martial heroine nor a poetess, she had to seek some other passage, and has accordingly made out for herself the way by preeminent feminine virtue, *i. e.*, preeminent fidelity to her betrothed. Compare Propert. :

“*contineant nobis omnia prima fidem.*”

Hence the *SOLA* of our text, *the only way open to me*. This way, viz., that of preeminent moral virtue (a variety of which, viz., filial affection, was the way by which Erigone ascended, Manil. 2. 31 :

“*pietate ad sidera ductam*
Erigonen”),

may in contradistinction to the heroic and poetic ways not improperly be called the Socratic, and so Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30* : “*Ita enim censebat, itaque disseruit [Socrates] : duas esse vias, duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore excedentium. Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminavissent, et se totos libidinibus dedidissent, quibus caecati vel domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinavissent vel republica violanda fraudes inexpressibiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio deorum : qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibus-*

que fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum: his ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere." Id. *Sonn. Scip.*: "Sed sic, Scipio, ut avus hic tuus, ut ego, qui te genui, iustitiam cole et pietatem, quae cum sit magna in parentibus et propinquis, tum in patria maxima est; ea vita *in* est *in caelum*, et in hunc coetum eorum, qui iam vixerunt, et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum quem vides [viz., orbem lacteum]." A little later, Dido would have had another way, viz., the royal way, the way of kings and queens, that way for which no other qualification was required than that of having worn a crown (Trebell. Poll. *Dicus Claudius*, 12): "Quo ad deos atque ad sidera demigrante." A little later still, I need hardly inform my reader, all these, if I may so say, privileged and special *entrées* to heaven were closed, and a great public road opened, through which ~~so~~ vast a multitude of unclean, unwashen, proletarian, reeking from kitchens, mews, stews, mines, factories, night-houses, workhouses, jails, penal settlements, guillotines and gallowses, crowd and squeeze, and elbow in pell-mell, **that** crowned heads, heroes, and heroines, no less than those eminent for their moral virtues, begin to draw back, shy and alarmed, and prefer the society of the free *vates* who in a body, with the exception of some odd democratic broad-shouldered puritan *minnesinger*, have pitched their tents outside, and dressed in white, keep day and night eating and harping for their own pastime, and neither by fair means nor by foul can be got in or persuaded to embark in the same boat with the "profanum vulgus," or even so much as to respire the air contaminated by their impure lungs.

FAMA PRIOR (vs. 323).—"Quae melior fuit sine dubio, nam posterior turpis," Servius. "Quam habui ante tuum adventum," Heyne, Forbiger, Thiel.

. . . "ja selbst, was allein mich zum himmel emporhub
voriger ruf."

(Voss).

This is all erroneous. Dido does not compare her *former* fame with her *present* fame, i.e., say that she has lost her former fame, meaning her good fame, and has now a different or present

fame, meaning a bad fame; but she says she has lost her fame, *i. e.*, her good fame, her renown, her reputation, her glory, such being the meaning of the two words *FAMA PRIOR* taken together, as *Stat. Silr. 1. 18* :

‘ nunc age *fama prior* notum per sæcula nomen
Dardanii miretur equi, cui vertice sacro
Dindymon, et caesis decrevit frondibus Ida;”

Id. Theb. 4.

“ nunc mihi, *fama prior*, mundique arcana vetustas,
cui meminisse ducum, vitasque extendere, curae,
pande viros,”

in both which passages, as in our text, “prior” is added to “fama” as a standing or perpetual epithet, equivalent to the “vetus fama” of Ovid, *Fast. 5. 625*, and as such distinguishes the “fama” spoken of (*viz.*, fame, or renown, in the historical sense of the word) from mere hearsay, report, or rumour. The simple fama is, however, often used in the same sense, as, *ex. gr.*, by Ovid, *Heroid. 7. 5*, where the same Dido writing to the same Aeneas says :

“ sed merita et *fanam* corpusque animumque pudicum
cum male perdiderim, perdere verba leve est,”

where “fama” has the very sense expressed by the *FAMA PRIOR* of our text, except that owing to its position in the line it is less emphatic (see *Rem. on 2. 237*), and, wanting the epithet prior, it is less sharply distinguished from the ordinary fama, or report, rumour, hearsay.

CUI ME MORIBUNDAM, &c., . . . RESTAT (vv. 323, 324).—Compare Ovid, *Heroid. 9. 33* (*Dejanira to Hercules*) :

“ vir mihi semper abest, et *coninge notior hospes*,
monstraque terribiles persequiturque feras.”

Seneca, Herc. Fur. 1. 1 :

“ soror Tonantis (*hoc enim solum mihi
nomen relictum est*) semper alienum Iovem
ac templa summi vidua deserui aetheris.”

QUID MOROR? (vs. 325).—“*QUID in hac terra MOROR? an, QUID in vita MOROR?*” *Servius*. Of these two interpretations *Peck-*

kamp prefers the former; Heyne, Forbiger, Wagner, and Conington, the latter, which, as I think, is certainly the correct one, the gist of Dido's speech (as manifested by the intensity of feelings which it expresses, by her tears, by her MORITURA CRUDELI FUNERE DIDO, by her MISERERE DOMUS LABENTIS, by her CUI ME MORIBUNDAM DESERIS, and by her wish for children by Æneas) being not that she would leave Africa, but that she would put an end to her troubles by suicide. To which argument may be added, that QUID MOROR is the precise question put by a person who prepares for death, whether voluntary or involuntary, as 2. 102: "quidve moror?" Claud. 6 Cons. Honor. 315:

. . . "infensi comites, odere propinqui;
quid moror invisam lucem?"

Ovid, *Amor.* 3. 6. 77:

"*quid moror? en digitis designor adultera vulgi:*

*hactenus, et vestem tumidis prætendit ocellis,
atque ita se in rapidas perditâ misit aquas.*"

327-344.

SALTEM—VICTIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 329).

TAMEN ■ *Pal., Med.*; "Est et alia lectio in codice Longobardico,* atque etiam in Mediceo,* neque non in Porcio,* QUI TE TAMEN ORE REFERRET . . . cui lectioni nonnulli alii veteres codices adstipulantur," Pierius.

TAMEN, or its abbrev. TÑ ■■■^s. ■■■ Arusianus (*Exempl. Elocut.*†); Ven. 1472; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704, and ap. Burm.); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Dorph.; Forb.; Lad.; Haupt; Ribb.

* The statement of Ribbeck, that Pierius cites these MSS. as reading TANTUM, is an error.

† Different codices of one and the same work, *Exempla Elocutionum*, attributed by some (*ex.gr.*, Angelo Mai) to Fronto, by others (*ex.gr.* Lindemann) to Arusianus.

TANTUM, or its abbreviation TAM or TM ■■‡. ■■■ Fronto (*Exempl. Eloquit.* *); princeps; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475, 1486; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Bask.; Paris, 1600; Rob. Steph.; H. Steph.; Bersmann; La Cerda; D. Heins.; Phil.; Pott.

SI QUA MIHI DE TE SUSCEPTA FUISSET ANTE FUGAM SUBOLES, theme; SI QUIS MIHI PARVULUS AULA LUDERET AENEAS, variation (vv. 327-9).

TANTUM (vs. 329).—Nicholas Heinsius, followed by Heyne, Wagner, Forbiger, and most modern editors, has adopted the reading of the Medicean, TAMEN. The sense so obtained can be no other than this: "I wish I had had by thee some little Aeneas, whose resemblance to thee might sometimes remind me of thee—TAMEN, *after all; notwithstanding all that has happened.*" As much as to say: "Even shouldst thou go away as thou hast threatened, the recollection of thee will always be dear to me." To this sense I object, first, that it expresses more tenderness and affection than is consistent with the highly reproachful, upbraiding character of the rest of the speech, and especially with the epithet PERFIDE (vs. 305), and the CAPTA of the immediately succeeding line; secondly, that it is tautologous, the resemblance to Aeneas being sufficiently and unmistakably expressed in the words PARVULUS AENEAS in the very same line; thirdly, that TE derives an inappropriate emphasis from being thus placed as first syllable of the dactyl TE TAMEN. For all these reasons I prefer the reading TANTUM, and the sense, *some little Aeneas*, QUI TE TANTUM ORE REFERRET, *who might bring thee back only by his features*; Dido's wish not being that she might have a little Aeneas who would bring back his father by his features, but (the words QUI TE TANTUM ORE REFERRET being entirely limitative) a little Aeneas who would not bring back his father by his *mind*. This sense (according to which, it will be observed, the emphasis falls upon ORE) is not only in the most perfect harmony with the rest of Dido's speech, but seems to be

* See note † *ante*, page 701.

required by the strongly reproachful expressions *PERFIDE* and *CAPTA*, the former of which placed at the beginning, and the latter at the end, of the speech, shows that Dido's feeling remains the same all through, and that there is none of that softening or relenting in it which would be expressed by *TAMEN*. Compare, exactly parallel, 12. 348 :

“ *nomine avum referens, animo manibusque parentem* ”

[bringing back his grandsire only by his name]. Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 123 (Hypsipyle to Jason, speaking of his twins) :

“ *si quæris cui sint similes, cognoscere illis ;
fallere non norunt ; cetera patris habent.* ”

It appears from Servius's gloss : “ *Aut illud dicit, ‘optarem filium similem vultui, non moribus tuis,’* ” that he was well acquainted with the reading *TANTUM*.

IMMOTA TENEBAT LUMINA (vv. 331-2).—Chateaubriand should have better understood these words than to found on them a charge against Aeneas of meanness of spirit, and a comparison very disadvantageous to him with Bouillon rejecting the seductions of Armida (*Génie du Christianisme*) : “ *Il tient les yeux baissés (IMMOTA TENEBAT LUMINA), il cache son trouble, &c. Ce n'est pas de cet air que le capitaine Chrétien repousse les adresses d'Armide.* ” *IMMOTA LUMINA* does not mean “ *les yeux baissés,* ” but (as interpreted by Dido herself, vs. 369) *steadfastly fixed* ; they are neither cast down in shame (*deiecta, demissa*), nor turned away (*aversa*), but simply (as they should be, Aeneas's purpose remaining unchanged) *IMMOTA, unmoved*. The same word is applied in the same sense to Aeneas's mind, vs. 449. In this instance, as in so many others, the fault is not in Virgil, but in the commentator ; not in the sun, but in the eye of the observer.

ORE REFERRET (vs. 329).—Not *resemble thee in his face*, but *bring thee back (viz., to my mind), place thee again before, re-present thee by his face, i. e., by resembling thee*. Compare Ovid, *Ep.* 13. 151 (Laodamia to Protesilaus) :

“ *dum tamen arma geres diverso miles in orbe,
quæ referat vultus est mihi cæra tuos.* ”

Tacit. *Germ.* 43 : "E quibus Marsigni et Burii sermone cultu-que Suevos *referunt*" [bring back, place again before us, viz., by their speech and dress, *i. e.*, by their similitude in respect of speech and dress]. See Rem. on "nomine avum referens," 12. 348.

NEC CONIUGIS UNQUAM PRAETENDI TAEDAS (vv. 338, 339).—"Nunquam ego tibi matrimonio coniunctus," vel dic : "regina, quando nobis taedae praelatae ? quando praetentae ?" La Cerda, following Servius, if such indeed be the meaning of Servius's prolix and rather obscure gloss. "PRAETENDI accipiunt *praetuli*. Sane nota res est το δαδουχαι in nuptiis. Sed non ipse sponsus faces fert. Malim eo sensu positum quo vers. 172 *praetexere* : ut se nunquam TAEDAS, iustas nuptias *praetendisse*, *prae se tulisse* ; suae cum Didone consuetudini nomen iusti matrimonii nunquam tribuisse, dicat," Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*), and Voss, except that Voss understands CONIUGIS to be spoken of Dido ("Heyne vergisst dass coniux auch *gattin* heisse"). "Ich habe nie die eheliche fackel dir vorgetragen," d. h. "dir vortragen lassen," Ladew. I agree with La Cerda, as against Heyne, that the literal lighting home with the marriage torch is meant, but at the same time have no doubt at all that the "coniux" spoken of is not Dido, but Aeneas himself, and that special reference is made in the word CONIUGIS to the words HOSPES and CONIUGE of vv. 323-4. It is as if Aeneas had said : "You are perfectly right in addressing me not as *coniux*, but simply as HOSPES, for I never acquired a title to the appellation of *coniux*, never having been lighted home to our common dwelling in your company with the torch." Therefore, AUTHAEC IN FOEDERA VENI : "nor ever *came* into such a compact," not as he would undoubtedly have said had he meant Dido by the word CONIUGIS ("nor ever *brought thee* into such a compact"). If CONIUGIS had been Dido, Aeneas's meaning would have been : "I never made you my wife." CONIUGIS being Aeneas himself, Aeneas's meaning is : "I never claimed you as my wife ; I had no claim to you ; you never made me your husband."

MEIS DUCERE VITAM AUSPICIIS (vs. 340), theme ; SPONTE MEA COMPONERE CURAS, variation.

URBEM TROIANAM, &c., . . . VICTIS (vv. 342-4).—The whole state of Troy is here divided into three component parts, city, king's palace, and arx, and each part is made the subject of a distinct proposition, the three propositions standing to each other in the relation of theme and two variations, viz., COLEREM, theme; MANERENT, first variation; RECIDIVA MANU POSUISSEM, second variation. A similar division of Carthage into city and arx follows immediately (verse 347) without, however, similar variety of proposition.

348-367.

DETINET—CAUCASUS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 348).

DETINET ■■■ Servius (ed. Lion; the passage not contained in the cod. Dresd.); P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Lad.; Ribb.

DEMERET ■■■ "Sane quidam in novis et emendatis libris pro DETINET DEMERET inventum asserunt," Servius (ed. Lion); Gronov. *Obs.* 4.

QUAE TANDEM AUSONIA CONSIDERE TERRA INVIDIA EST? (vv. 349, 350).—Compare Callim. *Hymn. in Delum*, 16:

αλλα οι ου νεμεσητον ενι πρωτησι λεγεσθαι.

Hom. *Il.* 14. 80: ου γαρ τις νεμεσις φυγειν κακον.

FAS (vs. 350), *privilege, licet*. See Rem. on 2. 779.

QUOTIES HUMENTIBUS UMBRIS NOX OPERIT TERRAS (vs. 351), theme; QUOTIES ASTRA IGNEA SURGUNT, variation.

TURBIDA (vs. 353), exactly the English *troubled*.

PUER ASCANIUS, CAPITISQUE INIURIA CARI (vs. 354).—Not two distinct subjects, but one subject viewed in two distinct

lights; in other words, PUER ASCANIUS is a theme, of which CAPITIS INIURIA CARI is the variation, exactly as, 1. 31, “iudicium Paridis” is a theme of which “spretae iniuria formae” is the variation.

QUEM REGNO HESPERIAE FRAUDO ET FATALIBUS ARVIS (vs. 355).—The structure is not REGNO ET FATALIBUS ARVIS HESPERIAE, but REGNO HESPERIAE ET FATALIBUS ARVIS, the former being substantially the theme, of which the latter is the variation. I say substantially, because the formal theme and variation has always a separate verb for each separate clause.

NUNC ETIAM INTERPRES, &c., . . . HAUSI (vv. 356-9).—Compare Soph. *Phil.* 989 (Ulysses to Philoctetes) :

Ζεὺς εἰσθ', ἢ εἰδῆς, Ζεὺς, οὐ τῆσδε γῆς κρατῶν,
Ζεὺς, ὧ δεδοκται ταυθ'. ὑπηρετῶ δ' ἐγῶ.

Eurip. *Hipp.* 1451 (ed. Musgr.) :

. . . ἀνθρώποισι δε,
θεῶν δίδοντων, εἰκος ἐξαμαρτάνειν.

Id. *Cycl.* 284 (Ulysses throwing on the deity the whole blame of the war of Troy) :

θεοῦ τοῦ πράγμα' μὴδεν αἰτία βροτῶν.

Id. *Heraclicid.* 989 (Eurystheus excusing to Alemena his persecution of Hercules and Hercules' descendants) :

ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἐχρηζόν, εἴτε μῆ, θεοὶ γὰρ ἦν,
ἦ ῥα με καμνεῖν τῆνδ' ἐθήκε τὴν νόσον.

Schiller, *Die Piccolomini*, act 1, sc. 3 :

“es ist des *himmeis* sichtbarliche führung.”

That it is the commandment of the deity is, in the mouth of the moralist, what the cannon is in the hands of princes, the *ultima ratio*, the last and never-failing justification of whatever act is utterly irreconcilable with the principles of justice, with the best feelings of the human heart: “vatem et insontes deos praetendunt.” However the ingenuous heart may refuse

to be a party to this shifting of the *onus* of an iniquity from the shoulders of the perpetrator to those of the perpetrator's God, still Aeneas's excuse is venial, for he sees and hears the present and commanding deity, while others without so much as an inquiry—

. . . “dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira libido?”—

assume at once their own strong inclinations, their own mere volitions, to be commandments from heaven.

ITALIAM NON SPONTE SEQUOR (vs. 361).—NON SPONTE, not equivalent to *invitus*, but equivalent to *non motu proprio*: “I am not running after Italy to please myself.” Compare 11. 828: “ad terram non sponte fluens,” where see Rem.

TALIA DICENTEM, &c., . . . PROFATUR (vv. 362-4).—This passage is usually interpreted, *looks at him, rolling her eyes hither and thither, and wanders him all over with silent eyes*, as Alfieri:

“ma giù a tai detti, in torvi sguardi incerti,
ferocemente tacita lo guarda
da capo a piè, d'ira infiammata Dido.”

A little examination, however, affords a sense more exact and more worthy of Virgil. *Oculus* signifies *the organ, the ball or orb of the eye*, considered abstractedly from its function; *lumen* (as its primary and etymological meaning shows), *the light*, i. e., *the luminous or illuminating part of the eye, the sight or function of vision*, corresponding to the German *augenlicht* (“O öffnet euch, ihr lieben augenlichter,” Schiller, *Braut von Messina*), the Italian *luce* (“com egli alzò le luci al vago viso,” Tassoni, *La Secchia Rapita*, 10. 59), and, more exactly still, to its own Italian derivative, *lume* (“vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi,” Petr. *Sonn.* 220). Such being the respective meanings of the two words, Dido is described with great accuracy, first as rolling her *eyeballs* hither and thither while she looks at Aeneas, and secondly, as wandering him all over with her *vision*. The second clause of the sentence is thus supplementary to the first, and the whole meaning is: TRETUR *et* PERERRAT TOTUM LUMI-

NIBUS TACITIS [*lumine tacito*] *oculorum*, quos *volcebat* HUC et ILLUC. It were easy to show by numerous examples that the best Latin writers frequently (not always) make this distinction between *oculus* and *lumen*, *ex. gr.* Lucret. 3. 414 :

“at si tantula pars *oculi* media illa porosa est,
incolumis quamvis alioque splendidus orbis,
occidit extemplo *lumen* tenebraeque sequuntur”

[*the sight is lost*]. See, in the same author, 4. 823, 1137; and especially that fine passage, 6. 1177. Also Corn. Nepos, *Timol.* 4. 1 : “sine ullo morbo *lumina oculorum* amisit” [*the light or sight of the eyes*]. Ovid, *Met.* 13. 561 :

. . . “*digitos in perfida lumina condit,*
expilatque genis oculos.”

Id. *Met.* 14. 200 : “*inanem luminis orbem.*” *Fast.* 2. 845 : “*oculos sine lumine movit.*” Catull. *Epigr.* 49 : “*gemina teguntur lumina nocte*” (where it is “*lumina*,” not *oculi*, because it is the *sight*, not the *eyeballs*, that is covered with night). And *Aen.* 2. 210 : “*oculos suffecti*,” because it is the *balls*, not the *sight*, that are suffused with blood. See also Shakespeare’s “there is no speculation [*i. e.*, no *lumen*, or observing vision] in those eyes;” and *Aen.* 8. 152, where see Rem.

LUMINIBUS TACITIS (vs. 364).—“*Ipsa tacita*,” Servius. “*Servii explicatio sequentibus (ACCENSA PROFATUR) refutatur satis. Ego explicarem : non blandis aut amatoriiis, sed flammeis et fatentibus ignem*,” Burmann. “*Stiere augen : quibus nullus inest sensus*,” Gossrau. “*Oculi taciti ad dicendum non pertinent, sed sunt qui iram abdunt*,” Wagner. I hold the interpretation of Servius (adopted also by Heyne) to be the true one, (1), on account of the more poetic meaning; (2), on account of Seneca’s (*Thyest.* 500) “*tacito locum rostro pererrat*,” where “*tacito*,” applied to the snout of a hound tracing his game by the scent, can only mean *ipsa canis muta*. To which add Stat. *Theb.* 1. 532 : “*tacita immurmurat aure*,” and Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 108 : “*tacitis incumbere remis*,” to row without accompanying the oar with the voice; and 1. 506 : “*tacitum pectus*,” spoken of Latona who feels but does not

speak, and to which Servius's "*ipsa tacita*" is as perfectly applicable as it is to our text. (3), on account of the addition to TUNETUR of IAMDUDUM and DICENTEM, words which express as clearly as possible that Dido eyes Aeneas over, not (as Burmann thought) during her own reply, but during the latter part of Aeneas's speech: *she regards him with a silent scowl until he has finished, and then ACCENSA PROFATUR*. And (4), on account of the almost express commentary on the passage, afforded by Statius's (*Theb.* 1. 673):

"deiecit maestos extemplo Ismenius heros
in terram vultus, *tacite*que ad Tydea laesum
obliquare oculos, tum longa silentia movit."

A similar form of expression is usual in other languages. Thus Schiller, *Maria Stuart*, act 1, sc. 8:

"doch viel bedeutend fragt ihr *stummer blick*."

Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, b. 9, c. 4: "On eût dit qu'il entendait sa chanson *dans ses yeux*."

NEC TIBI DIVA PARENS, etc. (vs. 365).—Charles James Fox says, in a letter to his friend Trotter (Russell's *Memoir of Fox*, vol. 4, p. 466): "If there is an Apollonius Rhodius where you are, pray look at Medea's speech, lib. 4, vs. 365, and you will perceive, that even in Dido's finest speech, NEC TIBI DIVA PARENS, etc., he has imitated a good deal, and especially those expressive and sudden turns, NEQUE TE TENEO, etc.; but then he has made wonderful improvements, and, on the whole, it is perhaps the finest thing in all poetry."

PERFIDE, CAUCASUS (vv. 366, 367).—Both words in the highest degree emphatic; see Rem. on "*crudelis*," vs. 311, and Rem. on 2. 247.

368-372.

NAM QUID DISSIMULO AUT QUAE ME AD MAIORA RESERVO
 NUM FLETU INGEMUIT NOSTRO NUM LUMINA FLEXIT
 NUM LACRYMAS VICTUS DEDIT AUT MISERATUS AMANTEM EST
 QUAE QUIBUS ANTEFERAM IAM IAM NEC MAXIMA IUNO
 NEC SATURNIUS HAEC OCULIS PATER ASPICIT AEQUIS

NAM QUID DISSIMULO, AUT QUAE ME AD MAIORA RESERVO?—
 “‘QUID DISSIMULO quod sentio’ (quid autem sentiat prolocuta
 est, vv. 365-7) ‘aut quae restat maior iniuria quam, si haec dis-
 simulem, cavere possim,’” Wagner (1861), as if Dido had said :
 “What worse can he do to me if I don’t dissemble, but speak
 out my mind?” and most assuredly not the meaning, nor even
 like the meaning. The meaning is: “What other occasion is
 yet to come on which I am to speak out if I do not speak out
 now? for what greater occasion am I to reserve myself, *i. e.*, to
 reserve my speaking out, to reserve the full expression of my
 feelings?” I am not sure I understand Ennodius’s para-
 phrase, “Verba Didonis” (De la Bigne, 6. 289): “Nam quid
 mihi dissimulatione polliceor? aut quid sperando meliora sus-
 tentor?” but if it means, which I very much doubt, “in the
 expectation of what still worse treatment shall I put up with,
 bear patiently, this better (less bad) treatment,” I have that
 ancient expositor and poet on my side. The paraphrase is,
 however, much more obscure than the original; could by no
 possibility be understood except for the light thrown on it by
 the original. Ennodius serves little to the better understand-
 ing of Virgil, Virgil much to the better understanding of
 Ennodius.

QUID DISSIMULO?—Compare Eurip. *Med.* 284: οὐδεν δεῖ
 παραμπεχεῖν λόγους.

AUT QUAE ME AD MAIORA RESERVO?—Compare Tryphiod.

397 (Cassandra speaking):

τις γὰρ μοι χρεὼ βίοντος πλεον, εἰ με φυλάσσει
οἰκτροτέρῳ θανάτῳ;

and *Aen.* 5. 624:

. . . "O gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?"

NUM LUMINA FLEXIT? (vs. 369).—*Did he turn his eyes?* Compare Tacit. *Hist.* 2. 70: "At non Vitellius *flexit oculos*, nec tot millia insepultorum civium exhorruit."

QUAE QUIBUS ANTEFERAM?—"Quae eloquar nescio, quae relinquam," Ennodius, "Verba Didonis," De la Bigne, 6. 289. I think not, if it were only because the question: "which subject of complaint shall I put forward, which suppress," hardly proper to be put even by a hired declaimer *visà voce* to himself beyond the precincts of his closet, had been the last question in the world to be put *visà voce* to herself by infuriate Dido face to face with her betrayer. Little different from that of Ennodius, and liable to the same objection, is the explanation of Servius: "Quid prius, quid posterius dicam?" an explanation, however, which has been adopted by Conington. Next in order comes La Cerda's "Ita magnum est *non gemuisse illum, non flexisse oculos, non LACRYMAS dedisse, non miseratum, ut QUAE QUIBUS praeferam ignorem*," La Cerda, Ruæus, Voss—a mere blinking of the question, an explanation of QUAE QUIBUS by *quae quibus*. We have then Heyne's "*sciz. tanquam leniora durioribus*," "to what things harder to bear am I to prefer these things as easier to bear?" *i. e.*, "there are no things harder to bear than these, these things are the very worst possible," an intelligible sense, and according to which QUAE is relative and QUIBUS interrogative; the very sense, too, which Forbiger has found in these same words of Heyne, but point-blank opposite to Heyne's own paraphrase of them: "His quid praeferam? Quid magis pati velim?" *i. e.*, "what things should I prefer to these things, what things should I rather bear?" in other words. "these things are the very best in the world," the very sense which Wagner (1861), interpreting the QUAE of Dido interro-

gatively and the QUIBUS of Dido relatively, has found in the words of Dido herself: "QUIBUS rebus tanquam durioribus quas tanquam leniores praeferam?" a sense so inconsistent with the whole context as to raise the suspicion that Wagner's "quas" is a misprint or a confusion of Wagner himself for has, and that Wagner's "quibus" is to be understood interrogatively; while on the contrary, Heyne's "His quid praeferam? Quid magis pati velim?" is either a misprint or confusion in Heyne's own mind for "QUIBUS haec praeferam? Quibus haec magis pati velim?" Next we have Pearlkamp's "Cui rei quam rem ANTEFERAM? Qua re quid est indignius toleratu? Huic crudelitati (QUIBUS) quam (QUAE) crudelitatem anteponom?" understanding with Heyne QUAE to be interrogative, and QUIBUS to be relative; understanding also with Heyne QUIBUS to refer to the treatment mentioned in the two preceding lines, and assigning the same gist to the passage, "Qua re quid est indignius toleratu?" without, however, deducing, with Heyne, the contradictory conclusion: "ferenda esse haec tanquam modica ne graviora experiar;" and so Ladewig: "Was kann aerger noch sein?"

I agree with Servius, and understand both QUAE and QUIBUS to be interrogative: "What shall I put before what? what shall I speak of first, and what last?" That such is the meaning I cannot doubt; first, because it had been tedious in Dido still to dwell on the matter already despatched in the two preceding verses—to chew the cud on it, if I may so say, and digest it over again in the words QUAE QUIBUS ANTEFERAM. No matter which we regard as the relative, QUAE or QUIBUS, the passage so understood is prosaic, and Dido's speech that of a lawyer, pausing at each word to choose the next, cold, phlegmatic, and studied. Secondly, because on the contrary, the double question *what to what* contained in three words, and referring not backwards to what she has already said, but forwards to what she is going to say,

EIECTUM LITTORE, EGENTEM

EXCEPI, ET REGNI DEMENS IN PARTE LOCAVI;

AMISSAM CLASSEM, SOCIOS A MORTE REDUXI,

is not only in the highest degree rapid and forcible, but is our author's usual improvement on his Euripidean model, in this case *Medea*, 475 :

εκ των δε πρωτων πρωτον αρξομαι λεγειν,

Exactly **as** *Medea* answers her own question in the words

εσωσα σ', ως ιασιν Ελληνων οσοι
ταυτον ξυνεισεβησαν Αργων σκαφος,
πεμφθεντα ταυρων πυρπνων επιστατην
ζευγλαισι, και σπερουντα θανασιμον γυην·
δρακοντα θ' ος παγχρυσον αμφεπων δερας,
σπειραις εσωζε πολυπλοκοις αυπνος ων
κτεινας', ανεσχον σοι φας σωτηριον,

and that she had not only done this, but had killed Pelias and come with her lover to Iolchos :

αυτη δε, πατερα και δομους προδους εμους,
την Πηλιωτιν εις Ιωλκον ικομην
ξυν σοι, προθυμος μαλλον η σοφωτερα.
Πελιαν τ' απεκτειν', ωσπερ αλγιστον θανειν
παιδων υπ' αυτου, παντα τ' εξειλον φοβον,

so *Dido* answers her own question in the words :

EIECTUM LITTORE, EGENTEM
EXCEPI, ET REGNI DEMENS IN PARTE LOCAVI;
AMISSAM CLASSEM, SOCIOS A MORTE REDUXI

(where in *DEMENS* we have *Medea*'s very *προθυμος μαλλον η σοφωτερα*). **As** *Dido*'s whole speech is thus exactly modelled on the speech of her prototype, even to such particulars as *NUSQUAM TUTA FIDES* (the Virgilian representative of the *ορκων φρουδη πιστις* of Euripides), and

IAM IAM NEC MAXIMA IUNO
NEC SATURNIUS HAEC OULIS PATER ASPICIT AEQUIS

(the Virgilian variation of

. . . ουδ' εχω μαθειν,
ει θεους νομιζεις τους τοτ' ουκ αρχειν ετι,
η καινα κεισθαι θεσμι' ανθρωποις τανυν,
επει ξυνοισθα γ' εις εμ' ουκ ευορκος ως)

and

NUM FLETU INGEMUIT NOSTRO ? NUM LUMINA FLEXIT ?

(the Virgilian variation of

οὗτοι θρασος τοδ' ἐστίν, οὐδ' εὐτολμία,
φίλους κακῶς δρᾶσαντ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν,
ἀλλ' ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νύσων
πᾶσων, ἀναιδεΐ'),

so Dido's self-interrogation QUAE QUIBUS ANTEFERAM is, there can be no manner of doubt, the Virgilian, slightly varied representative of Medea's

ἐκ τῶν δὲ πρῶτων πρῶτον ἀρξομαι λέγειν,

as it is at the same time the representative of his other model, the Simaetha of his Sicilian master Theocritus, *Idyll.* 2. 64 :

νῦν δὲ μούνη εἰσα ποθεν τὸν ἐρωτὰ δακρυσῶ ;
ἐκ τίνος ἀρξωμαι ; τίς μοι κακὸν ἀγάγε τοῦτο ;

Compare Claud. 6 *Cons. Honor.* 280 :

. . . “*quae prima miser, quae funera dictis
posteriora querar ?*”

Terent. *Eun.* 5. 8. 14 :

. . . “*quid commemorem primum aut laudem maxime,
illum qui mihi dedit consilium, ut facerem ? an me, qui ausus siem
incipere ? an Fortunam collaudem, quae gubernatrix fuit ?*”

Also Seneca, *Troad.* 1061 : “*quid prius referens gemam ?*” the same question as in our text, although referring, not as in our text, to the sorrows of a single person, but to the sorrows of two distinct persons.

373-380.

EIECTUM—SOLLICITAT

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 373).

EIECTUM LITTORE EGENTEM ■ *Pal.* ■■■ R. Steph.

EIECTUM LITTORE • ■ *Med.* (LITTORE). ■■■ D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670): Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*).

EIECTUM • LITTORE EGENTEM ■■■ P. Manut.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 374).

SUSCEPI ■ See quotation from Pierius under EXCEPI, and ■■■ compare Claud. in *Eutrop.* 1. 142: "Qui servi non est admissus in usum *suscipitur regnis.*"

EXCEPI ■ *Med.*; "in Virgilianis omnibus exemplaribus EXCEPI. Nusquam alibi quam apud Priscianum, idque in antiquo cod. legi SUSCEPI," Pierius. ■■■ R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

EIECTUM LITTORE EGENTEM EXCEPI (vv. 373-4).—"EGENTEM littoris," Servius, and according to Priscian, "quidam." "EIECTUM LITTORE," Priscian, Fabricius (quoting Ter. *Andr.* 5. 4: "apud Andrum *eiectus*; tum ille *egens*"), Heyne, Brunck, Wakefield, Ladewig, Wagner (ed. Heyn., and 1861), the latter adding "pro eo, quod vulgo dicitur in *littus.*" Every one erroneously. LITTORE belongs neither to EGENTEM nor to EIECTUM, but to EXCEPI. LITTORE (*i. e.*, hospitio littoris, hospitali LITTORE) EXCEPI EIECTUM, EGENTEM. Compare Ovid, *Ep.* 7. 89 (this same Dido to this same Aeneas):

"fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi."

Id. *Fast.* 5. 391: "excipit hospitio." *Ibid.* 1. 3: "excipe pacato vultu." Eurip. *Med.* 711: δεξαί δε χωπα.

EIECTUM.—NOT EIECTUM LITTORE, but EIECTUM patria (πολεως εκβεβλημενος, Eurip. *Electr.* 412), exulem, exactly corresponding to “Europa atque Asia pulsus,” said of the same Aeneas by himself, and in connexion, too, with “egens,” 1. 388:

“ ipso ignotus, *egens*, Libyae deserta peragro,
Europa atque Asia pulsus.”

Compare 8. 646 :

“ nec non Tarquinius *eiectum* Porsenna iubebat
accipere,”

where “*eiectum*” is *eiectum patria, regno*, and where “*Tarquinius*” corresponds to the *illum* understood of our text, and “*accipere*” to the *EXCEPI*. Compare also 1. 582 :

“ si quibus *eiectus* silvis aut urbibus errat,”

where the structure is not “*eiectus silvis*,” but “*eiectus*” (*i. e.*, *eiectus regnis*), *an exile*, “*errat silvis*” (see Rem. on 1. 582). Senec. *Med.* 20 (*Medea cursing Jason*) :

“ vivat ; per urbes erret ignotas *egens*,
caesus, pavens, invisus, incerti laris.”

Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 58 :

“ at nos indecores longo torpebimus aevo,
omnibus eiectae regnis.”

Cic. *in Catil.* 1. 9 : “Exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non *eiectus* ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris.” Id. *pro Rosc. Amer.* 23 : “Nudum *eiicit* domo, atque focus patriis diisque penatibus praecipitem . . . exturbat.” *Ibid.* 27 : “*eiectum* domo atque expulsum ex suis bonis.” *Ibid.* 6 : “*damnato et eiecto*” (*i. e.*, *e patria expulso*).

Nor is this all. Not only is EIECTUM *not naufragum*, *not cast on shore by the sea*, but this meaning for the word, even if otherwise possible in our text, had been altogether unsuitable, inasmuch as Dido founds on her having received Aeneas EIECTUM a claim to Aeneas’s gratitude. But no such claim could have been founded on her receiving a shipwrecked sailor or

traveller. It was the common right of mankind in such cases to be allowed to land, and it was only by downright savages such right was ever denied. Hear Ilioneus (l. 543):

“quod genus hoc hominum? quæve hunc tam barbara morem
permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur arenæ:
bella cient, primaque vetant consistere terra.
si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi;”

with which compare Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.* 72: “Etenim quid tam est commune quam spiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, *littus eiectis*? . . . Ita postremo *eiciuntur* [e mari, *sciz.*] ut ne ad saxa quidem mortui conquiescant.” Dido therefore could not accuse herself for having granted to shipwrecked Æneas a refuge from the sea, that right which was as common as the right to live, or the right when dead to be buried; but she could and does accuse herself of having afforded the exiled and outcast, EIECTUM, a refuge in her dominions, a refuge to which he had no claim, and his ingratitude for which, and the favours which followed, drives her to distraction. If it be objected, as no doubt it will, that Ovid’s Dido not only applies the term “eiectum” to Æneas in the sense of naufragus, but even claims Æneas’s gratitude for the shelter afforded him (*Epist.* 7. 89:

“fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi”),

I reply: (1), that my argument is not that eiectus may not be joined with fluctibus, or with such other context as determines it to mean eiectus e mari, but only that it is not so joined on the present occasion, and that on the present occasion the other acknowledged sense of eiectus, viz., eiectus e regno, not only suits much better with the context, but affords a much better foundation for the charge of ingratitude brought by Dido against Æneas; and (2), that the undoubted use by our author himself of eiectus, absolutely and without explanation, in the sense of *exile* or *outcast*, 8. 646:

“nec non Tarquinius *eiectum* Porsenna iubebat
accipere,”

is of much more avail to determine the meaning of "eiectus," used absolutely and without explanation in our text, to be *outcast*, than the use of "eiectus" with the explanatory adjunct "fluctibus" by Ovid is to determine the meaning of *eiectus* without such explanatory adjunct to be *naufragus*. In addition to which double argument it is to be observed, besides, that the return of Dido in the words

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to services already sufficiently insisted on in EIECTUM LITTORE EXCEPI, interpreted as the commentators interpret those words, is as unnecessary—as little strengthens her case—as the mention in the same words of the same services is necessary to and strengthens her case, the words EIECTUM LITTORE EXCEPI being understood to refer to other services, to which the services rendered at the time of the shipwreck were no more than subsidiary and introductory.

LITTORE, not to be taken too literally, or as meaning *arena* or water's edge only, but in that more extended sense in which the Latin *littus* and the English *shore* are so frequently used to signify the whole country, *pars pro toto*, as 3. 44: *

"heu! fuge crudeles terras, fuge *littus* avarum."

That Dido uses the word LITTORE in this its extended, not in its strict and literal, sense; that it is not of the mere liberty accorded to Aeneas of landing—the mere "*hospitium arenae*" which Ilioneus complains of having been denied to the Trojans ("*hospitio prohibemur arenae*," 1. 544)—she speaks, but of the hospitality of the country afforded to him, appears no less from 1. 301:

"haec ait, et Maïa genitum demittit ab alto,
ut terrae, utque novae pateant Carthaginis arces
hospitio Tencris, ne fati nescio Dido
finibus arceret,"

than from the union of EIECTUM LITTORE EXCEPI with REGNI DEMENS IN PARTE LOCAVI—a little incongruous if the reception spoken of in EIECTUM LITTORE EXCEPI be no more than the

mere "hospitium arenae," the landing allowed to a shipwrecked sailor, but quite easy and natural if it was an outcast from his own kingdom Dido had received with hospitality into hers.

EGENTEM, not with Servius LITTORE EGENTEM, but without government, as l. 388 :

"ipse ignotus, *egens*, Libyae deserta peragro."

Claud. in *Rufin.* 1. 299 : "ditem spoliat : tu reddis *egenti*."

EXCEPI.—The objection to the reading EXCEPI that excipere is used by our author elsewhere in a bad sense, as 6. 173 :

"aemulus *exceptum* Triton, si credere dignum est,
inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda,"

is invalid, the word being used, like its English equivalent *to take in*, indifferently in a good and bad sense. See Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 391 :

"*excipit* hospitio iuvenem Philyreius heros."

DEMENS (vs. 374).—Compare Eurip. *Med.* 485 : προθυμος μαλλον η σοφωτερα.

AMISSAM CLASSEM, SOCIOS A MORTE REDUXI (vs. 375).—Why the broken structure here, and in Pindar's otherwise exact parallel (*Ol.* 13. 54, ed. Dissen), ναϊ σωτειραν Αργοι και προπολοις, the unbroken and regular? Plainly because here the injured person, excited, maddened Dido herself, speaks; there the injured person, Medea (Dido's prototype), is spoken of by a third wholly unconcerned person. Not improbably Pindar's passage was in the mind of Virgil.

HEU ! FURIIS INCENSA FEROR (vs. 376).—See Rem. on 2. 131; and observe besides that fero is the verb appropriated to the carrying of fire or of a burning object, as in verse 593; also Ovid, *Met.* 3. 464 (of Narcissus) : "flammas moveoque feroque."

NUNC (vs. 376).—"NUNC seems to mean 'now, just when it is most convenient to him and most fatal to me,' " Conington. No; NUNC is here equivalent to modo. The three NUNCs repeat Aeneas's so many various excuses : *now*, it is AUGUR APOLLO who is sending him away (verse 345) ; *now* it is the

LYCIAE SORTES which are sending him away (verse 346); *now* it is the INTERPRES DIVUM IOVE MISSUS AB IPSO (the exact repetition of Aeneas's words with his very NUNC, verse 356) who is sending him away. Compare Justin. 4. 1: "Ea res facit, ut *nunc* flammas, *nunc* vaporem, *nunc* fumum eructet," *i. e.*, now flames, then vapour, and then again smoke.

IS SUPERIS LABOR EST (vs. 379), theme; EA CURA QUIETOS SOLLICITAT, variation. See Rem. on 1. 550.

381-387.

I SEQUERE ITALIAM VENTIS PETE REGNA PER UNDA
SPERO EQUIDEM MEDIIS SI QUID PIA NUMINA POSSUNT
SUPPLICIA HAUSURUM SCOPULIS ET NOMINE DIDO
SAEPE VOCATURUM SEQUAR ATRIS IGNIBUS ABSENS
ET QUUM FRIGIDA MORS ANIMA SEDUXERIT ARTUS
OMNIBUS UMBRA LOCIS ADERO DABIS IMPROBE POENAS
AUDIAM ET HAEC MANES VENIET MIHI FAMA SUB IMOS

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 381).

Neither the Medicean as represented by Foggini, nor Servius as represented by the Dresden codex, throws much light on the punctuation of this passage; the former presenting us with ITALIAM VENTIS PETE · REGNA P., the latter heading his gloss with I SEQUERE ITALIAM VENTIS, and quoting I SEQUERE ITALIAM VENTIS in his gloss on "Tyrrhenas i sterne acies," 7. 426, and yet in the course of his present gloss remarking: "permiscenda sunt aliqua quae vetent latenter; ut VENTIS PETE REGNA PER UNDA."

ITALIAM VENTIS · PETE ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; Heyne; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Brunck; Wakefield; Ladew.; Ribb.

ITALIAM · VENTIS PETE ■■■ "Sane multi ITALIAM distinguunt," Serv. Voss.

Ennodius, "Verba Didon." (De la Bigne, 6. 289) has: "Vade ulterius; non morabor. Habet vindictam mei via qua deseror; habebit pelagus in furore iudicium; raucos tumentium procellarum aestus exaudiam: vocabis inter pericula Didonis nomen quae et fuit portus, et praebuit; aut certe, quod timeo ne dum vindicor me vivente moriaris; eventum expetitae navigationis post usuram lucis agnoscam: vide sceleribus indebitam mercedem; perire innocens ante cupio, quam merentem"—a fair specimen of the kind of understanding there was of Virgil during the middle ages, up to the time of Julius Scaliger, a period embracing that most renowned of all Virgil's commentators, Servius. Ennodius was a scholar, such as scholars were in those days, a bishop and father of the church, yet he understands Dido not as comforting herself with the prospect of Aeneas's perishing by shipwreck on his way to Italy, but as hoping she may be dead herself before such deserved calamity befalls him. Is it any wonder that Virgil has been taken to be a conjuror and necromancer, and his fourth Eclogue a hymn in honour of the coming of Christ?

VENTIS (vs. 381) certainly belongs to PETE, not to SEQUERE. First, because the expression PETE REGNA PER UNDAE does not sufficiently express "sail in search of kingdoms," expresses rather "search for kingdoms among the waters." Secondly, because while on the one hand we have ITALIAM SEQUOR without any *ventis* at verse 361, and "Italiam sequimur" without any *ventis* at 5. 629, *ventis* or *vento* *petere* is, on the other hand, a very usual form of expression with our author, as 3. 563:

"laevam cuncta cohors remis *ventisque* petivit ;"

2. 25: "vento petiisse Mycenae;" 2. 180: "vento petiere Mycenae." Thirdly, because the reference which Dido plainly makes to Aeneas's own words, ITALIAM NON SPONTE SEQUOR, verse 361, is better made by the exactly repeated expression SEQUERE ITALIAM, than by SEQUERE ITALIAM modified by the addition of VENTIS. Fourthly, because on the general principle that the briefer expression is always the stronger, SEQUERE

ITALIAM is stronger than SEQUERE ITALIAM VENTIS, expresses as forcibly as it is possible for language to express the main gist of the thought, the particularities (viz., the how and the where) being, according to our author's usual habit, reserved for a second sentence, subjoined in the latter, less important, part of the verse. And finally, because whereas we find the vague and imperfect expression *petere littora* completed and made perfect by an explanatory "*ventis*," Ovid, *Met.* 15. 643 :

" quique *petant ventis* Epidauria *littora* mittunt,"

we find no such addition made by the same poet to his repetition, in Dido's epistle to Aeneas, of the Virgilian SEQUERE ITALIAM :

" certus es, Aenea, cum foedere solvere naves,
quaeque ubi sint nescis, *Italia regna sequi*,"

for the plain reason, no doubt, that neither was there any such addition in the Virgilian original, nor occasion either in original or copy for any such addition.*

SEQUERE ITALIAM, theme ; VENTIS PETE REGNA PER UNDA, variation. See Rem. on 1. 550.

NOMINE DIDO SAEPE VOCATURUM.—Not that he will call on Dido either expecting help, or, as Ceyx when drowning calls on Aleyone, affectionately, Ovid, *Met.* 11. 562 :

. . . " plurima nantis in ore
Haleyone coniux. Illam meminitque refertque :
illius ante oculos ut agunt sua corpora fluctus
optat, et exanimis manibus tumuletur *amicis*.
dum natat, absentem, quoties sinit hiscere fluctus,
nominat Haleyonen ipsisque immurmurat undis,"

but, despairing and full of remorse, and regarding his misfor-

* See, however, as tending against the whole of this Remark, Manilius, 5. 40 :

" illa [Argo] quisquis erit terris oriente creatus,
rector erit puppis, clavoque immobilis haerens
mutabit pelago terras, *ventisque sequetur*
fortunam, totumque volet tranare profundum
classibus, atque alios menses, aliumque videre
Phasin, et in cautes Tiphyn superare trementem."

tunes as a merited retribution, that he will ejaculate her name, wish in vain that he had now the power to undo what he had done. Compare Apollon. Rhod. 4. 384 (Medea's imprecation of Jason):

. . . μνησαιο δε και ποτ' εμειο
στρενγομενος καματοισι·

Aesch. *Eumen.* 553 (Chorus of Furies) :

τον αντιτολμον δε φامي παρβαταν
αγοντα πολλα παντοφυρτ' ανευ δικης
βιαιως ξυν χρονω καθησειν
λαιφος, οταν λαβη πονος θρανομενας κεραϊας.
καλει δ' ακουοντας ου-
δεσ εν μεσα δυσπαλει τε δινα.

Senec. *Med.* 20 (Medea cursing Jason) :

“ vivat ; per urbes erret ignotas egens,
exsul, pavens, invisus, incerti laris ;
me coniugem optet.”

SEQUAR ABSENS.—The connexion of these words with the immediately preceding VOCATURUM is this: “you will often ejaculate the name of Dido, *for* the thought of Dido, the recollection of Dido, will haunt you. Dido though absent in person will in thought always be present to you. When you are shipwrecked therefore, as I hope and expect you will be, you will ejaculate my name, the thought of me being always uppermost in your mind.” SEQUAR, then, *I will follow* ; not, with La Cerda, *in consequence of your call* [“Tum, cum me voces, SEQUAR te ego ATRIS: IGNIBUS” ; and again “Vocabis me, et tunc putabis errore mentis me tibi occurrere cum facibus,” La Cerda], but the very opposite: *you will call, because I will always be following you, i. e., will always, though absent in person, be present to your thought*, the identical sentiment, it will be observed, of Ovid's weaker, frailer Dido, however fined down by the less severe, more gallant poet, so as hardly to be recognisable, *Heroid.* 7. 65 :

“ finge age te rapido (nullum sit in omine pondus)
turbine deprendi ; quid tibi mentis erit ?
protinus occurrent falsae periuria linguae,
et Phrygia Dido fraude coacta mori.”

Compare Ovid (*ex Ponto*, 2. 10. 49), writing from Tomi to his friend Macer, at Rome :

“hic es et ignoras; et ades celeberrimus absens;
inque Getas media visus ab urbe venis;”

the key to the meaning of which words, if indeed any key be needed, will be found in the immediately following lines :

“redde vicem : et, quoniam regio felicior ista est,
illuc me *memori* pectore semper habeo.”

Both in our text and in the Ovidian passage the word “absens” shows that not the actual person, but only the recollected person, the recollection of the person is spoken of, just as in Ovid, *Met.* 14, 726 (Iphis addressing Anaxarete) :

“nec tibi Fama mei ventura est nuntia leti :
ipse ego ne dubites, *ad*ero, *praesensque* *videbor*,
corpore ut exanimi crudelia lumina pascas,”

the word “*praesens*” added shows that not the mere recollection of the person, but the actual person, or, the actual person being dead, the actual *umbra* of the person is meant. La Cerda, therefore, who was perfectly aware that it was ^Aabsent Dido who was to persecute Aeneas (*viz.*, the recollection of her as long as she was living, and her imagined, not her real, spectre when she was dead), should not have described the Dido who was to persecute Aeneas by the epithet “*praesens*,” should not have added to his perfectly correct “*imaginaberis me absentem*” his very incorrect “*et te facibus ardentibus armata praesensque persequar*,” but should have added instead, “*et te facibus armata persequar absens* ;” Dido’s meaning being, not that she would be present, but that she would be absent, and only imagined to be present. Had Dido, using the expression *ADERO*, meant the real presence, expressed by *praesens*, and not merely an imagined presence, she would not have said *AUDIAM*, *ET HAEC MANES VENIET MIHI FAMA SUB IMOS* ; she would have said *videbo*, “I will see, and glut my eyes with the sight of your sufferings,” the very sentiments which we find in the so numerous imitations of the passage, *ex. gr.* *Metast.*

Achil. 3. 3 (Deidamia to Achille) :

. . . “ ombra seguace,
presente ovunque sei
vedrò le mie vendette.”

There is not a very dissimilar use of *absens*, 9. 63 (of the wolf outside the sheepfold) :

. . . “ ille asper et improbus ira
saevit in *absentes* ”

[discharges his rage on the absent lamb, discharges his rage on them present only in his imagination].

SEQUAR.—Sequi is here used not in its strict sense, viz., that of following so as to be always behind, but in that looser sense in which *follow* is so often used in English, viz., in the sense of going along with, accompanying, going wherever the followed person goes ; Gr. *αμα επεσθαι*, as Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 471 :

δειναι δ' αμ' επονται
Κηρες αναπλακτητοι.

See Rem. on “sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis,” 2. 724. SEQUAR is modified by *ABSENS* in the same way as *ADERO* is modified by *UMBRA*. SEQUAR, “I will follow you, and yet not I, for I shall be far away (*ABSENS*), only the recollection of me;” *ADERO*, “I will be present, and yet not I, only an image of me, my imagined *UMBRA*.” A similar recollection of absent Aeneas, even a similar haunting of the imagination by his image, is ascribed to Dido herself, verse 83: “illum absens absentem auditque videtque.” The only difference is that in this case, there being no remorse, there are no “*atris ignibus*;” and, Aeneas not being dead, it is Aeneas himself who is imagined to be present, not his “*umbra*.”

ATRIS IGNIBUS.—“Alii furiarum facibus dicunt . . . Alii sociorum facibus . . . Melius tamen est ut . . . accipiamus ATRIS IGNIBUS, rogalibus,” Servius. The first of these interpretations has been adopted by Heyne, the last by Jahn, Wagner at one time preferring the one, at another time the other. To each interpretation I object alike that it blends and confounds together two clauses which are as sharply distinguished from each other as any two clauses joined together by the conjunction *et*

can easily be, viz., the clause that the recollection of her will haunt Aeneas after he has parted from her (SEQUAR ATRIS IGNIBUS ABSENS; see above), and the clause that when she is dead her ghost will haunt him (CUM FRIGIDA MORS ANIMA SEDUXERIT ARTUS OMNIBUS UMBRA LOCIS ADERO). The two clauses being so separate, and the first clause concerning the living Dido alone, as wholly as the second clause concerns only the dead Dido, ATRIS IGNIBUS cannot be either the firebrands of the furies (*i. e.*, a firebrand borne in the hands of Dido who has become Aeneas's fury), or the flames 'of Dido's funeral pile. What is it, then? I reply: the fires of a guilty conscience; the stings, as we say, of conscience; as if Dido had said: "the recollection of me will prey upon you, will gnaw and consume you, will be fire in your bosom." Compare Quinet. *Declam.* 12. 14: "*Malae conscientiae facibus agitatus.*" Horace, *Epod.* 5. 79:

" priusque caelum sidet inferius mari,
tellure porrecta super,
quam non amore sic meo flagres, uti
bitumen atris ignibus,"

where the passion of love is allegorized by the smoky or gloomy fire of burning bitumen, just as in our text the passion of remorse is allegorized by similar smoky or gloomy fire, the only difference being that Horace's subject, as less dignified, permitted, while Virgil's more dignified subject forbade, the actual mention of the material origin of the fire by which the passion was typified.

ET connects together the two different periods, viz., the period preceding and the period following Dido's death, also the punishments attached to the two different periods respectively: "while I am still alive the thought of me will be fire in your bosom; when I am dead, you will think you see my ghost everywhere." Compare Cic. *pro Milon.* (ed. Lamb.), p. 558: "Esse hanc [viz., gloriam] unam, quae brevitatem vitae posteritatis memoria consolaretur; quae efficeret, ut *absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus*," where there is the same division as in our text of the future into the immediate future and the more distant future, the immediate being that during which

we are still living, the more distant that which follows our decease; the former spoken of in the words "absentes adessemus" ("while we are alive, we shall, although absent, be present everywhere, be in everybody's mind and mouth"), corresponding exactly to Virgil's SEQUAR ATRIS IGNIBUS ABSENS, and the latter spoken of in the words, "mortui viveremus" ("when we are dead we will be alive in everyone's recollection and imagination"), corresponding exactly to Virgil's ET, CUM FRIGIDA MORS ANIMA SEDUXERIT ARTUS, OMNIBUS LOCIS ADERO.

DABIS POENAS embraces the entire punishment, that which Aeneas is to suffer while Dido is still alive and that which he is to suffer after her death. DABIS, IMPROBE, POENAS, is equivalent to: *you will suffer the punishment your villainy deserves.* AUDIAM, ET HÆC MANES VENIET MIHI FAMA SUB IMOS expresses the pleasure which she will feel in Hades when the news arrives there of the tortures of remorse he is suffering. Preserving the text as it now stands, the connexion of Dido's thoughts is natural and clear: there is, first, the perfidious lover's punishment as long as Dido lives, then the continuance and aggravation of that punishment after her death, and lastly the satisfaction it will afford her to hear of all in Hades. Change the order of the verses with Peerlkamp, so as to place 386 after 384, and verse 385 after 386, and you make Dido an UMBRA before she is dead. Omit, with Ribbeck, either of the verses which seem to him tautologous, viz., either 386 or 387 ("Mihi poeta non absolvisse videtur hunc locum: nam aut 386 aut 387 abundat"), and you have in the former case no UMBRA of Dido at all; in the latter, Dido left without even the poor satisfaction of hearing in Hades that a righteous retribution had overtaken her betrayer. Those commentators who agree with Heyne and Jahn in adopting Servius's first interpretation of IGNIBUS ATRIS, viz., that those words are equivalent to the torches of the furies, and that Dido's meaning is that after her death she will become his persecuting fury ("tanquam aliqua furia, persequens nocentem facesque intentans, ABSENS absentem Aeneam exoruciatura est," Wagner, 1861), should have remembered that, however great Aeneas's ingratitude towards Dido, and

however morally base his desertion of her, still he was only indirectly the cause of her death, his crime might be considered as innocence itself in comparison with that of Orestes, and that although Virgil might be excused as a poet for likening (verse 471) the rage of Dido to that of Orestes, it had been wholly inexcusable in him to represent Dido as herself likening herself to a fury, nay as threatening *totidem verbis* to act the part of one. Such extravagance of conception were to be expected in Statius or Seneca, hardly in Virgil; such extravagance of action in Medea, hardly in Dido. A poet usually so discreet and judicious would not have been guilty of such an out-Heroding of Herod, and Virgil's Dido—however indignant, however transported with just passion, however she might, even in her last moments, have enjoyed a lover's revenge (vs. 661 :

“ hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omnia mortis ”—

never could for one instant have thought of her spectre's performing the part of Aeneas's fury, and pursuing him with snakes and firebrands. The *ATRIS IGNIBUS* with which she threatens him are fires with which she will visit him as long as she lives, the fires, viz., which he will feel consuming his heart as often as he thinks of her; *ET CUM FRIGIDA MORS ANIMA SEDUXERIT ARTUS*, and after her death it is not her real spectre, but (see below) her imagined figure will be present everywhere before his eyes. It is not she who is to torment him or to take any trouble about him; he is to be his own tormentor, and she below in Hades is to hear of it—

DABIS, IMPROBE, POENAS :

AUDIAM, ET HAEC MANES VENIET MIHI FAMA SUB IMOS :

not *I will punish you*, or *my spectre will punish you*, but *you will suffer punishment*, and *I shall hear of it*. Greater care could not be taken to show that, living or dead, Dido was to have nothing to do with the retribution with which she threatened Aeneas; living she was to be absent (*ABSENS*), dead she was to be in Hades and there to hear of his torments (*AUDIAM, ET HAEC MANES VENIET MIHI FAMA SUB IMOS*), the torments inflicted

upon him by his own conscience. Compare Quintil. *Declam.* 12. 28: "Meum sane conscientia urunt animum intus scele-
rum faces; et quoties facta reputavi, flagella mentis sonant;
ultrices video furias, et in quamcunque me partem converti,
occurrunt umbrae meorum: habitant nescio quae in pectore
meo poenae."

UMBRA (vs. 386).—Not the real UMBRA of Dido, for that
had been Dido's self who is represented as being at the time in
Hades, and only hearing by report what was going on on
earth, but the image of Dido, which Aeneas shall continually
imagine he sees, so as continually to imagine that Dido's ghost
is present, while all the while nothing is present but an ima-
gined figure. A good example of an unreal umbra or image
of this kind, a purely imaginary figure visible to no one else
but the single person who imagined it, is the εἰδωλον of Argus
which persecuted Io, Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 569:

χρειε τις αυ με ταλαιναν οιστρος,
ειδωλον Αργου γηγενους. αλευ' ω δα,
φοβουμαι τον μυριωπον εισορωσα βουταν.
ο δε πορευεται δολιον ομμ' εχων,
ον ουδε κατθανουσα γαια κευθει·
αλλ' εμε την ταλαιναν εξ ενερων περων
κυναγεται.

Another example of the same kind of εἰδωλον or umbra is the
figure which appeared to Brutus before the battle of Philippi, a
figure which none of his attendants saw, and which, as his friend
Cassius truly told him, was the mere fiction of his imagination,
Plutarch, *Brut.*: "Ημετερος ουτος," ειπεν, "ω Βρουτε, λογος,
ως ου παντα πασχομεν αληθως ουδ' ορωμεν, αλλ' υγρον-μεν τι
χρημα και απατηλον αισθησις." Compare Quintil. *Declam.* 12.
28, just quoted. Liv. 40 (of Philip, king of the Macedonians,
who had killed his son Demetrius): "Animo aegrum magis
fuisse quam corpore constat, curisque et vigiliis, cum identidem
species et umbrae insontis interempti filii eum *Diris agitarent.*"
Senec. *Controv.* 3: "*Dii manes Popilii senis occisi et inultae*
patris umbrae, Cicero, te persequuntur." It is with a similar
imagined image of Sesto (executed through her fault) that Vi-
tellia threatens herself, Metast. *Clemenza di Tito*, 3. 11:

. . . " ah! mi vedrei
sempre Sesto d' intorno ;"

with a similarly imagined image of Darius, murdered by his order, Artaxerxes threatens himself, *Id. Artas. 1. 10* :

. . . " del mio rimorso
la voce ognor mi sonerà nel core.
vedrò del genitore,
del germano vedrò l'ombra sdegnate
i miei torbidi giorni, i sonni miei,
funestar minacciando ;"

and with a similarly imagined image of Toanto who she pretends is dead, Issipile pretends she is haunted, *Issipile, 2. 4* :

. . . " l'immagine funesta
sempre mi sta su gli occhi ; in ogni loco
siegue la fuga mia ; mi chiama ingrata ;
mi sgrida ; mi rinfaccia
che vide per mia colpa il giorno estremo."

An exact parallel to this part of Dido's imprecation of Aeneas will be found in the imprecation of Canidia and her sister witches by the youthful victim of their sorceries, *Hor. Epod. 5. 89* :

" Diris agam vos ; dira detestatio
nulla expiatur victima.
quin ubi perire iussus expiravero,
nocturnus occurrat furor ;
petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus
(quae vis deorum est manium) ;
et inquietis assidens praecordiis
pavore somnos auferam,"

where we have the similar division of the threat into what the threatener will do while still living, viz., that he will detest and execrate them (*Horace's "Diris"* and "*dira detestatio*" answering to *Virgil's ATRIS IGNIBUS*), and what he will do when dead, viz., haunt them with his ghost (*Horace's "umbra"* being shown by the explanatory "*nocturnus furor*," and "*inquietis assidens praecordiis*," and "*quae vis deorum est manium*," to be an imagined umbra, nightmare, or incubus, as unreal as *Virgil's*, and perfectly answering to the imagined UMBRA, which in the shape of Dido was always to haunt Aeneas).

ET, CUM FRIGIDA MORS ANIMA SEDUXERIT ARTUS.—To understand these words, with Servius, as an intimation of intended suicide (“occidam me”), is not only contrary to the entire gist of the immediate context, both as shown in the preceding part of this comment and as plainly indicated by the distinguishing copulative (ET), but to the entire narrative, which distinctly represents the thought of suicide as first occurring to Dido *after* she sees that not only has this her second expostulation with Aeneas failed of effect, but that embarkation is actually taking place :

QUOSVE DARAS GEMITUS, CUM LITTORA FERVERE LATE
PROSPICERES ARCE EX SUMMA, TOTUMQUE VIDERES
MISCERI ANTE OCULOS TANTIS CLAMORIBUS AEQUOR ?

Then, and then only, does the thought of self-destruction occur to Dido (verse 415, MORITURA), and even then only with the reserve that she will first make another attempt to move Aeneas from his determination (NE QUID INEXPERTUM RELINQUAT). How natural it is that deeply wronged persons should threaten not only with vengeance as long as they live but with vengeance after their death will appear at once to anyone who considers how instinctively the human mind carries all its thoughts, whether of pleasure or pain, whether of action or passion, into a world which it imagines for itself beyond the present, how instinctively it carries them thither, without allowing even so much as the slightest severance of their attachments and relations to the world they have left. How usual it is for deeply wronged persons so to threaten (viz., with a posthumous no less than a living revenge) is shown not only by Horace’s just quoted

“quin ubi perire iussus expiravero,” &c.,

the exact counterpart of the Virgilian

ET, CUM FRIGIDA MORS ANIMA SEDUXERIT ARTUS, &c.,

and by the threatening of Hyllus by Hercules, Soph. *Trachin.* (Capper.) 1217 :

. . . εἰ δὲ μὴ, μένω σ' ἐγώ,
καὶ νερθεὺν ὧν, ἀπαιὸς εἰσαεὶ βαρὺς,

but by the execration of the Ovidian Ibis carried beyond the

life not merely of the execrator, but even of the execrated, verse 141 :

. . . . " nec mors mihi finiet iras,
saeva sed in manes manibus arma dabit,"

and verse 197 :

" nec mortis poenas mors altera finiet huius;
horaque erit tantis ultima nulla malis."

Lastly, how terrible this posthumous revenge was generally held to be, how infinitely worse than the worst revenge of a living person, is deducible as a corollary from the supernatural powers, whether for good or for ill, supposed to be acquired at the moment of death, supposed to be conferred by the mere translation from the state of life to that of "*dii manes*" (Horace, *ubi supra* : "*quae vis deorum est manium*").

Fine, however, as this passage is, and it is one of our author's finest, it is not without its faults. SEQUAR immediately following VOCATURUM unavoidably suggests the connexion of *following* in consequence of the *call*—a connexion than which nothing could have been farther (see above) from our author's thoughts ; and IGNIBUS ATRIS—no more, as I have shown, than the figurative fires of a guilty conscience—stands in so close relation to SEQUAR as no less unavoidably to suggest, not indeed the "faces" with which Dido's "*socii*" were, according to Servius's second interpretation, to pursue Aeneas, nor yet the "faces" of Dido's pyre, which were, according to Servius's third interpretation, to follow with a bad omen the departure of Aeneas, but the "faces" with which Dido's spectre was, according to Servius's first interpretation, to pursue Aeneas. These false suggestions, this I may almost say perplexing ambiguity, is, as I think, wholly owing to want of sufficient circumspection on the part of the author, who, having expressed the thought present in his mind, is content, and passes on without pausing to examine his expression in all its relations, and see that it may not suggest to the reader something different from, something perhaps having no relation at all to, the matter in hand. A similar ambiguity arising from the same cause will

be found, 2. 361, the “*illius noctis*” of which verse necessarily suggests the “*nox*” of the preceding, although nothing can be farther from the mind of the poet, or more subversive of the entire sense, than any reference from the one word to the other: see Rem. on “*illius noctis*,” 2. 361. In like manner, “*Iliaci cineres*,” 2. 431, meaning, as I have shown, *Ilians dead*, but capable also of meaning *ashes of burnt Ilium*, cannot fail to suggest the latter utterly false sense, and has been actually understood in such utterly false sense by the commentators, because the author, in his anxiety to write finely rounded verses, with strikingly antithetic clauses, has not taken sufficient pains to determine and define for the reader the sense in which he uses the ambiguous expression—a neglect for which neither in this case nor in that other parallel case just adduced is there even so much as the excuse which may perhaps be put forward for the neglect in our text, viz., our author’s own sympathetic passion hurrying him on and making him unobservant of the ambiguity of his expression. See Rem. on 2. 431.

AUDIAM ET HÆC MANES VENIET MIHI FAMA SUB IMOS.—
Compare Pind. *Ol.* 8. 79:

κατακρυπτει δ' ου κονις
συγγονων κεδναν χαριν,
Ερμα δε θυγατρος ακουσαις Ιφιων
Αγγελιας ενεποι κεν Καλλιμαχω λιπαρον
κοσμον Ολυμπια, ον σφι Ζευς γενει
ωπασεν,

where Boeckh: “*Iphion apud inferos fortunam filii comperit: igitur non a vulgari nuncius ministro affertur sed a dea in hunc usum poetica libertate ficta, Αγγελιαν dico Mercurii animarum deductoris et deorum praeconis filiam.*”

391-401.

SUSCIPUNT—CERNAS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 399).

REMOS ■ *Pal., Med.* ■■ 34. ■■■ “FRONDENTESQUE FERUNT, non qui erant, sed qui esse poterant, ut ‘quos ego sum totiens iam dedignata maritos,’” Servius (cod. Dresd.) (where, inasmuch as “non qui erant sed qui esse poterant” can only mean “non qui erant *remi*, sed qui esse *remi* poterant,” the conclusion is inevitable that Servius not only read REMOS, but wholly ignored RAMOS); princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1486; Mil. 1475, 1492; Brese.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671); Philippe; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., and *Praest.*); Voss (“RAMOS ist die erklärang der noch ungefertigten ruder”); Haupt; Ribbeck.

RAMOS ■■ 31. ■■■ La Cerda.

SUSCIPUNT FAMULAE, COLLAPSAQUE MEMBRA MARMOREO REFERUNT THALAMO STRATISQUE REPONUNT (vv. 391-2).—Compare Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 6: Εκ τουτου δη οι ευνουχοι και αι θεραπαιναι λαβουσαι αυτην [Panthea] απηγον εις την αρμαμαξαν, και κατακλιναντες κατεκαλυψαν τη σκηνη.

CLASSEM REVISIT (vs. 397).—RE, *again*; sciz. after his long neglect and absence.

TUM VERO TEUCRI INCUMBUNT (vs. 397).—TUM VERO, *then indeed, and*, by implication, *not till then*. See Remm. on 2. 105, 228; 3. 47; 4. 499, 571; 5. 659. The reference is to the orders previously given (verse 282) to prepare for sailing, which orders the crews did not seriously set about executing until Aeneas himself made his appearance amongst them. Compare 9. 73:

“tum vero incumbunt. Urget praesentia Turni.”

Alfieri, misunderstanding the two words TUM VERO, represents Aeneas as finding the Trojans, when he arrives among them, already engaged in performing those acts which Virgil de-

scribes them as performing only in consequence of his arrival among them :

. . . “un dio,
che severo lo incalza, e spinge, e sforza
suoi passi là, dove le navi eccelse
varando stanno gli operosi Teueri.
le spalmate carene galleggianti,
e le nuove ali dei trascelti remi,
e, onor de' boschi, le novelle antenne,
presta ogni cosa Enea trova al far vela,”

a translation very much in the reckless style of our own Dryden. It must not be forgotten, however, in any comparison of Alfieri's translation of the *Æneid* with Dryden's, that Alfieri's, so far as it was revised by him (viz., as far as the 656th line of the third book), is very superior to the above specimen, while Dryden's translation is, from beginning to end, uniformly coarse and reckless, and, except in the story, has little more resemblance to the *Æneid* than the *Davidis* has to *Paradise Lost*.

FRONDENTESQUE FERUNT REMOS (vs. 399).—My daughter having pointed out to me the expression “stringere remos,” l. 556 (*αποξυουσιν ερετρα*, Hom. *Od.* 6. 269), I no longer doubt that REMOS, and not, as I had previously supposed, RAMOS, is the true reading; FRONDENTES REMOS corresponding perfectly to remos non strictos. Compare the similarly extemporized cages for wild beasts, Claud. *Cons. Stilich.* 3. 324:

. . . “rudibus fagis texuntur et ornīs
frondentes cavcae.”

Nor let Valerius Flaccus's (8. 287)

“illi autem intorquent *truncis frondentibus undam*”

be adduced as affording support to the reading RAMOS. Valerius Flaccus's “truncis frondentibus” are declared plainly enough by the adjoined words “intorquent undam” to be spars used as oars or in place of oars, whereas there is nothing in our author's context to show that RAMOS were anything but spars. In our author's text REMOS is necessary in order to express the idea that what the Trojans brought with them out of the wood was intended to serve for oars. This meaning

is fully expressed by FRONDENTES REMOS; not expressed at all by FRONDENTES RAMOS.

MIGRANTES CERNAS (vs. 401).—In order to perceive the perfect beauty and correctness of this simile the reader must bear in mind that, as appears from the use of the verb *cernere*, to discern or distinguish from a distance by means of the sight (compare Venus pointing out to Aeneas the distant towers of Carthage, “ubi nunc ingentia cernis moenia,” &c., 1. 369; and Cic. 4 Acad. 25: “Ego Catuli Cumanam ex hoc loco regionem video, Pompeianum non *cerno*; neque quidquam interiectum est, quod obstat; sed intendi longius acies non potest”), and from the still more precise PROSPICERES ARCE EX SUMMA (vs. 410), the view is supposed to be taken from a considerable distance. So seen from a considerable distance, the crowds of Trojans hurrying backwards and forwards, and carrying to the ships the various provisions and equipments necessary for their speedy departure and long voyage, could not be compared to any other natural object so correctly and beautifully as to a swarm of ants CUM POPULANT, &c. Compare S. Basil. in *Hexaemeron. Homil. 6. 9* (ed. Garnier, 1839): Εἰ ποτε ἀπο ἀκρῶρειας μεγάλης πεδίων εἶδες πολὺν τε καὶ ὑπτιον, ἡλικά μιν σοὶ τῶν βῶων κατεφανή τα ζευγὴ; πηλικοὶ δὴ οἱ ἀροτρῆες αὐτοὶ; εἰ μὴ μυρμηκῶν τίνα σοὶ παρῆσχον φαντασίαν.

407-430.

CASTIGANTQUE—FERENTES

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vs. 416).

LITTORE CIRCUM. UNDIQ. ■ *Med.* (Fogg.). ■■■ Servius (cod. Dresd.); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins.; Gesner; Brunck; Voss.
LITTORE · CIRCUM UNDIQ. ■■■ Markl. (ad Stat. *Silv.* 2. 5); Wakef.; Heyne; Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Ladew.; Ribb.

CASTIGANTQUE MORAS (vs. 407).—Not *punish*, but *call to order*, *rebuke*, *loiterers*. See Rem. on 5. 387; 6. 567; and compare Mart. 10. 104:

... "iam tumidus vocat magister [navis sciz.]
castigatque moras, et aura portum
laxavit melior,"

With vv. 408-411 :

QUIS TIBI TUNC, DIDO, CERNENTI TALIA SENSUS?
QUOSVE DABAS GEMITUS, CUM LITTORA FERVERE LATE
PROSPICERES¹ ARCE EX SUMMA, TOTUMQUE VIDEREN
MISCERI ANTE OCULOS TANTIS CLAMORIBUS AEQUOR ?

compare vv. 586-591 :

"regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
littoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum,
flaventesque abscissa comas, 'Pro Iupiter! ibit
hie,' ait, 'et nostris illuserit advena regnis?'"

Also Soph. *Philoct.* 276 (Philoctetes describing to Neoptolemus his distress at seeing the Grecian fleet sailing away after it had left him on the desolate island) :

συ δῆ, τέκνον, ποίαν μ' ἀναστασιν δοκεῖς,
αὐτῶν βεβῶτων, ἐξ ὑπνου στήναι τότε ;
ποῖ' ἐκδακρυσαί ; ποῖ' ἀποιμῶζαι κάκα ;
οῶντα μὲν ναὺς, ἀς ἐχῶν ἐναυστολοῦν,
πάσας βεβῶσας, ἀνδρά δ' οὐδεν' ἐντοπον,
οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκεσεῖεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νοσσοῦ
καμνοντι συλλαβοῖτο.

NE QUID INEXPERTUM FRUSTRA MORITURA RELINQUAT (vs. 415).—"Servius ita accipit, ut FRUSTRA ex poetae iudicio sit : ut omnia experiatur, sed FRUSTRA ! Scilicet turbabat illa vox, cum quaereretur de verborum ordine. Alii iungunt FRUSTRA MORITURA, sc. si quidquam intentatum reliquisset. . . . Saltem melior locus τῷ FRUSTRA in structura exputari nequit," Heyne. "Brevitatem et poeticam dicendi rationem nota pro vulgari ne, si quid inexpertum relinquat, frustra moriatur. Verba a cogitatione Didus pendent," Wunderlich. In Wunderlich's

words lies the whole secret of the constant mal-interpretation of Virgil—poetic brevity. He might have omitted brevity and said simply poetry; for a man of a prosaic, matter-of-fact mind may clearly understand and perfectly explain Tacitus, but let, none but a poet ever hope to comprehend, much less successfully expound, Virgil. He will never be able to see the wood for the number of trees.

NE QUID INEXPERTUM FRUSTRA MORITURA RELINQUAT, *i. e.*, NE QUID INEXPERTUM *relinquens*, *moriatur* FRUSTRA; for it is plain that her death would have been FRUSTRA (= *thrown away*, or *to no purpose*) if there was anything she could yet do which would have the effect of changing the determination of Aeneas. Compare Lucan, 7. 730 :

. . . "viles animas perituraque frustra
agmina permisit vitæ"

[spared those whose lives were of so little importance that to take them would have served no purpose]; Liv. 22. 22 : "Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse," in both which places "frustra" is *in vain*, *to no purpose*, *sine ratione*, exactly as Lamartine, *Hist. des Girondins*, 44. 8 : "Elle [Charlotte de Corday] étudia les choses, les hommes, les circonstances, pour que son courage ne fût pas trompé, et que son sang ne fût pas vain." NE QUID INEXPERTUM RELINQUAT is exactly the "ne quid ultimæ rationis omitteret" of Ammian. 29. 5. Our author has been forced, as so often elsewhere, by the necessity of his metre into a rather incorrect expression. The correct expression had been as above : NE QUID INEXPERTUM *relinquens*, FRUSTRA *moriatur*.

ANNA, VIDES TOTO PROPERARI LITTORE CIRCUM; UNDIQUE CONVENERE (vv. 416-7).—I agree entirely with the Medicean, Servius, and the more ancient commentators. Compare 5. 293 :

"undique conveniunt Tæneri, mixtique Sicani."

9. 720 :

"undique conveniunt, quoniam data copia pugnae."

2. 799 :

"undique convenere, animis opibusque parati."

Ciris, 452 :

“ æquoreæ pestes, immania corpora ponti,
undique conveniunt.”

*Cic. in *Verr.* 3. 149 : “ Testis est tota provincia, propterea quod undique ad emendas decumas solent eo *convenire*.” Ingenuity could hardly invent a greater awkwardness than to begin a new sentence with a half word at the end of a line. **UNDIQUE**, so emphatic first word in the sentence and first word in the line, loses all emphasis as soon as it becomes the tail of a word whose head closes the preceding line. Markland’s conjectures never show taste, and this is no exception.

PUPPIBUS ET LAETI NAUTAE IMPOSUERE CORONAS (vs. 418). —The corona was placed, no doubt, on the head of the tutela or guardian divinity of the vessel. Such crowning was only what was to be expected on leaving port as in the present case, and Ovid, *Met.* 15. 696 ; *Eust.* 4. 335, in order to propitiate the god ; and on entering port as in the first Georgic, 304, in order to testify gratitude to the deity who had conducted the vessel safely through the dangers of the sea.

HUNC EGO SI POTUI TANTUM SPERARE DOLOREM, ET PERFERRE, SOROR, POTERO.—As if she had said : “ I expected and will be able to bear this great grief ; ” in other words, “ this is no more than I expected, and I will be able to bear it.” **SI** expresses not doubt but consequence : “ since I expected,” or “ inasmuch as I expected.” The sentiment has been variously expressed by various poets, as :

“ nam prævisa minus lædere tela solent.”

Dante, *Parad.* 17. 27 :

“ chè saetta prevista vien più lenta.”

Goethe, *Tasso*, 3. 2 :

“ nur halb ist der verlust des schönsten glücks,
wenn wir auf den besitz nicht sicher zählten.”

The reader has already had in the words “ omnia tuta timens,” verse 298, an inkling that Dido had, from the very

first, a misgiving that her felicity with Aeneas was too great to be of long continuance.

ET PERFERRE POTERO.—Compare Schiller, *Maria Stuart*, I. 2: “ich kann auch das verschmerzen.” We may paraphrase HUNC EGO . . . POTERO thus: “Little as this trouble was to be expected, I nevertheless expected it; hard as it is to bear, I will bear it to the end, and triumph over it.” In other words: “In the same way as I was able to expect this little to be expected trouble, I will, great as it is and intolerable as it seems, be able to bear it to the end and triumph over it.”

PERFERRE, *bear to the end, bear thoroughly, completely, and perfectly.* See Sen. *Thyest.* 305:

SATELLES. “iam tempus illi [Thyesti] fecit aerumnas leves.

ATREUS. erras: malorum sensus accrescit die.
leve est miseriae ferre, perferre est grave.”

with which compare Mart. 9. 70:

“nam vigilare leve est, pervigilare grave.”

See also Sen. *de Benef.* 3. 37: “Aeneas tulit patrem per ignes, et (quid non pietas potest?) pertulit, colendumque inter conditores Romani imperii posuit.”

NON EGO, &c., . . . AURES? (vv. 425-428).—Compare Silius’s very happy imitation, 6. 504 (ed. Ruperti):

“non ego Amyclaeum ductorem in praelia misi,
nec nostris tua sunt circumdata colla catenis;
cur usque ad Poenos miseram fugis?”

Also Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 225:

“non ego, cum rapido saeviret Phlegra tumultu,
signa deis adversa tuli; non robore nostro
Ossa pruinosa vexit glacialis Olympum.
quod conata nefas, aut cuius conscia noxae
exul ad immanes Erebi detrudor hiatus?”

Hom. *II.* 21. 95 (Priam’s son Lycaon praying Achilles to spare his life):

μη με κτειν', επει ουχ ομογαστριος Εκτορος ειμι.
ος τοι εταiron επεφην ενηεα τε, κρατερον τε.

FERENTES (vs. 430).—*Carrying, bearing, impelling onward.*
Compare 7. 594: “ferimurque procella” [are now borne onward by the blast]. Lucan, 1. 393:

“Caesar ut acceptum tam prono milite bellum,
fataque ferre videt.”

433-436.

TEMPUS INANE PETO REQUIEM SPATIUMQUE FURORI
DUM MEA ME VICTAM DOCEAT FORTUNA DOLERE
EXTREMAM HANC ORO VENIAM MISERERE SORORIS
QUAM MIHI CUM DEDERIS CUMULATAM MORTE REMITTAM

VAR. LECT.

DEDERIS CUMULATAM . . . REMITTAM ■ “In Mediceo, in Porcio, et antiquis aliis codd. REMITTAM legitur,” Pierius. ■■ $\frac{4}{3}$. ■■■ Princ.; Ven. 1472; R. Steph.; Burm.; Voss; Brunck; Wakefield; Jahn; Heyne; Wagner (ed. Heyn. & Praest.); Ladew.; Haupt.

DEDERIS CUMULATA . . . REMITTAM ■■ $\frac{1}{3}$. ■■■ N. Heins. (all 4 eds. & ap. Burm.)

DEDERIT CUMULATAM . . . REMITTAM ■ *Pal.* ■■ $\frac{1}{3}$. ■■■ Ribbeck.

DEDERIT CUMULATA . . . REMITTAM ■ *Med.* ■■ $\frac{1}{3}$.

DEDERIS CUMULATAM . . . RELINQUAM* ■■ $\frac{1}{3}$ † ■■■ Servius (cod. Dresd.); Ven. 1470, 1471, 1475; Milan, 1475, 1492; Mod.; Brescia; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Paris, 1600; D. Heins.

DEDERIS CUMULATUM . . . REMITTAM ■■■ Philippe.

DEDERIT CUMULATUM . . . REMITTAM ■■■ Pott., *ex coniectura*.

* Ciampolo di Meco degli Ugharuggieri of Siena, who translated the Aeneid into prose about the year 1250, and whose still unprinted MS. is preserved in the public library of Siena, must have read RELINQUAM, for he translates the verse thus: “Il quale beneficio quando mi laverai dato io *ellassero* accresciuto della morte (perchio muccidero).”

† The five remaining MSS. of the seventy-three are not quoted, their readings being manifest errors of the transcriber.

TEMPUS INANE PETO, REQUIEM SPATIUMQUE FURORI.—The first part of the line is explained by the latter. The TEMPUS INANE Dido prays for is REQUIEM SPATIUMQUE FURORI, time to rest from her passion, time to let her passion subside. Compare Senec. *Agam.* 2. 129 :

“proin quidquid est, *da tempus ac spatium tibi*,
quod ratio non quit, saepe sanavit mora.”

Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 82 : “Nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec *tempore ac spatio* vanescerent.” Metast. *Achill.* 3. 3 (Deidamia entreating Achilles to defer his departure) :

. . . “ma già ch’io deggio
restar senza di te, sia meno atroce,
sia men subito il colpo. Abbia la mia
vacillante virtù *tempo* a raccorre
le forze sue. Chiedo un sol giorno ; e poi
vattene in pace,”

a passage which, like so many of the best passages of the Italian poets and especially of Metastasio and Tasso, is a mere appropriation from our author. See Rem. on “*hoc spatium tantumque morae*,” 10. 400.

DUM MEA ME VICTAM DOCEAT FORTUNA DOLERE.—Compare Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 44 : “Ac postquam spernebatur, noctem unam ad solatium poscit, qua delinitus, *modum in posterum adhiberet*.” Quint. Curt. 4. 42 (Darius speaking) : “Didici esse infelix.”

EXTREMAM HANC ORO VENIAM (MISERERE SORORIS), QUAM MIHI CUM DEDERIS CUMULATAM MORTE REMITTAM.—“Locus intricatissimus, et ab omnibus vexatus variis coniecturis,” Burmann. “Mihi quidem fateor nondum videri expeditum hunc locum, ac vereor ne in desperatis habendus sit,” Wagner. “Haec nemo unquam intellexit, neque intelliget,” Peerlkamp. Time will perhaps be better spent in attempting a new solution of this famous Virgilian *nodus* than in showing the inadequacy of the solutions already proposed : “for which favour I will, when dead, repay and more than repay you ;” *i. e.*, “my *manes* will be *pii* towards you, will be *boni et propitii* towards you.” MORTE, *i. e.*, in MORTE, *mortua*, “when I am dead, after my

death." QUAM (VENIAM) REMITTAM, "which favour I will return, repay." CUMULATAM, "and more than repay" (compare Cic. in *Verr.* 5. 64: "cum hæc omnia, quæ polliceor, *cumulate* proximis tuis plana fecero" [shall have more than made plain]. Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 82 (of the report of the recovery of Germanicus): "Statim credita, statim vulgata sunt; ut quisque obvius, quamvis leviter audita, in alios, atque illi in plures *cumulata* gaudio transferunt" [magnified (exaggerated) by joy]). HANC VENIAM "the favour which I have just begged of you," viz., "that you be the bearer to Aeneas of my last prayer to him." No words can be more proper and becoming and natural for one sister to use toward another: "do this for me, and my spirit when I die will be your guardian angel." No payment for a favour could be more in conformity with the Roman ways of thinking. Compare *Ecl.* 5. 65, where Menalcas prays to the dead Daphnis to be good and propitious to him: "sis bonus, O, felixque tuis;" also *Aen.* 5. 59, where Aeneas begs the favour of fair winds and a prosperous navigation from his dead parent, Anchises, *i. e.*, from his dead parent's manes; also *Aen.* 12. 646, Turnus's prayer to the manes to be propitious to him: "vos O, mihi, manes, esto boni."

Let us see if a confirmation of this interpretation is not afforded by Dido's letter to Aeneas, Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. Every one of the arguments put by Virgil into the mouth of Dido on this occasion is repeated by Ovid:

NON EGO CUM DANAIS TROIANAM EXSCINDERE GENTEM
AULIDE IURAVI, CLASSEMVE AD PERGAMA MISI;
NEC PATRIS ANCHISÆ CINEREM MANESVE REVELLI

has its parallel in

"non ego sum Phthias, magnisve oriunda Mycenis;
nec steterunt in te virque paterque meus."

EXPECTET FACILEMQUE FUGAM VENTOSQUE FERENTES:
NON IAM CONIUGIUM ANTIQUM QUOD PRODIDIT ORO,
NEC PULCHRO UT LATIO CAREAT REGNUMQUE RELINQUAT.
TEMPUS INANE PETO, REQUIEM SPATIUMQUE FURORI,
DUM MEA ME VICTAM DOCEAT FORTUNA DOLERE

has its parallel in

“ pro meritis et siqua tibi præbebimus ultra,
pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto.
dum freta mitescunt et amor, dum tempore et usu
fortiter edisco tristia posse pati,”

and in

“ si pudet uxoris, non nupta sed hospita dicar;
dum tua sit Dido, quidlibet esse feret.”

These are the arguments addressed by Dido to Aeneas, in Virgil through the intervention of her sister, in Ovid through the medium of a letter. In the two poets they are very nearly *totidem verbis* the same. But besides the arguments themselves, which are to operate on Aeneas, there is in Virgil the personal entreaty to her sister to be their bearer :

I, SOROR, ATQUE HOSTEM SUPPLEX AFFARE SUPERBUM
.
.
.
EXTREMAM HANC ORO VENIAM (MISERERE SORORIS),
QUAM MIHI CUM DEDERIS CUMULATAM MORTE REMITTAM.

These words, being addressed to her sister, could of course have no place in a letter addressed to Aeneas, the exact parallelism ceases of necessity, and we seek in vain in Ovid for a request to Anna to confer this last favour on her despairing sister. But do we find nothing at all like it, nothing reminding us of it, nothing imitated from it, nothing supplying its place, *mutatis mutandis* ? All at once at the close of the letter, the writer, instead of, as usual at the close of letters, bidding farewell to the person to whom the letter is addressed, drops that person wholly, and not only that person, but her whole subject and theme (viz., that Aeneas should not leave her), and apostrophizes her sister in the remarkable and most impressive words :

“ Anna soror, soror Anna, meae male conscia culpæ,
iam dabis in cineres ultima dona meos,”

where we have the passionate MISERERE SORORIS of our text in the passionate “ Anna soror, soror Anna ;” the near approaching death which it is the object of the CUM DEDERIS and MORTE of our text to foreshow, foreshown by the “ iam dabis in

cineres," and the last favour which Dido is to receive from her sister, EXTREMAM VENIAM, represented as closely as similar words can represent an object, similar but not precisely one "and the same, by "ultima dona."

The thought, omitting the CUMULATAM and the MORTE, is the ordinary thought: "I will not be ungrateful to you for the favour." Compare "Incerti Votum ad Oceanum pro Felici Navigatione," 25, apud Wernsdorf, *Poet. Lat. Min.* tom. 4, p. 317:

. . . "quod cum promiseris esse,
reddam quas potero pleno pro munere grates."

CUMULATAM REMITTAM.—"I will repay and more than repay." Compare Cic. *de Republ.* 1. 47: "Quod si tenere et consequi potuero, cumulate munus hoc . . . ut opinio mea fert, effecero," a sentence between which and our author's

QUAM MIHI CUM DEDERIS, CUMULATAM MORTE REMITTAM

there is a striking resemblance both in protasis and apodosis.

441-451.

AC VELUT—TUERI

VAR. LECT. (vs. 443).

ALTE ■■■ Servius (cod. Dresd.); P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunek; Wakef.

ALTAE ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Voss.; Wagner (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Ladew.; Ribb.

AC VELUT . . . TENDIT (vv. 441-446).—Compare *Anthol. Pal.* (ed. Dübner) 9. 291:

οὕτως καὶ ἱερὰι Ζηνὸς δρῦες ἐμπεδὰ ριζαῖς
ἐπτασιν, φύλλων δ' ἀνα χεοῦσ' ἀνεμοί.

ALPINI BOREAE NUNC HINC NUNC FLATIBUS ILLINC (vs. 442). —“HINC and ILLINC come in strangely after BOREAE, as if the north wind blew from different quarters: so we must either suppose that Virgil means N. E. and N. W., or set it down as one of his many voluntary or involuntary inaccuracies, Boreas being to him the poetical expression for any violent or cold wind,” Conington. Even if the expression had been *Boreas*, I should hardly object to one and the same *Boreas* blowing now on one side, now on the other, of a tree, especially in the Alps, where the direction of a wind may vary so considerably within a short space of time, the wind all the while retaining its specific character. But the expression not being *Boreas*, but BOREAE, I have no word to say against our author, the plural being, as I think, specially used in order to harmonize with NUNC HINC, NUNC ILLINC. To the correctness of the latter part of Mr. Conington’s observation I can, however, bear personal testimony, having myself repeatedly observed in Italy that winds are there distinguished less from actual observation of the quarter from which they blow than from the impressions made by their sensible qualities of dryness, dampness, coldness, warmth, &c.

MENS IMMOTA MANET; LACRYMAE VOLVUNTUR INANES (vs. 449).—I take part with Thiel and Voss against Süpfle and Conington, in understanding LACRYMAE not of Dido and Anna, but of Aeneas, less because the leaves forced from the oak by the blasts of the winds (CONSTERNUNT TERRAM CONCUSO STIPITE FRONDES) seemed to Servius to point to the unavailing tears wrung from *pious* Aeneas by the importunate distress of his supplicants, than (a) because otherwise the words LACRYMAE VOLVUNTUR INANES are a mere filling up of the line, the idea contained in them being already fully expressed in the preceding MENS IMMOTA MANET, and NULLIS ILLE MOVETUR FLETIBUS; (b) because (see Rem. on vs. 30) the object, in the absence of an adjunct expressly referring it to the more remote person, seems generally referrible to the nearer; and (c) because we find, on a precisely similar occasion, the same expression applied to similar

unavailing tears of pity, 10. 464 :

“ audiit Alcides iuvenem, magnumque sub imo
corde premit gemitum, *lacrymasque effudit inanes.*”

Compare 6. 468, and Rem. Also Metast. *La Clemenza di Tito*, 3. 10 (Servilia to Vitellia, who is weeping for the misfortune of Sesto, but not assisting him) :

“ s'altro che lagrime
per lui non tenti,
tutto il tuo piangere
non gioverà.
a questa inutile
pietà che senti,
oh quanto è simile
la crudeltà !”

I do not pretend to say how far it is owing to any force of such arguments (published in my “Twelve Years' Voyage,” so long ago as 1852) that Wagner, who had in his ed. Heyn. expressed the point-blank contrary opinion (“opponuntur ‘sibi pectus’ et MENS, non MENS et LACRIMAE”), comes round in his *Praest.* to the opinion of Thiel and Voss: “Lacrimas fundit Aeneas ut causae Didonis nihil profuturas, ita tamen mitem ac misericordem animum testificantes.” The question is still a moot one among commentators; for although Ladewig in his second edition is of the opinion common to me and Thiel and Voss, Conington, the last English Virgilian editor of note, adheres to the still generally received opinion that the tears are those of Dido and Anna. More respect would perhaps have been paid to the contrary opinion (viz., that the tears are those of Aeneas), had it been borne in mind that that opinion had its origin neither with me, nor with Voss, nor with Thiel, but was as old at least as Servius, who in his gloss on FRONDES, verse 444, observes: “FRONDES sicut LACRIMAE Aeneae” (cod. Dresd.)—a notice from which the attention of editors had wandered away, to the “Quidam tamen ‘lacrymas inanes’ vel Aeneae vel Didonis, vel Annae, vel hominum” of the same, sometimes so instructive, always so amusing, commentator.

TUM VERO INFELIX FATIS EXTERRITA DIDO MORTEM ORAT (vv. 450-451).—The mere report of Aeneas's preparations for sailing had put her into a fury (vv. 298-300); the certainty that he would sail makes her pray for death: **TUM VERO** (*i. e.*, when she had in vain tried every means to dissuade him) **MORTEM ORAT**. See Remm. on 2. 105, 228; 3. 47; 4. 396, 571; 5. 695.

FATIS EXTERRITA.—So Valerius Flaccus (8. 1), of her prototype:

“at trepidam in thalamis et iam *sua fata parentem*
Colchida circa omnes pariter furiaeque minaeque
patris habent.”

TAEDET CAELI CONVEXA TUERI (vs. 451).—As we would say:
life, the light of day, is a trouble to her.

464-465.

**MULTAQUE PRAETEREA VATUM PRAEDICTA PIORUM
TERRIBILI MONITU HORRIFICANT**

VAR. LECT.

PIORUM ■ *Med.*; “Ex antiquis exemplaribus plura **PIORUM**,” Pierius.
■■⁶/₆. ■■■ *Princ.*; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Burm.; Heyn.;
Forb.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Lect. Virg. and Praest.*); Ribb.

PRIORUM (at full) ■ *Vat., Pal.* ■■¹⁰/₁₀. ■■■ *Serv.* (“**PRIORUM** legitur et
PIORUM”); Priscian (*Gramm.* 7. 77); Hosid. Geta, *Medea, Anthol.*
Lat. (ed. Meyer), 235, vv. 89 and 111; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475,
1486; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; P. Manut.; Mod.; Paris, 1600;
Fabricius; D. Heins.; R. Steph.; H. Steph.; La Cerda; Philippe;
Brunck; Wakefield; Pott.; Jahn; Dorph.

PRIORUM (thus contracted, **PÖRUM**) ■■¹⁴/₆. *

* That the **PÖRUM** of these MSS. signifies, not as might at first sight appear, **PIORUM**, but **PRIORUM**, is placed beyond doubt by the constant use not only in these but in other MSS. of the same class of **PÖR** and **PMUS** for *prior* and *primus*, as

PRIORUM, not PIORUM, first, on account of the much greater weight of MS. authority. Secondly, because PIORUM, meaning, as it always does, *gentle, sympathizing, tender-hearted* (see Rem. on l. 14), had been as inappropriate an epithet as could well be chosen for prophets who horrified Dido with terrific admonitions (TERRIBILI MONITU HORRIFICANT). Thirdly, because present predictions (PRAEDICTA VATUM PIORUM) are now too late, matters having come already to the final *dénouement*, and the curtain being already drawn up for the last scene. The only PRAEDICTA which can now be introduced properly and with effect are old, remembered predictions, PRAEDICTA PRIORUM. Fourthly, because present predictions, had they been still seasonable, could not have been thus summarily despatched in a single clause in the middle of a long category of omens. The reader's curiosity, excited by the mention of new, present predictions, would have immediately inquired what those predictions were, and would not have been satisfied without being told at least some particulars concerning them. Fifthly, old predictions, PRAEDICTA PRIORUM, are precisely those which come in at the close of a drama, and, added to present omens (on this occasion to the turning of wine into blood, the preternatural voices and the calling by name, by a deceased spouse in the darkness and silence of the night, the hooting of the owl, and the frightful dreams), harrow the soul and raise the horror to the utmost (TERRIBILI MONITU HORRIFICANT). Accordingly, our author in his very first Eclogue :

“*saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,
de caelo tactas meminì praedicere quercus,*”

where we have the very PRAEDICTA of our text ; and our author's

well as by the general use of the abbreviation *i* in these and similar MSS. to signify the two letters R and I. In the present case it is only surprising that the contraction PORUM, so closely resembling PIORUM, has not been taken for PIORUM by a greater number of the later copyists and earlier editors. There is a similar confusion of *piorum* and *priorum* in Manil. 2. 883, where the true reading *priorum* has been adopted by Jacob.

master, *Od. 9. 507* (Polyphemus to Ulysses):

ω ποιοι, η μαλα δη με παλαιφατα θεσφαθ' ικανει.

Also *Soph. Trach. 1166* (Hercules to Hyllus):

φανω δ' εγω τουτοισι συμβαινοντ' ισα
μαντεια καινα, τοις παλαι ξυνηγορα.

Stat. Sil. 2. 2. 69:

"ora ducum, et *ratum* sapientumque ora priorum."

Id. Theb. 5. 645:

"nec dum etiam responsa deum, *monitusque vetusti*
exciderant, voxque ex adytis accepta profundis."

Quint. Curt. 3. 6: "*Vetera quoque omnia*, ut fere fit, sollicitudo
revocaverat." *Claud. Bell. Get. 238*:

. . . "tunc *anni signa prioris*,
et si quod fortasse quies neglexerit omen
addit cura novis."

Iscan. 3. 99:

. . . "aegras cum Panthus in aures,
priscos futorum monitus scriit, et quod ab ipsis
extorsit genitor adytis Euphorbius, index
in medium pandit proles: 'Lapsura sub armis
Pergama, si Phrygias Helene conscendat in urbes.'
his iam facta fides ducibus, vulgique tumultus
flectitur: O quanto *priscis nova mollius urgent*!
plus superi constant Pantho memorante futura,
quam dicente Heleno."

Lucan, 4. 661:

"Curio lactatus, tanquam fortuna locorum
bella gerat, servetque ducum sibi *fata priorum*,
.
indulsit castris," &c.

To the argument of Wagner against PRIORUM and in favour of
PIORUM (*Lect. Virg. 340*), "Qui utitur auribus lectione Virgilii
imbutis, statim sentiet intolerabile esse illud ter sine vi aut certa
ratione repetitum in verborum principiis PR: PRAETEREA PRAE-
DICTA PRIORUM, caninum quid, non Virgilianum sonans," I

reply that the repetition of the growling letter is neither “sine vi” nor “sine certa ratione,” but, on the contrary, produces and is intended to produce sympathetic horror in the mind of the auditor, in proof of which thesis I need only observe that the repetition does not cease with the words in question, but is continued, and with the most evident intention, into the next verse: TERRIBILI MONITU HORRIFICANT. To Pierius’s objection: “Si PRAEDICTA in se *prius* habere consideremus, superabundare quodammodo PRIORUM iudicabimus,” the answer is no less obvious, viz., that the apparent repetition, whether intentional and for the purpose of emphasis, or whether accidental and the offspring of negligence, has abundant authority in the practice of other writers as well as of Virgil himself, *ex. gr.*, “rursusque resurgens,” vs. 531, where see Rem.

471-473.

AUT AGAMEMNONIUS SCENIS AGITATUS ORESTES

ARMATAM FACIBUS MATREM ET SERPENTIBUS ATRIS

QUUM FUGIT ULTRICESQUE SEDENT IN LIMINE DIRAE

VAR. LECT.

SCAENIS, or SCENIS ■ *Vat., Pal., Med.* ■⁹⁰/₁₀₀ (1854); “In antiquis aliquot codd. FURIIS legitur. Ego crediderim FURIIS ex paraphrasi desumptum, et SCENIS inde legitima lectione expuncta, adulterinam suppositam,” Pierius. ■■■ R. Steph.; P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670, 1671, 1704); Haupt; Wagn. (1861); Ribb.

POENIS ■■■ Markland (*ex. coni.*); Wakefield.

SAEVIS ■■■ Hildebrandt (Jahn, *Jahrb.* 26. 175), *ex coni.*; Ludewig.

SCENIS is the true reading, and the proposed amendments, FURIIS and POENIS, both false; first, because of the strong parallelism

between SCENIS AGITATUS and τηλεκλυτος, the epithet applied by Homer to Orestes in a similar context (*Od.* 1. 30):

τον δ' Ἀγαμεμνονιδης τηλεκλυτος εκταυ' Ορεστης.

Secondly, because having myself personally examined no less than sixty MSS. respecting the passage, I have found in every one either SCENIS or SCAENIS, and no trace of any other reading. Thirdly, because not only has the corresponding expression, "tragico illo Oreste" been used by Cicero (*in Pison.* 20), but the identical expression, "scenis agitavit," by Ausonius in his seventy-first epigram:

"quem toga facundi scenis agitavit Afrani."

Fourthly, because the introduction of the Eumenides into the line would not only jar with the mention of the same personages only two lines previously, but entirely spoil the fine close and winding up of the whole passage in ULTRICESQUE SEDENT IN LIMINE DIRAE.

SCENIS, *in the scenes*, i. e., *on the stage* ("qualiter a Græcis in scena inducitur," Servius). The correctness of this, the commonly received interpretation, and the consequent incorrectness of that which in my "Twelve Years' Voyage" I adopted from Lersch, viz., *visions, imaginations of the mind*, is shown not only by Cicero's "tragico illo Oreste" and Ausonius's "scenis agitavit," above quoted, but, still more plainly, by the following passage of Pacatus, which, no less than Metastasio's

. . . "e vuoi ch' io miri
questa vera tragedia,
spettatrice indolente e senza pena,
come i casi d'Oreste *in finta scena*,"

may be regarded as affording at least a very exact if not an intentional paraphrase of the expression in our text: "Pirithoi fidem prædicat et decantatum omnibus scenis Phocæi iuvenis laudat officium" (*Pacat. Paneg. Theod. Aug.*). Ariosto, too, uses the identical word in a similar comparison of one of his characters to a mythical personage acted on the stage, *Orl. Fur.* 1. 52

(of Angelica) :

“ e fuor di quel cespuglio oscuro e cieco
fa di se bella ed improvvisa mostra ;
come di selva, o fuor d' ombroso speco
Diana *in scena*, o Citera si mostra.”

See Rem. on l. 596.

AGITATUS, not our *agitated*, however well such epithet might suit Orestes, but *played, acted, performed*. Compare 12. 396 :

“ scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
maluit, et mutas *agitare* inglorius artes ”

[*to play, perform, or, as we say, “ practise ” the art of healing*] ;
and Sil. 14. 9 :

“ sic poscit sparsis Mavors *agitatus* in oris ”

[*Mars (i.e., war)*, not, surely, *agitated mentally*, but *put into motion*].

For a reference to theatrical representations similar to that contained in the words SCENIS AGITATUS, see Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 326 :

“ mira, sed et *scena* testificata loquar,”

and Sir Walter Scott, prelude to *Macduff's Cross* (of the pedestal of the cross) :

“ none shall pass,
now or in after days, beside that stone,
but he shall have strange visions—thoughts and words
that shake or rouse or thrill the human heart
shall rush upon his memory when he hears
the spirit-stirring name of this rude symbol ;—
oblivious ages, at that simple spell,
shall render back their terrors with their woes,
alas ! and with their crimes :—and the proud phantoms
shall move with step familiar to his eye,
and accents which once heard, the ear forgets not,
though ne'er again to list them. Siddons, thine,
thou matchless Siddons, thrill upon our ear ;
and on our eye thy lofty brother's form
rises as Scotland's monarch.”

To the opinion that the reference of the epic poet should be to the historical or mythical personage itself, not to its representation on the boards, and that therefore in the passage before us

either Virgil has descended from the dignity of the epic, or wrote POENIS not SCENIS, or if he wrote SCENIS that word must be interpreted as it has been interpreted by Lersch, it is, I think, a sufficient answer, that dramatic representations have been recognized by Cicero as a fit and proper source from whence even in philosophical disputations to draw examples of the punishment inflicted by heaven on the impious, *De Legibus*, 2. 16: "Poena vero violatae religionis iustam recusationem non habet. Quid ego hic sceleratorum utar exemplis, quorum sunt plenae *tragoediae*? Quae ante oculos sunt, ea potius attingantur." The reference which is proper in philosophic disputations, and which would have been used by Cicero himself in his *De Legibus*, had he not had examples nearer at hand, viz., in his own personal experience, how infinitely more proper *à fortiori* in the epic, the very cousin-german of the drama! Nay, is it not to this very SCENIS AGITATUS ORESTES Cicero alludes in this very passage? or of whom are the "*tragoediae*" fuller?

ULTRICESQUE SEDENT IN LIMINE DIRAE.—The threshold in the houses of the ancients being always elevated, not only above the level of the ground outside, but above the level of the floor inside (witness the custom of lifting the bride over it), afforded a convenient seat for those who for whatever reason waited outside, without entering the house. Accordingly Ulysses and his companions are said by Homer (*Od.* 10. 62) to have sat on the threshold of the palace of Aeolus outside, beside the door-posts:

ελθοντες δ' ἐς δῶμα, παρὰ σταθμοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐδου
ἐζόμεθ',

and Penelope afflicted with grief is described as refusing a chair, and seating herself on the threshold of her *thalamus*, *Od.* 4. 716 (of Penelope):

τηνδ' ἄχος ἀμφεχυθὴ θυμοφθορον, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐτ' ἐγλή
διφρῶ ἐφεξέσθαι, πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκον εὐντῶν
ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδου ἵξε πολυκμήτου θαλαμοῖο.

But it is not always, nay, it is very seldom, the expression ἐπ' οὐδου or in limine is to be understood so literally. On the contrary, as limen means generally not the threshold, but the

door, or the neighbourhood of the door, so in *limine* means not on the threshold, but near or about the door. In our text, therefore, the Dirae are represented not as sitting actually on the threshold, but as seated outside the door, viz., in the vestibule, watching all ingress and egress. This is the proper seat of the Dirae both in Hades, and during their visits to this world. Compare 6. 279 :

. . . "mortiferumque adverso in *limine* bellum,
ferreique Eumenidum thalami."

Ibid. 555 :

"Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta,
vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque."

Ibid. 574 :

. . . "cernis, custodia qualis
vestibulo sedcat ? facies quae *limina* servet ?"

Also 7. 341 :

'exin Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis
principio Latium, et Laurentis tecta tyranni
celsa petit, tacitumque obsedit *limen* Amatae."

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 453 :

"carceris ante *fores* clausas adamante sedebant,
deque suis atros pectebant crinibus angues.
quam simul agnorunt inter caliginis umbras,
surrexere deae : sedes scelerata vocatur."

Seneca, *Here.* Oct. 606 :

"tenet auratum *limen* Erinnyes,
et cum magnae patuere fores,
intran fraudes, cautique doli,
ferumque latens."

Ovid, in his story of Ino and Athamas, describes Tisiphone as occupying the threshold of their dwelling so as to prevent all escape of her doomed victims, *Met.* 4. 485 :

"*limine* constiterat
. monstros exterrita coniux ;
terrītus est Athamas ; tectoque exire parabant :
obstitit infelix, aditumque obsedit, Erinnya."

See Remm. on 6. 563 and 574. In modern languages there is a similar primary as well as a similar secondary use of the expression in limine; as, *primary*, Enfield :

“ why *sits* Content upon a cottage *sill*
at eventide ? ”

Sir W. Scott, *Doom of Devorgoil*, 2. 1 :

“ ay, ay, your beggar was the faded spectre
of poverty, that *sits upon the threshold*
of these our ruined walls ; ”

secondary, Metast. *La Strada della Gloria* :

“ ma sappi pria, che 'l Senno, ed il Valore
della *soglia felice* in guardia *siede*. ”

SEDENT.—To be understood literally, as placed beyond doubt by Ovid's

“ *surrexere deae* : *sedes scelerata* vocatur,”

quoted above. In ancient times, as at present, there were seats in the vestibules of great houses for the convenience no less of persons guarding the house than of persons waiting either to be admitted, or to salute the inmates coming out of the house. Hence the expression SEDENT. On such seats in the vestibule of Apollo's temple these very Diræ are represented as sitting asleep, having fallen asleep worn out with the fatigue of their pursuit of Orestes, Aesch. *Eumen.* 46 :

προσθεν δε τανδρος τουδε θαυμαστος λοχος
ευδει γυναικων εν θρονοισιν ημενος,

the very picture, with the exception of the sleeping, repeated by Virgil in our text. In the portico which serves as vestibule to the Pope's palace in the Vatican are numerous benches on which his guards, in their particoloured uniform, with their arms stacked near them, may be seen sitting or lounging all day and all night long.

474-486.

ERGO UBI CONCEPIT FURIAS EVICTA DOLORE
 DECREVITQUE MORI TEMPUS SECUM IPSA MODUMQUE
 EXIGIT ET MAESTAM DICTIS AGGRESSA SOROREM
 CONSILIUM VULTU TEGIT AC SPEM FRONTE SERENAT
 INVENI GERMANA VIAM GRATARE SORORI
 QUAE MIHI REDDAT EUM VEL EO ME SOLVAT AMANTEM
 OCEANI FINEM IUXTA SOLEMQUE CADENTEM
 ULTIMUS AETHIOPUM LOCUS EST UBI MAXIMUS ATLAS
 AXEM HUMERO TORQUET STELLIS ARDENTIBUS APTUM
 HINC MIHI MASSYLAE GENTIS MONSTRATA SACERDOS
 HESPERIDUM TEMPLI CUSTOS EPULASQUE DRACONI
 QUAE DABAT ET SACROS SERVABAT IN ARBORE RAMOS
 SPARGENS HUMIDA MELLA SOPORIFERUMQUE PAPAVER

DECREVIT, *irrevocably determined*, as by a decree of a court of justice, the emphasis being on this word, not on MORI. Contrast "mortem orat," verse 451, where the emphasis is on "mortem" not on "orat." See Rem. on 2. 247.

CONSILIUM VULTU TEGIT, theme ; SPEM FRONTE SERENAT, variation.

OCEANI FINEM.—"The extreme limit set by the ocean, which is regarded, as in Homer, as surrounding the world," Conington.

ULTIMUS AETHIOPUM LOCUS EST.—"The meaning seems to be, not *there is the extreme point of Aethiopia*, but *there is Aethiopia, the extreme point of the earth*," Conington. To be sure, and not *seems* only, but *certainly is*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 4. 631 :

. . . "ultima tellus
 rege sub hoc [Atlante], et pontus erat, qui solis anhelis
 aequora subdit equis, et fessos excipit axes."

Sil. 3. 282 :

"quin et Massyli fulgentia signa tulere,
 Hesperidum veniens lucis domus ultima terrae."

APTUM (vs. 482), *rigged*. Compare Ennius, ap. Cic. *de Offic.* 3:

“o fides alma, *apta* pennis, et iusiurandum Iovis,”

HINC MIHI MASSYLAE GENTIS MONSTRATA SACERDOS.—See Alciphron, *Ep.* 2. 4. 16 (Γλυκερα Μενανδρω): Και γαρ εχω τινα νεωστι γυναικα απο Φρυγιας ηκουσαν ευ μαλα τουτων εμπειρον, γαστρομαντευεσθαι δεινην τη των σπαρτων διατασει νυκτωρ και τη των θεων δειξει, και ου δει λεγουση πιστευειν, αλλ’ ιδειν, ως φασι.

HINC MIHI . . . PAPAVER.—The order of thought is: SACERDOS, CUSTOS TEMPLI QUAE DABAT EPULAS DRACONI (viz., SPARGENS, vel spargendo, HUMIDA MELLA SOPORIFERUMQUE PAPAVER) atque ita (viz., dando EPULAS, MELLA et PAPAVER, DRACONI) SERVABAT RAMOS.

SERVABAT.—A translation of the εσωζε of Euripides, *Medea*, 480:

δρακοντα θ’, ος παγχρυσον αμφεπων δεραι,
σπειραις εσωζε πολυπλοκοις αυπνοσ ων.
κτεινασ’ . . .

Compare Lucret. 5. 33:

“auraque Hesperidum *servans* fulgentia mala.”

SPARGENS.—SPARGENS (DRACONI).—Compare Petronius, p. 275: “Quidquid enim a nobis acceperat de coena latranti [cani, sciz.] *sparserat*.” Sidon. Apoll. in *Panegyrico Majoriani*, verse 176 (of Hippomenes):

“donec ad anfractum metae iamiamque relictus,
concita ter *sparso* fregit vestigia pomo.”

And our author himself, 3. 605 (where see Rem.):

“*spargite* me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto.”

And so precisely in our text, SPARGENS, *throwing to, flinging to, the dragon*.

HUMIDA MELLA SOPORIFERUMQUE PAPAVER.—Explanatory of EPULAS. Mel and papaver constituted the “epulae,” *dainties* (compare “rimatur epulis,” 6. 599) to which the priestess treated the dragon, as if Virgil had said: *spargebat* DRACONI EPULAS mel-

lis et papaveris. Compare Val. Flacc. 1. 61 :

. . . “multifidas regis quem filia linguas
vibrantem ex aditis cantu *dapibusque* vocabat,
et dabat hesternò liventia *mella veneno*,”

where “*dapibus*” is explained by “*mella*” and “*veneno*,” just as in our text EPULAS is explained by MELLA and PAPAVER. The serpent being fond of these epulae, these dapes (see Val. Flacc., above ; also 8. 96 :

. . . “*hianti*
mella dabam, et nostris nutribam fida venenis”),

became fond of the person from whose hand he received them ; and this fondness conspiring, as in the case of Medea’s serpent, with the specific operation of the drugs or *venena* which entered into the composition of the dapes—rendered him sufficiently docile and amenable (compare Ennodius, *Carm.* 1. 2 :

“*melle tuo serpens gutturis arma premet*”)

to be employed (in the manner of a watchdog) for the protection of the fruit.

SOPORIFERUM.—The general ornamental predicate of PAPAVER. Compare *Georg.* 1. 78, where the much stronger epithet “*Lethaeo perfusa somno*” is applied to the poppy, without at all indicating that the poppy exercised its narcotic property on the particular occasion. Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 2. 23 :

“*littora quot conchas, quot amoena rosaria flores,*
quotve soporiferum grana papaver habet,”

where again this very epithet is merely a descriptive epithet. Compare also the application of “*ferventes*” to “*rotas*,” *Aen.* 11. 195, where, as in our text, the predicate (“*ferventes*”) is generally descriptive, and entirely without reference to the particular circumstances.

The honey and poppy are given to the dragon as a sweet of which it was fond, and for the sake of which it stayed beside, and was amenable to, the priestess ; and so, by the terror which it produced in strangers served as a watch-dog for the protection of the tree. Honey mixed with poppy (the so-called *cocetum*)

was the sweetest sweet and greatest delicacy known before the invention of sugar. See Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 112 :

“ AG. Obsecro hercle, ut mulsa loquitur! MI. Nihil nisi laterculos, sesamum, *papaveremque*, triticum et frictas nuces.”

Petron. (ed. Hadr.) : p. 5, “Omnia dieta factaque quasi *papavere* et sesamo sparsa;” and p. 101 : “Glires *melle* et *papavere* sparsos.” Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 151 :

“ nec pigeat niveo tritum cum lacte *papaver*
sumere, et expressis *mella* liquata favis.”

Hor. *ad Pison.* 374 :

“ ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors,
et crassum unguentum, et Sardo cum *melle papaver*
offendunt.”

The part of the poppy used was not the bitter and narcotic capsule, but the seed, which is not only not bitter or narcotic, but sweet, esculent, and nutritive. See Plin. *N. H.* 19. 8 (ed. Sillig) : “Papaveris sativi tria genera. Candidum [our PAPAVER SOMNIFERUM], cuius *semen* tostum in secunda mensa cum *melle* apud antiquos dabatur. Hoc et panis rustici crustae inspergitur, adfuso ovo inhaerens ubi inferiorem crustam apium githque cereali sapore condiunt.” And so Festus : “Cocetum genus edulii ex *melle* et *papavere* factum;” and Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 3. 75 : Μακωνιδων δ' αρτων μνημονευει Αλκμαν εν τω πεντεκαιδεκατω ουτως “Κλιναι μεν επτα, και τοσαι τραπεσδαι μακωνιδων αρτων επιστεφοισαι λινω τε, σεσαμω τε, κην πελιχναις πεδεσσι” [where Casaubon : “μακωνιδας panes *papavere* sparsos fuisse ipsum nomen arguit. Inter condimentarias herbas *papaver* et sesamum non postremum locum tenebant. Multa de vario esu *papaveris* Galenus lib. 7 de *Facult. Simpl. Medic.*”] Also, quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 1. 13 :

. . . θηλειαν λαβων
γογγυλιδα, ταυτην ετεμεν εις λεπτα σφοδρα,
την οψιν αυτης της αφυης μιμουμενος
αποξεσας, ελαιον επιχεας, αλας
δους μουσικως, μηκωνος επιπασας ανω
κοκκους μελαινης τον αριθμον δωδεκα,
περι την Ξκυθιαν ελυσε την επιθυμιαν.

Even at the present day a confection made of honey and poppy-seed is in use in various parts of the continent of Europe. I find among my memoranda the following notice on the subject, dated Botzen, October, 1860 :—Honey and ground poppy-seeds are mixed together so as to form a paste of the thickness of jam. A dessert-spoonful of this conserve is wrapped round with a dough made of wheaten flour, butter, eggs, and milk. Thus little dumplings or patties are made, each about the size of a joint of the thumb. These are baked, not in the oven, but in a pan with melted butter, and are eaten on feast days as a delicacy. They are called in the Pusterthal *nigelen*; about Klobenstein and in the Eisackthal they are called *mohn-kropfen*, and *magen* (dialect. for *mohn*) -*kropfen*. We had a dish of them at Botzen, and found them very sweet. We were told there that they are not used in Botzen. They were made especially for us at our request, and the cook was capable of making them, being herself from the mountains. The cook informed us also that about Klobenstein and in the Eisackthal a thick polenta is made of buck-wheat, which polenta is sliced and baked in the pan with butter and poppy seeds and honey. I have since been informed that a similar use of ground poppy seeds and honey prevails in some parts of Poland.

The commentators and lexicographers, ignorant of the physical fact so familiar to every apothecary's apprentice, confound the soporiferous poisonous capsule or poppy head (not used at all on this occasion) with the harmless and sweet esculent, the poppy seeds, contained in the capsule or head, and alone used on this occasion. Even Damm, in his admirable dictionary, has fallen into this error: "*Μηκων*," he says, "*est φυτόν ου το σπέρμα εις υπνον ευοδοι*." Nay, Virgil himself, who could not but have been well aware of the distinction—for what Roman could have been ignorant of it? (see Pliny above)—by the inconsiderate addition, if I may be allowed the profanity, of the word SOPORIFERUM to the PAPAVER (poppy-seeds), which were given as delicate food to the dragon, has sanctioned the error, and, if I may so say, thrown the shield of the god's infallibility over the ignorance of his votaries.

It was no unusual thing for large serpents (*dracones*) to be kept as pets by persons of distinguished rank. Compare Philostrate. *Storie degli Eroi*: "Dice [Protesilao] pure di un mansueto *dragone*, lungo cinque cubiti, che insieme ad Aiace, [Oileo] bevea, e presso gli stava, e gli era guida ne viaggi, e a guisa di cane gli andava dietro." Cic. *Divin.* 2: "Tum secundum quietem visus ei dicitur *draco* is, quem mater Olympias *alebat*." Our text is nothing more than a description of the manner in which the Massylian priestess "*alebat*," and employed for the protection of the sacred tree, her dragon. A similar pet, similarly fed with dainties, was the dragon of Medea, Val. Flacc. 8. 62:

"meque [Medeam] pavens contra solam videt, ac vocat ultro,
cecu solet, et blanda poscit me pabula lingua."

Nor are ancient pictorial representations wanting of this "*alebat*," this feeding of the dragon of the Hesperides; see Petersen's article entitled "Ercole riportante i pomi delle Esperidi," in vol. 31 of the "Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica di Roma:" "Essa sembra congiunta con quella più antica sopra alcune stoviglie di stile più recente presso Gerhard (*Archemoros*, t. 2; *Koenigl. Atlas*, t. 1) ove nel compartimento superiore Ercole si presente ad Atlante chiedendogli un consiglio, mentre nella parte di sotto le Esperidi circondano l'albero, *pascolando il serpente*, oppure occupate in sollazzi." Millin (*Vases Antiques*, vol. 1, pl. 3) gives a drawing of the Hesperides and their tree, from a vase found in the ruins of Paestum. The Hesperides are five in number, each designated by her name in epigraph, viz., ΚΑΛΥΨΩ, ΕΡΜΗΣΑ, ΑΝΘΕΙΑ, ΑΙΩΓΙΣ (*al.* ΑΙΩΠΙΣ), ΝΗΑΙΣΑ. The dragon twined round the tree is *fed* by Calypso out of a patera into which she has poured liquid out of an urn. Hercules holds in his hand an apple which he has received from Ermesa, who is represented as pulling another from the tree. Overhead in the sky are the busts of ΗΑΡΑ and ΔΟΝΑΚΙΣ, with their respective epigraphs, as well as of Pan and Mercury. There is a copy of Millin's plate in Pozzoli (*Dizion. della Favola*, tav. 50).

The commentators, understanding the merely ornamental predicate SOPORIFERUM as indicative of the narcotic action of the poppy on the dragon, have supposed our author to be engaged in the description of the charming, enchanting, and putting to sleep of the dragon, and naïvely observe: “Incongrue videtur positum, ut soporifera species pervigili detur draconi” (Servius)—an observation repeated by most of Servius’s successors, and in which one of them, Schrader, so entirely agrees as to pronounce verse 486 spurious; while Jahn, in order to preserve both the verse and the consistency of the priestess, represents the priestess as sprinkling the narcotic not on the dragon; but on the road, that it may narcotise trespassers, and so wholly strips the dragon of its function of watch, regularly cashiers and dismisses it. It will be observed, in further confirmation of the above interpretation, that on none of the occasions on which our author produces sleep by means of drugs is the papaver mentioned; see *Æn.* 5. 854; 6. 420.

According to Philostratus, *Icon.* 11. 17, it is because serpents love gold that a serpent is so often represented guarding golden treasure, *ex. gr.*, the golden fleece, the apples of the Hesperides. Query, is it not the other way, serpents’ love for gold an inference from serpents being so often represented as the guardians of golden treasure?

SPARGENS HUMIDA MELLA SOPORIFERUMQUE PAPAVER.—Compare 12. 418:

. . . “spargitque salubris
ambrosiæ succos, et odoriferam panaceam.”

490-508.

MUGIRE—FUTURI

VAR. LECT. (vs. 498).

IUVAT ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion; omitted in cod. Dresd.); Wagn. (ed. Heyn. and *Praest.*); Voss; Ladew.; Ribb.

IUBET ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.

VIDEBIS (vs. 490).—*You shall see, yourself; you shall have ocular demonstration of her power.* Compare the concluding words of the citation from the letter of Glycera to Menander, Rem. on verse 483.

DULCE CAPUT (vs. 493), Gr. *φιλον καρα*.

ARMA VIRI, &c., . . . SACERDOS (vv. 495-498).—Compare Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 717 :

“ scripta cave relegas blandae servata puellae;
constantes animos scripta relecta movent.
omnia pone feros (pones invitus) in ignes,
et dic: ‘ardoris sit rogus iste mei!’ ”

Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 73 :

“ terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore
licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum
effigiem duco.”

Ibid. 91 :

“ has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
pignora cara sui; quae nunc ego limine in ipso,
terra, tibi mando.”

ARMA VIRI THALAMO QUAE FIXA RELIQUIT (vs. 495).—Query, hung up in her chamber as the knight’s homage to the fair lady? Ignatius Loyola was wounded in the foot at the siege of Pam-peluna by the French in 1521, he being at that time an officer

in the Spanish service, Engesser, *Darstellung der Hauptreligionen*, p. 350 (Konstanz, 1857): "Je langsamer sein fuss heilte, um so mehr schnte sich sein feuriger geist nach kriegsthaten. Er las die legenden der heiligen, die verfolgungen der ersten Christen, die seltsamen bussübungen und kasteiungen der mönche und einsiedler. In lebhafter und erhitzter fantasie vermeinte er 'die himmelskönigin Maria sei ihm leibhaft erschienen.' Jetzt erwählte er sie zur dame seines herzens, und schwur feierlichest 'er wolle ihr bis in den tod auf erden ritterlich dienen.' Nach erfolgter genesung, jedoch mit einem krummen fusse, zog er zu einem wunderthatig gehaltenen Muttergottesbilde im kloster Montserrat. Vor jenem bilde hing er andächtig seine waffen auf, und that, nach ritterlichem gebrauche, die volle nacht seine waffenwache." A similar narrative is contained in the *Biographie Universelle*, Art. "Loyola."

IMPIUS (vs. 496), *unfeeling*. See Rem. on 1. 14. Its position at the beginning of the verse, and at the close of the clause to which it belongs, renders it emphatic; see Rem. on 2. 247.

NEC TANTOS MENTE FURORES CONCIPIT (vs. 501).—*Mens* being the seat of the intellect, *mente concipere* is *to conceive, imagine to oneself, form a conception of*, exactly **as**, *pectus* being the seat of the emotions (*as Georg. 1. 420* :

"vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
concupiunt"),

pectore concipere is *to feel within oneself, be sensible of* (see 11. 368: "si tantum *pectore* robur *concupis*") ; **and** exactly **as**, the ear being the seat of hearing, *aure concipere* is *to hear* (compare Sen. *Phoen. 224* (Oedipus, of himself) :

. . . . "ego ullos *aure concipio* sonos,
per quos parentis nomen, aut nati audiam").

NEC TANTOS MENTE FURORES CONCIPIT, therefore: *does not conceive to herself, does not imagine to herself, has no notion of, or as we very commonly say, never dreams of, so great fury* ; exactly **as** 11. 368 (quoted above) : "si tantum *pectore* robur *concupis*" [if you feel such resolution, if you are conscious within yourself of

such strength of mind]. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 176:

“ emicat extemplo laetus post talia matris
dicta suae Phaëthon, et *concepit aethera mente* ”

[forms a conception to himself of the ether, *i.e.*, imagines to himself what a fine drive he will have in the sky]. Legrand D'Aussy, *Fabliaux* (“Du Jongleur qui alla en Enfer”): “Ne *concevant* rien à un malheur si constant, il soupçonna enfin de la tricherie dans son adversaire.” The proposal of Jortin to read *CONCIPERE* is not for a moment to be entertained, if it were only on account of the necessity it involves (a necessity not perceived by the proposer) of changing *AUT* into *nec*, and *NEC* into *aut*, *quod impossibile*, and would never have been made had the proposer been aware that the expression *concepere mente furores*, although used by Ovid in the sense of *rapere mente furores*, or *become furious* (Ovid, *Met.* 2. 640, of Ocyrrhoe:

“ ergo ubi vaticinos *concepit mente furores*,
incauitque deo quem *clausum pectore habebat* ”),

is at least equally capable of expressing *picture fury to oneself*, *imagine fury*.

AUT GRAVIORA TIMET QUAM MORTE SICHAEI (vs. 502).—“*QUAM* quae in *MORTE SICHAEI* timuerat,” Ribbeck. No, certainly not; for who knows what Anna had feared at that time, or whether she had feared at all? All we know is that Dido got over her grief for Sichaeus, did not at the death of Sichaeus kill herself in despair, and accordingly this is our author’s meaning in the text: “does not fear that anything worse will happen now than happened at the death of Sichaeus;” “does not doubt but Dido will get over her grief for Aeneas, as she had got over her grief for Sichaeus;” and so Servius, who, obscure and unintelligible as he is in the previous part of his gloss, is explicit enough in the latter: “quae *MORTE SICHAEI* vel fecit vel passa est Dido;” and so also Wagner (1861): “*QUAM* quae acciderant *MORTE SICHAEI*.”

Charles James Fox, in a letter to Wakefield (Russell’s *Mem. of Fox*, vol. 4, p. 426) says: “I think the coarsest thing in the

whole book (not, indeed, in point of indecency, but in want of sentiment) is verse 502. *She thought she would take it as she did the last time* is surely vulgar and gross to the last degree." "Virgil coarse! Virgil deficient in sentiment! Very good, very refined, indeed, Mr. Fox; but you had no objection—who of your nation ever had?—to a woman's being in love twice, marrying twice, and having children who were half-brothers, and half-sisters. It was to you, as it was and is to all your and my compatriots, and universal Christendom, a matter of course that a woman should cohabit with two, three, four, or any number of men, one after another, provided each successive husband waited for the decease or divorce of the previous, somewhat in the same way as a new tenant waits for the removal of the previous occupier before he enters into possession of the farm. Your objection was not to the thing itself, to the two loves, to the woman's passing out of the arms of the one man into those of the other; your objection was to all comparison between the two griefs, and you left it to the Hindoo, to the Roman, to this very Virgil whom you accuse of want of sentiment, and to his barbarian Dido, to look upon the thing itself, the second love, with horror, and as only by a narrow step, and scarcely even by a narrow step, removed from adultery. See 4. 24:

"sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
pallentes umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,
ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro."

4. 552:

"non servata fides cineri promissa Sichaco."

AT REGINA, PYRA PENETRALI IN SEDE SUB AURAS ERECTA,
INGENTI TAEDIS ATQUE ILICE SECTA (vv. 504, 505).—I adopt Wakefield's punctuation (ERECTA, INGENTI) as affording by far the most elegant structure and most poetical sense, and add to the examples which he has adduced in support of it the precise parallel from our author himself, *Æn.* 6. 214:

. . . "pinguem taedis, et robore secta
ingentem, struxere pyram ;"

and Seneca's (*Oedip.* 530) :

"est procul ab urbe luens, ilicibus niger ;"

and Silius Italicus's (13. 277) :

"acribus in mediis, consurgens ilice multa,
extruitur rogos."

See Remm. on 1. 297 ; 5. 2, 387. This view is approved of by Conington.

TAEDIS ATQUE ILICE SECTA (vs. 505).—*I.e.*, SECTA *taeda et ILICE*, or *taeda et ILICE sectis*—SECTA belonging in the sense to TAEDIS no less than to ILICE. TAEDIS ATQUE ILICE SECTA = billets, *σχιδακες*, of pine wood and *ilice*. Compare *Biblia Sacra, Reges*, 3. (1), 18.33 : *καὶ ἐμελίσε τὸ ὀλοκαυτώμα καὶ ἐπιθήκεν ἐπὶ τὰς σχιδακάς*. TAEDIS signifies the particular kind of tree, viz., pine, which, containing much turpentine, is very inflammable; the same kind of tree, viz., of which ships were built, as Juvenal, 12. 57 :

"i nunc et ventis animam committe, dolato
confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
quatuor, aut septem, si sit latissima *taeda*."

INTENDITQUE LOCUM SERTIS (vs. 506).—"We have already in 2. 237 had *intendere* used of the operation of binding. Virgil has here taken a further license, inverting the expression so as to put the bandage into the instrumental ablative, the thing bound into the accusative," Conington. The notion of *intendere* is not binding, but stretching or straining. The "*serta*" are stretched over the place from point to point (in other words, the place is hung, not bound, with "*serta*"), and so at 2. 237, where see note. Neither is "*intendere brachia tergo*," 5. 403, *to bind the arms with the cestus*. It is *to strain or stretch out the arms having the cestus on them, to hold the arms intent, i.e., stretched out, or strained forward at full length as a boxer strains them forward*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 6. 54 (of Arachne and Pallas stretching out, straining their webs, laying

them at full length, and at the same time tight):

“et gracili geminas *intendant* stamine telas,”

where however “stamine” and “telas” are spoken of a thing and its part, not as LOCUM and SERTIS, “vincula” and “collo,” “brachia” and “tergo,” of two distinct and different things. Also Juvenal, 8. 149: “sed sidera testes *intendant* oculos” [strain, stretch their eyes, look on intently]. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 1: “*intentique* ora tenebant.”

HAUD IGNARA FUTURI (vs. 508).—*Not knowing nothing of what was about to happen, i.e., well knowing what she was going to do, exactly as 5. 618: “haud ignara nocendi” [not knowing nothing about doing harm, i.e., well accustomed to do harm]. See Rem. on 5. 618.*

510-521.

TERCENTUM—PRECATUR

TERCENTUM TONAT ORE DEOS (vs. 510).—“NON TERCENTUM DEOS, sed TONAT TERCENTUM [both Daniel and Lion’s edit., TONAT tertio CENTUM] numina Hecates; unde et Hecate dicta est, *εκατον*, id est, *centum potestates habens*,” Servius (cod. Dresd.) “Trecenta diversorium deorum nomina invocat, . . . plures deos ad terrorem nominat,” La Cerda. “TER CENTUM, divisa, ut sit TER TONAT CENTUM DEOS,” Heyne, Voss, Wagner (ed. Heyn.), Forbiger, Ladewig; Heyne, Wagner, and Forbiger, citing in support of their opinion Sil. 1. 91:

. . . “ordine *centum*
stant arae caelique deis Ereboquo potenti.
hic, crine effuso, atque Hennaecae numina divae
atque Acheronta vocat Stygia cum veste sacerdos,”

a passage which, as I think, makes not for, but against it, inasmuch as the circumstance that Silius's expression is not *ter vocat*, but simply "vocat," shows that Silius connected the TER of our text not with TONAT but with CENTUM, and that the meaning of Silius's "centum" is precisely the same as of Virgil's TERCENTUM, *i.e.*, a great many, a multitude.

TERCENTUM DEOS.—As we would say in English: *hundreds of gods; gods by the hundred.* Compare *Georg.* 1. 15:

"ter centum nivci tondent dumeta iuvenci"

[not three hundred steers, but a great multitude of steers, steers by the hundred]. *Aen.* 8. 715:

. . . "sacerabat
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem"

[not three hundred temples, but a great number of temples, temples by the hundred]. *Ibid.* 10. 182: "ter centum adiiiciunt." *Ibid.* 7. 275: "stabant ter centum nitidi in praecepibus altis." *Hor. Od.* 3. 4. 79:

. . . "amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae."

Hesiod, *Theog.* 712:

οἱ δ' ἀρ ἐνὶ πρῶτοισι μάχην δριμύειαν ἐγείραν,
Κοττος τε, Βριαρῶς τε, Γυγης τ' αἶστος πολέμοιο,
οἱ ρα τριηκούσιας πέτρας στιβαρῶν ἀπο χερῶν
πέμπον ἐπασσύτερας, κατὰ δ' ἐσκίασαν βελέεσσι
τίτληνας.

Horace, *Sat.* 5. 12: "trecentos inseris: ohe, iam satis est." And especially Ovid, *Met.* 4. 144:

. . . "nam iam mihi saecula septem
acta vides: superest, numeros ut pulveris aequem,
ter centum mosses, ter centum musta videre,"

where "ter centum" (explained by "numeros pulveris", is equivalent to *innumerable*. In our text, therefore, TER CENTUM DEOS is *innumerable gods*, *viz.*, the innumerable gods invoked by Medea,

Ovid, *Met.* 7. 196 :

“ quaeque magas, Tellus, pollentibus instruis herbis ;
 auraeque, et venti, montesque, amnesque, lacusque,
 dique omnes nemorum, dique omnes noctis, adeste.”

The expression still subsists in the Italian in the selfsame sense, as Goldoni, *La Scuzzese*, 1. 5 : “ Oh ! questa poi è la solita interrogazione. Da che lo conosco, mi l’avra chiesto *trecento volte*.”

AD LUNAM (vs. 513).—“ *Non ad noctem, sed ad lunae observationem,*” Servius. The observation was little called for, the use of luna for nox being sufficiently rare, and the practice of incantation by moonlight sufficiently notorious. We had been more obliged by information whether Virgil did not by AD LUNAM mean more than simply what the words in their strict construction express ; whether Virgil’s AD LUNAM was not to be taken κατ’ ἐξοχήν, and as meaning *by the light of the full moon*. That it is so to be taken is the more probable, first, because taken in its stricter sense the expression affords no definite picture, leaves us wholly at a loss to guess what sort of moonlight we are called upon to imagine, whether the bright light of the full or only the dim light of the waning or crescent moon (compare Hor. *Sat.* 2. 8. 31 :

“ post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
ad lunam delecta ”),

and secondly, because it is by the “ *pernox luna* ” (*i.e.*, by the full moon, the moon being pernox only when at the full) Medea gathers the rime, Ovid, *Met.* 7. 268 :

“ addit et exceptas luna pernocte pruinas,”

with which compare *Ibid.* 180 (also of Medea) :

“ postquam plenissima fulsit,
ac solida terras spectavit imagine luna,”

when the moon was exactly at the full. For AD LUNAM itself compare Juvenal, 10. 21 :

“ et motae *ad lunam* trepidabis arundinis umbram.”

Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 437 (of Priapus) :

“ at deus obscœna nimium quoque parte paratus,
omnibus *ad lunæ lumina* risus erat.”

Let the reader, who from the scientific eminence of the nineteenth century looks down with a smile of self-satisfaction mingled with pity on the childish magical ceremonies of three thousand years ago, compare Carus, *Lebensmagnetismus* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 122: “Das gewöhnlichste verfahren ist, das man irgend-einen, selbst der verwesung unterworfenen körper, ein stück fleisch, ein stück apfel oder zwiebel, einen holzsyran oder sonst etwas, benutzt, mit diesen körpern den auswuchs im lichte des abnehmenden mondes bestreicht, oder den span ebenso mit etwas blut aus den kranken gebilden trinkt, und sie nun durch vergraben oder ins wasser werfen der verwesung übergibt. Dabei wird dann noch empfohlen, dergleichen nur allein und ohne zu sprechen vorzunehmen, und oft werden wol sonst noch abergläubische ceremonien beigefügt. Oftmals habe ich, halb im scherz solche curen, namentlich gegen hartnäckige warzen der hände, selbst angerathen, und diese auswüchse, nachdem sie ätzmitteln und dergleichen lange widerstanden hatten, allerdings kurz darauf allmählig schwinden und sich gänzlich verlieren gesehen; aber gleich hier ist dann ein fall, wo es vielleicht für immer unmöglich bleiben wird zu unterscheiden, ob diese einwirkung in wahrheit durch einfluss des mondwechsels allein bestimmt war, oder ob dabei nicht unbewussterweise im eigenen tiefen bildungsleben mittels der spannung der phantasie selbst eine umstimmung eingetreten war, welche es bedingte, dass weiterhin jene parasitischen gebilde der haut keine nahrung mehr erhielten und also abstarben und vergingen.” *Ibid.* p. 144: “Als ältestes präparat dieser art [*i. e.*, der thierkohle] dessen arzneiliche anwendung namentlich gegen kröpfe sich schon seit ein paar jahrhunderten erhalten hat, ist zu nennen der gebrannte badeschwamm (*spongea usta*), in welchem indess ein besonderer bestandtheil, das iod, sich nachweisen lässt, welches auch an und für sich in seiner arzneilichen anwendung eine eigenthümlich das lymphsystem anregende und dadurch zertheilung von ge-

schwülsten befördernde kraft übt, obwohl die meisten aerzte beobachtet haben werden, dass seine natürliche form und verbindung in dem gebrannten schwamm selbst immer die am besten wirkende bleibe, zumal wenn sie in der zeit des abnehmenden mondes angewendet wird."

UNUM EXUTA PEDEM VINCLIS (vs. 518).—Compare Iambl. *Protrept.* 2; p. 132 (ed. Theod.) : *Ανυποδητος θυε και προσκυνει.*

AEQUO FOEDERE (vs. 520).—The *ισω ζυγω* of Theocritus, *Idyll.* 12. 15 :

αλληλους δ' εφιλησαν ισω ζυγω. η ρα τοτ' ησαν
χρυσειοι παλαι ανδρες, οτ' αντεφιλησ' ο φιληθεις,

and "pari iugo" of Martial, 4. 13. 8.

522-532.

NOX ERAT ET PLACIDUM CARPEBANT FESSA SOPOREM
CORPORA PER TERRAS SILVAEQUE ET SAEVA QUIERANT
AEQUORA QUUM MEDIO VOLVUNTUR SIDERA IAPSU
QUUM TACET OMNIS AGER PECUDES PICTAEQUE VOLUCRES
QUAEQUE LACUS LATE LIQUIDOS QUAEQUE ASPERA DUMIS
RURA TENENT SOMNO POSITAE SUB NOCTE SILENTI
LENIBANT CURAS ET CORDA OBLITA LABORUM
AT NON INFELIX ANIMI PHOENISSA NEQUE UNQUAM
SOLVITUR IN SOMNOS OCVLISVE AUT PECTORE NOCTEM
ACCIPIT INGEMINANT CURAE RURSUSQUE RESURGENS
SAEVIT AMOR MAGNOQUE IRARUM FLUCTUAT AESTU

VAR. LECT. (vs. 528).

LENIBANT—LABORUM ■■■²/₃. ■■■ P. Manut.; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Phil.; Brunck; Wakef.; Weichert; Voss; Lad.

LENIBANT—LABORUM OMITTED ■ *Pal., Med.*

LENIBANT—LABORUM OMITTED OR STIGMATIZED ■■■ Heyne ;
Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861); Haupt; Ribb. The line is
not cited by Servius (cod. Dresd.)

In the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (less an original poem than a splendid adaptation of the *Aeneid* to the times of the crusades) we have (2. 96) the following almost exact copy of this fine painting, itself a copy of Apollonius Rhodius's *Νύξ μὲν ἐπεῖτ'*, &c. (*Argon.* 3. 744) or (see Heyne ad *Aen.* 8. 26) of Aleman's fragment, *Εὐδουσιν δ' ὀρεῶν κορυφαὶ τε καὶ φαράγγες*, &c. :

“era la notte, allor ch' alto riposo
han l'onde e i venti, e pareo muto il mondo.
gli animai lassi, e quei che 'l mar ondoso,
o de' liquidi laghi alberga il fondo,
e chi si giace in tana o in mandra ascoso,
e i pinti augelli, nell' oblio profondo,
sotto 'l silenzio de' secreti orrori,
sopian gli affanni, e raddolciano i cuori.
ma nè 'l campo fedel, nè 'l Franco Duca
si discioglie nel sonno, o pur s' accheta.”

The Italian language possesses, in the following beautiful sonnet (*Parnaso Italiano*, tom. 6, p. 198), a second though much less exact copy of the same painting :

“quando la notte abbraccia con fosch' ale
la terra, e 'l dì dà volta e si nasconde,
in cielo, in mare, in boschi, e fra le fronde
si posa e sotto tetto ogni animale :

perchè 'l sonno il pensier mette in non cale
che per le membra si distende e 'nfonde
fin che l'aurora con sue trecce bionde,
renova le fatiche diurnale.

io misero mi trovo fuor di schiera,
che 'l sospirar nimico a la quiete
mi tiene aperti gli occhj, e desto il core ;

e come uccello avvilluppato in rete,
quanto più cerco di fuggir maniera,
più mi trovo intricato e pien d' errore.”

The celebrated French minister Turgot (not perhaps generally known to have been a translator of the fourth book of the *Aeneid*) has thus spiritedly and not unfaithfully rendered the same passage into French hexameters, more agreeable, to my ear at least, than the wearying sing-song of Delille's rhyming heroic :

“ des long-temps la nuit dans les cieus poursuivoit sa carrière ;
 les champs, les solitaires forêts, tout se taisoit : et les vents
 suspendoient leur haleine : un calme profond régnoit sur l'onde ;
 tous les astres brilloient dans leur tranquille majesté.
 les habitants des airs, des bois, des plaines et des eaux,
 plongés dans le sommeil, réparaient leurs forces épuisées ;
 les mortels oubloient leurs soins cuisans. Tout reposoit
 dans la nature : et Didon veilloit dans les pleurs. La nuit paisible
 dans son cœur ne descendra jamais : le sommeil fuit de ses yeux ;
 ses ennuis la dévorent : l'amour, la fureur, le désespoir
 dans leur flux et reflux orageux font rouler sa pensée.”

LENIBANT CURAS ET CORDA OBLITA LABORUM (vs. 528).—I have not thought it necessary to inquire into the MS. authority for this verse, being decided to retain it, first on account of its great beauty ; secondly, because the whole passage is lame and truncated without it ; and thirdly, and principally, because (see Rem. on l. 151) it is **so much** Virgil's habit at the end of every long *uno tenore* description thus (viz., by the repetition, in a slightly altered form, of the commencing thought) to bring his reader back to the point from which he had set out, **that** even if I had never seen nor heard of the line LENIBANT CURAS ET CORDA OBLITA LABORUM, I would have expected *a priori* that the sentence commencing with ET PLACIDUM CARPEBANT FESSA SOPOREM should have ended with, and been wound up by, some such line.

NEQUE UNQUAM SOLVITUR IN SOMNOS, theme ; OCULISVE AUT PECTORE NOCTEM ACCIPIT, variation. NOCTEM is figuratively for somnos, as Theocrit. 21. 4 :

καὶ ὀλίγον νυκτός τις ἐπιψαύσῃσι, τὸν ὑπνόν
 αἰφνιδίον θορυβευσὶν ἐφίσταμεναι μελεδῶναι.

See Rem. on 2. 360.

RURSUSQUE RESURGENS SÆVIT AMOR.—“De pleonasmio *rursus resurgere* vid. ad *Georg.* 1. 200,” Forbiger. We have only to take the hint given us by the poet himself, who joins his RURSUS of three lines below not with the participle IRRISA but with the verb with which the following verse begins (EXPERIAR), and join this RURSUS, too, not with the participle RESURGENS, but with the verb with which the following verse begins, SÆVIT, and we have not only no tautology, but the unexceptionable sense, AMOR RESURGENS SÆVIT RURSUS = AMOR RURSUS *surgit*, et SÆVIT RURSUS. If, however, the pleonasm pleases better, there is no want of authority for it either among Greeks or Romans, as Soph. *Philoct.* 952 (Philoctetes addressing his cave, after the loss of his bow and arrows) :

ω σχημα πετρας διπυλον αυθις αυ παλιν
εισειμι προς σε φιλος, ουκ εχων τροφην

(where *αυθις* is *iterum*, and *παλιν* *back*). Lucan. 1. 389 :

“quantus
. curvato robore pressae
fit sonus, aut *rursus redeantis* in aethera silvae.”

Ovid, *Met.* 10. 63 : “*revolutaque rursus eodem est.*” See Rem. on “*rursus experiar*,” 4. 534.

MAGNOQUE IRARUM FLUCTUAT ÆSTU (vs. 532).—“It may be doubted whether the subject of FLUCTUAT is AMOR or Dido herself,” Conington. The subject is not AMOR, but Dido herself, first because AMOR fluctuating in an “aestus” of anger affords a bad picture, while Dido herself fluctuating in it affords a good one ; secondly, because it is a person not a passion which is elsewhere described as fluctuating in an “aestus,” 8. 18 :

. . . “quac Laomedontius *heros*
cuncta videns *magno curarum fluctuat aestu* ;”

12. 486 :

“heu quid agat ? vario nequidquam *fluctuat aestu*,
diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae ;”

with which compare Val. Flacc. 3. 637 : “*ingenti Telamon iam*

fluctuat ira ;” Catull. 64. 60 :

“ quam procul ex alga moestis Minois ocellis,

prospicit, et magnis curarum fluctuat undis.”

FLUCTUAT = κυμαίνει. See Pind. *Scol.* 2 : ποθω κυμαίνεται (where see Dissen).

534-546.

EN QUID AGO RURSUSNE PROCOS IRRISA PRIORES
EXPERIAR NOMADUMQUE PETAM CONNUBIA SUPPLEX
QUOS EGO SIM TOTIES IAM DEDIGNATA MARITOS
ILIACAS IGTUR CLASSES ATQUE ULTIMA TEUCRUM
IUSSA SEQUAR QUIAXE AUXILIO IU VAT ANTE LEVATOS
ET BENE APUD MEMORES VETERIS STAT GRATIA FACTI
QUIS ME AUTEM FAC VELLE SINET RATIBUSVE SUPERBIS
INVISAM ACCIPIET NESCIS HEU PERDITA NECDUM
LAOMEDONTEAE SENTIS PERIURIA GENTIS
QUID TUM SOLA FUGA NAUTAS COMITABOR OVANTES
AN TYRIIS OMNIQUE MANU STIPATA MEORUM
INFERAR ET QUOS SIDONIA VIX URBE REVELLI
RURSUS AGAM PELAGO ET VENTIS DARE VELA IUBEBO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 541).

R

INVISAM ■ *Pal., Med.* (INVISAM) ; “ In Mediceo et plerisque aliis codicibus antiquis INVISAM legitur, non tamen displicet IRRISAM,” Pierius. ■■■ N. Heins. (1670) ; Phil. ; Heyne ; Wagner * (*Lect. Virg.* and *Praest.*) ; Haupt ; Ribbeck.

IRRISAM ■■■ “ IRRISAM ; alii INVISAM,” Servius (Daniel, Lion ; passage not in cod. Dresd.) ; P. Manut. ; La Cerda ; D. Heins.

* To Wagner’s argument against IRRISAM (*Lect. Virg.*) “ Putasne, vir elegantissime, tam brevi intervallo bis Didonem ‘irisam’ se appellasse ? ” the “ vir elegantissimus ” might well have replied : Yes ; for is not Cerberus twice styled “ ingens ” within even a shorter space, *Aen.* 6. 417, et seqq. ? and see Rem. on 1. 29, towards the end.

EN! QUID AGO?—"Reprehendit Dido ipsa varios istos motus animi, commemoratos vs. 531, sq.; cf. vs. 595," Wagner (*Praest.*) Not the meaning. Dido does not blame herself, but inquires what she is to do. EN! QUID AGO? = EN! QUID AGAM? "What am I to do?" To this question she replies by proposing (in the form of two new questions) the two ways open to her to take; first, that of renewing her broken off negotiations with her Nomad suitors—

RURSUSNE PROCOS IRRITA PRIORES
EXPERIAR, NOMADUMQUE PETAM CONNUBIA SUPPLEX?—

to which course there is the obvious objection, that they will now spurn her as she had formerly spurned them (QUOS EGO SIM TOTIES IAM DEDIGNATA MARITOS); and secondly, that of bowing herself to Aeneas, and becoming his and the 'Trojans' obedient servant, and accompanying them to Italy—

ILIACAS IGITUR CLASSES ATQUE ULTIMA TEUCRUM
IUSSA SEQUAR?—

to which course the objection immediately suggests itself, that they are ungrateful and not to be relied upon, as she knows from experience, and she must not put herself into their power,

QUIANE AUXILIO IUVAT ANTE LEVATOS,
ET BENE APUD MEMORES VETERIS STAT GRATIA FACTI?

And even if she were willing to venture, is she sure that they would be willing to take her? Has she not good reason to fear that they would not, that they hate her, that all their protestations of regard are the usual perjuries of a race always celebrated for its perfidy?—

QUIS ME AUTEM, FAC VELLE, SINET, RATIBUSVE SUPRIMIS
IRRISAM ACCIPIET? NESCIIS HEU, PERDITA, NECDUM
LAOMEDONTEAE SENTIS PERICULUM GENTIS?

And, finally, if she determine to go, to accompany them, and they make no objection, how is she to put her determination into execution? Is she to go alone on board their vessels and be carried off as a prey (SOLA FUGA NAUTAS COMITABOR OVANTES?),

or is she to go as an equal and a queen, in her own ships, with all her own people, the people whom she was scarcely able to bring with her even to Carthage?—

TYRIIS OMNIQUE MANU STIPATA MEORUM
INFERAR, ET QUOS SIDONIA VIX URBE REVELLI
RURSUS AGAM PELAGO, ET VENTIS DARE VELA IUBEBO ?

No, no ! there is nothing for it but to die, and put an end to her trouble—

QUIN MORERE, UT MERITA ES, FERROQUE AVERTE DOLOREM.

IRRISA (vs. 534).—"Despecta ab Aenea," Wunderlich, Jahn, Forbiger (3rd ed.) "Ut irridear," Heyne (and Jacob. *Quaest. Ep.* p. 142). "Ein gegenstand des spottes," Süpfle. "IRRISA ob id ipsum, quod eorum quos spreverat, iam ultro appetat matrimonium," Wagner (*Praest.*) Conington hesitates between the two meanings. I agree with Heyne, Süpfle, and Wagner (whose several interpretations, though all to the same purport, I have quoted separately, because each makes clearer the meaning of the other), against Wunderlich, Jahn, and Forbiger, first, because the meaning *a public laughing-stock* is so much stronger than *laughed at (jilted) by Aeneas* ; and secondly, because it is precisely in this sense the word is used, ð. 272 :

"*irrisam* sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat,"

and 7. 425 :

"i nunc, ingratis offer te, *irrise*, periclis ;"

and thirdly, and mainly, because IRRISA so understood assigns the reason why she should not do what she proposes, why she should not again try those suitors whom she had formerly rejected ; as if she said : "shall I make myself ridiculous by again trying, &c.?"

RURSUSNE PROCOS . . . PRIORES EXPERIAR?—Compare Senec. *Med.* 218 :

. . . "petebant tunc meos thalamos proci
qui nunc petuntur."

RURSUS EXPERIAR is incorrect, Dido not having tried her suitors before, but having, on the contrary, been tried by them. RURSUS RESURGENS, a few lines previously, if not absolutely incorrect, is at least pleonastic (see Rem. on verse 531), as is also “rursus, revoluta,” 6. 449. Still more incorrect is (7. 322) “funestae iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae,” inasmuch as it was impossible for “taedae” to be “funestae iterum” to the “recidiva Pergama,” until they had first been semel funestae to it, and however funestae they had once been to antiqua Pergama they had never yet been “funestae” at all to “recidiva.” Pity our most excellent author should so frequently indulge in the easy luxury of this slovenly, slipshod, Greek style of composition; that Virgil’s verses should be, every now and then, as little worthy of Virgil as the verses of Euripides are, every now and then, of Euripides. Let the reader compare the verses just animadverted on with Eurip. *Phoen.* 1360 :

οι του γεροντος Οιδιπου νεανιαι,
 ως εις αγωνα μονομαχου τ' αλκην δορος,
 δισσω στρατηγω και διπλω στρατηλατα,

and *ibid.* 98 :

ενθενδ' εκεισε δευρυ τ' αυ κεινου παρα,

and say whether to the Latin or to the Greek verses is most justly due the palm for correctness of conception and brilliancy of execution.

ULTIMA IUSSA.—“ULTIMA; deterrima? an superba?” Serv. (ed. Lion). “Put a quod loquatur ad miserationem, quasi quod, si naviget cum Troianis, sit futura serva,” Pompon. Sabinus. “SEQUAR ULTIMA, *i. e.*, vilissima IUSSA TEUCRUM: *h. e.* ‘ero ancilla et contemptui omnibus Troianis,’” Ascensius. “ULTIMA IUSSA sunt infimi generis hominibus dari solita; . . . accommodatissimo epitheto ad indignationem et odium, quasi expectandum sibi sit ut infimo loco habeatur, utque sibi tanquam caloni alicui indignissima quaeque imperentur,” Heyne. “ULTIMA IUSSA, wie *τα εσχαρα*, die unwürdigsten, schimpflichsten. Sinn: *ut exequar quicquid iubere placeat*,” Thiel. “Recte Heynius laudat interpretationem Pomponii Sabini: ‘si naviget cum Troianis, sit

futura serva.' Ea interpretatio confirmatur similibus in simili casu dictis : Catull. *Epith. Pel. et Thet.* 160 :

' attamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes
quae tibi iucundo famularer serua labore ;'

Ovid, *Heroid.* 7. 167 :

' si pudet uxoris, non nupta, sed hospita dicar ;
dum tua sit Dido quodlibet esse feret, "'

Peerlkamp. " 'Ultimus' est *infimus* ; cf. Pompon. Sabinus," Gossrau. "Quibus nihil potest gravius esse (ut '*ultima* poena'), qualibus utuntur domini in servos ; cf. v. 326," Wagner (1861). "Rightly explained by Pomp. Sabinus . . . ULTIMA then will be infima or extrema. See Forcell. So *εσχάτον ἀνδραποδόν*," &c., Conington. "Non suprema, sed infima, deterrima esse, vere memorat Heyne," Forbig. (1873).

So, according to the unanimous opinion of commentators (for Donatus is silent here, and La Cerda's "accipio ULTIMA IUSSA decretum ultimum abeundi" = 0), ULTIMA is "pessima, deterrima," and Dido actually asks herself the question, shall she go with Aeneas and become his handmaid ? The queen and founder of Carthage, the noble, generous, high-minded Dido, coolly deliberates whether or not to accompany a foreigner and refugee she knows not whither, in the capacity of "serva" and "pellex" ! Fie on the interpretation ! fie on the reader who, accepting it, does not lay down the book, closed for ever on Dido and her shame ! But let no reader accept the interpretation. Dido asks herself no such question. Her own answer abundantly shows she does not. "I might," she answers, "if he had shown himself grateful for past services." Might what ? go with the Trojans to be the pellex of their chief ? No, no ; unhappy Dido, fallen as thou art, thou art not fallen into the pit of ink into which commentators represent thee to have fallen. Her answer is : "I might—had he not shown his utter ingratitude for all the kindnesses he and his comrades have received at my hands—might have gone with him, and by so doing put myself entirely into his power, in a thorough reliance on his honour and honesty, and that he never would demand anything

of me incompatible with the dignity and honour of the queen of Carthage."

ULTIMA is *ultimate*, *last*, in the sense of *utmost*. How little there is of bad, vile, base, dishonest or dishonourable in ultimus, how entirely the moral character, if I may so say, of the word depends on the context in which it stands, is placed beyond doubt by the following examples: Cic. *de Fin.* 3 (p. 76, ed. Lamb.): "Qui [philosophi] *summum* bonum, quod *ultimum* appello, in animo ponerent." Id. *Epist. Fam.* 7. 17: "Perfero et *ultima* expectato; quae ego tibi et iucunda et *honesta* praestabo." Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 551:

. Αγαμεμνων τ' αναξ
ειπεν μεθειναι παρθενον νεανιας.
οι δ' ως ταχιστα ηκουσαν υστατην οπα,
μεθηκαν, ουπερ και μεγιστον ην κρατος.

where the Scholiast: την εσχατην φωνην του βασιλεως, τελος γαρ πασης υπεροχης ο βασιλευς.

ILIACAS CLASSES SEQUAR?—*Follow, go after*, not in the literal, but only in the secondary sense, viz., *court*, *ambire*. Compare Cic. *de Leg.* 2. 1: "ego vero . . . praesertim hoc tempore aequi, et amoenitatem et salubritatem hanc *sequor*." Propert. 2. 13. 11:

"Cynthia non *sequitur* fasces, non quaerit honores."

ILIACAS CLASSES ATQUE ULTIMA TEUCRUM IUSSA SEQUAR?—Absolute mistress in Carthage, and like Ovid's Fame "nullis obnoxia iussis," Dido asks herself shall she go on board the Trojan fleet, and by so doing lose her liberty, make herself "obnoxia" to the ULTIMA IUSSA of Aeneas and his people.

IUSSA.—Compare Tacit. *Ann.* 14. 24: "Nec multo post legati Tigranocerta missi, patere moenia afferunt, intentos populares ad *iussa*." Ibid. 1. 4: "Igitur verso civitatis statu, nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes, exuta aequalitate, *iussa* principis aspectare."

QUIANE AUXILIO IUVAT ANTE LEVATOS, ET BENE APUD MEMORES VETERIS STAT GRATIA FACTI?—"Go with them, indeed! put myself in the power of the thankless Trojans." The words

are almost Pindar's (*Isthm. 6. 16*, ed. Boeckh)

αλλα παλαια γαρ

ευδει χαρις, αμναμονες δε βροτοι.

‘ QUIS ME AUTEM, &c., . . . GENTIS? (vv. 540-542).—“Even were I so inclined, even had I not already experienced how little they are to be trusted, where is there one among them does not hate me, and would not refuse to receive me on board his ship?”

QUID TUM? SOLA FUGA NAUTAS COMITABOR OVANTES?—What is the meaning of this QUID TUM? SOLA FUGA COMITABOR? How comes it that, having just decided she will not go with the Trojans, that they would not even receive her if she went, she so immediately inquires shall she go with them, alone or accompanied? Is it possible she has so soon changed her mind, and, intending to go, now inquires in what manner she shall best effect her purpose? Far from it. Just the opposite. These words indicate transition to a new category of objections. She dare not trust the Trojans, nor would they permit even if she dared. What, then? is that all? Has she nobody to deal with but the Trojans? nobody at home as difficult to deal with as the Trojans themselves? If she goes alone, SOLA FUGA, what is that but to elope, to abscond, to run away? and as to bringing her people with her, with what face is she to ask those who were scarcely to be persuaded to leave Tyre, to leave Carthage too, and go to sea again in search of new adventures? Worse and worse. Even more impossible to leave Carthage than to go with Aeneas. There is nothing for it but to die and end her troubles—QUIN MORERE, &c.

INFERAR? (vs. 545).—**Not** shall I be borne towards them, carried towards them *hostilely*, whether in order to prevent them from going, or to punish them for having gone

["what, than? shall I alone pursue these boatmen brave, in flight?
or shall I rouse my people all in arms with me to fight?" (Phaer).]

“what, then? alone on merry mariners
shall I await? or board them with my power
of Tyrians assembled me about?”

(Surrey).

“soll ich mit Tyrischer macht, umschart von den meinigen allen,
stürmen daher?”

(J. H. Voss).

“Non possum insequi cum hostili exercitu, nam qui rursus obiectem maris periculis, quos vix ac tanto negotio REVELLI a Tyro?” La Cerda. “Insequar et aggrediar classe?” Forb. (4th ed.) “Inferri seems here to have the sense of *attack*, like *inferre signa, pedem, gradum*,” Conington], **for**, first, how absurd an alternative had INFERAR in such sense been to SOLA FUGA NAUTAS COMITABOR OVANTES? and, secondly, how equally, or even more, absurd Dido’s objection to being “*illata*” in a hostile sense against the Trojans, that she could not ask her Tyrians to go with her to sea? No, no; nothing is farther from Dido’s mind than hostilities. It is new difficulties, difficulties at home and with her own people, she is considering. If she goes alone, she runs away, deserts those who, leaving Tyre at her instance, have put their lives and fortunes into her hands. She cannot take them with her, for they would not go, would not leave Carthage, were hardly to be persuaded to leave Tyre. INFERAR is, therefore, not hostile, but the very contrary: *shall I be borne, carried on (viz., in my fleet), to join the fleet of Aeneas and the Trojans?* and corresponds exactly to *me inferam*? Compare Stat. *Theb.* 5. 236 (Hypsipyle speaking):

“ut vero Alcimedem etiamnum in murmure truncos
ferre patris vultus, et egentem sanguinis enseni
conspexi, riguere comae, atque in viscera saevus
horror iit: meus ille Thoas, mea dira videri
dextra mihi: extemplo thalamis turbata paternis
inferor,”

where the same verb, in the same passive voice, in the same person, in the same number, in the same position in the verse, is applied by Hypsipyle to herself, bound not on a hostile mission, but a mission of filial love and duty, viz., to save her father’s life. Nor are examples of a similar total absence of the notion of hostility from the verb *inferri* by any means rare. The following are a few out of many:—Stat. *Theb.* 1. 383 (of Poly-
nices):

. . . “ hinc celsae Iunonis templa Prosymnae
 laevus habet, hinc Herculeo signata vapore
 Lernaei stagna atra vadi : tandemque reclusis
infertur portis ; actutum regia cernit
 vestibula ; hic artus imbri ventoque rigentes
 proiicit, ignotaeque acclinis postibus aulae
 invitat tenues ad dura cubilia somnos.”

Tacit. *Ann.* 14. 5 : “ Nando, deinde occursu lenunciorum, Lu-
 crinum in lacum vecta, villae suae *infertur*.” Lucret. 3. 679 :

“ praeterea si iam perfecto corpore nobis
inferri solita est animi vivata potestas,
 tum, quum gignimur, et vitae quum limen inimus.”

Tacit. *Ann.* 12. 69 : “ *Illatusque* castris Nero . . . imperator
 consalutatur.” *Ibid.* 15. 69 : “ Clauditur [Vestinus] cubiculo,
 praesto est medicus, abscinduntur venae, vicens adhuc balneo
infertur, calida aqua mersatur.”

RURSUS (vs. 546).—Even this single word is sufficient to
 show by itself, and without further argument, that what Dido
 has just proposed to herself that she should ask her people is a
 repetition of what she had asked them to do before, viz., to go
 to sea in search of a new settlement, not a thing as different
 from, as opposite to, what she had asked them to do before as
 war is different from and opposite to peace.

550-552.

NON LICUIT THALAMI EXPERTEM SINE CRIMINE VITAM
DEGERE MORE FERAE TALES NEC TANGERE CURAS
NON SERVATA FIDES CINERI PROMISSA SICHAEO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 552).

O

SYCHAEO ■ *Pal.* (thus : SYCHAEIES, with the IES cancelled). ■■■

"SICHEO pro *Sicheio*,"* Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Aldus (1514); P. Manut.; Fabric.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

SYCHAEI ■ *Med.*; Pierius ("In codd. plerisque sane quam vetustis SICHAEI legitur; maior tamen pars possessivum nomen agnoscit, et SUCHAEO [*sic*] scribit.")

MORE FERAE.—"Plinius in *N. H.* dicit lynceas post amissos coniuges aliis non iungi," Servius. It is not likely the allusion in our text is to the lynx, no mention of or allusion to such peculiarity of that animal being to be found elsewhere in any author either ancient or modern, and if we are to credit Cynthius Cenetensis, non even in Pliny himself: "quod nec Plinius unquam dixit, nec Aristoteles"—an observation deserving of the more respect as Cynthius Cenetensis is elsewhere generally a reverential follower in the steps of Servius. Neither is it likely the allusion is to the refusal of one of a pair of horses to draw in the same harness (sub eodem iugo) with a new and strange companion after the death, or other separation, of an accustomed mate; for although a mare might be termed fera, and a young woman is frequently termed *πωλος*, or silly, and **although** we have Andromache herself after the death of Hector spurning the widow who, less delicate-minded than the brute beast, accepts and draws kindly with a new yoke-fellow, Eurip. *Trogl.* 668 (Andromache speaking):

* The whole verse, however, quoted at verse 50 in the cod. Dresd.:

NON SERVATA FIDES CINERI PROMISSA SICHEO,

and by Lion following the codices of Daniel:

NON CINERI SERVATA FIDES PROMISSA SICHAEO.

απεπτυσ' αὐτην, ἥτις ἀνδρα τὸν παρὸς
 καινοῖσι λεκτροῖς ἀποβαλὼν, ἄλλον φιλεῖ.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πῶλος ἥτις ἀν' διαζύγῃ
 τῆς συντραφείσης, ραδίως ἔλκει ζυγόν·
 καί τοι τὸ θηριώδες, ἀφθογγόν τ' ἔφυ,
 ξυνεσεῖ τ' ἀχρηστον, τῇ φύσει τε λείπεται.
 σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἑκτορ, εἶχον ἀνδρ' ἀρκούντα μοι
 ξυνεσεῖ, γένει, πλούτῳ τε, κ' ἀνδρεία μέγαν·
 ἀκῆρατον δὲ μ' ἐκ πατρὸς λαβὼν δόμων,
 πρῶτος τὸ παρθενεῖον ἐξεύξω λῆχος.
 καὶ νῦν ὀλωλας μὲν σὺ, ναυσθλούμαι δ' ἐγώ
 πρὸς Ἑλλάδ' αἰσμάλωτος εἰς δούλον ζυγόν,

still it is hardly likely either that so great a master of composition as Virgil would use no more than the two brief and almost enigmatical words *MORE FERAE* to bring from a distance and set before his readers the somewhat complex picture of a mare refusing to draw in the same yoke with a new comrade, or that so courtly a poet was imprudent enough to present such picture to a court at which second marriages were rather the rule than the exception. Nor is it much more probable that the allusion is to the *ατιμαγελεῖν* of wild animals, **whether** the *ατιμαγελεῖν* proper or that separation of the sexes which takes place in the intervals between the rutting seasons (see Arist. *II. A. 6. 17. 8*: Ὁ δὲ ταυρὸς, ὅταν ὦρα τῆς οἰκίας ἡ, τότε γίγνεται συννομός, καὶ μαχεται τοῖς ἀλλοῖς, τὸν δὲ προτερον χρόνον μετ' ἀλλήλων εἰσιν, οὐ καλεῖται ατιμαγελεῖν· πολλακίς γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰπείρῳ οὐ φαίνονται τριῶν μηνῶν. Ὀλῶς δὲ τὰ ἀγριώτερα πάντα ἢ τὰ πλείστα οὐ συννεμόνται ταῖς θήλεσι πρὸ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ οἰκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκκρίνονται ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθῶσι, καὶ χωρὶς βοσκονται, τὰ ἀρρενα τῶν θηλέων. Theocr. *Idyll. 25. 129* :

ἄλλοι δ' αὖ μετὰ τοῖσι δώδεκα βουκόλεοντο,
 ἱεροὶ Ἥλιου· χορὴν δ' ἔσαν ἤτε κυκνοὶ
 ἀργησταί, πᾶσιν δὲ μετεπρεπον εἰλιποδεσσίην·
 οἱ καὶ ατιμαγελαὶ βοσκόντ' ἐριθλέα ποιῆν
 ἐν νομῷ· ὥδ' ἐκπαλὸν ἐπὶ σφίσι γαυριῶντο

(viz., twelve oxen among the herds of Augeas which kept apart from the herds). *Ibid. 9. 3* :

μὸς ὅς τις βῶσιν ὑφέντες, ἐπὶ στείραισι δὲ ταύρῳ·
 ἥ οἱ μὲν ἀμα βοσκόντο, καὶ ἐν φυλλοῖσι πλανῶντο,
 μηδὲν ατιμαγελευντ' ἐς),

or whether that less proper *ατιμαγελιν* of which our own Cowper has presented us with so touching a picture in his own person, *Task*, 3. 108 (of himself):

“ I was a stricken deer that left the herd
long since. With many an arrow deep infix'd
my panting side was charged, when I withdrew
to seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
there was I found by one, who had himself
been hurt by th' archers. In his side he bore,
and in his hands and feet, the cruel scars.
with gentle force soliciting the starts,
he drew them forth, and healed and bade me live.
since then with few associates, in remote
and silent woods I wander, far from those
my former partners of the peopled scene,
with few associates and not wishing more.”

Point-blank against all such interpretations stands the weighty authority of Quinctilian, **whose observation** (9.2.64): “*Est emphasis etiam inter figuras quum ex aliquo dicto latens aliquid eruitur, ut apud Virgilium: NON—FERAE. Quanquam enim de matrimonio queritur Dido, tamen huc erumpit eius affectus, ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet, sed ferarum,*” **shows** that that accomplished critic understood the words *MORE FERAE* to be spoken neither of a special exceptional brute animal which has lost its mate, nor of a brute animal which either alone or in company with others has separated from the herd, but of brute animals generally (“*vitam non hominum putet, sed ferarum*”); and I feel myself bound in consequence neither to accept nor propose an interpretation of the passage incompatible with this meaning, so happily preserved to us, of *MORE FERAE*. The question then comes to be: what kind of a *vita* was that “*vita ferarum*” which Dido complains her sister would not allow her to live? was it a life of indiscriminate concubinage (“*cur mihi NON LICUIT vivere MORE FERAE, sine matrimonio, et cum quolibet concumbere?*” Peerlkamp)? Impossible, so long as the turtle dove is an emblem of conjugal fidelity, Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 3. 2. 2:

“that was as trew in love, as turtle to her make;”

and even Peerlkamp himself, rather than put such an abomina-

tion into the mouth of Dido, tampers with the codices and substitutes from mere conjecture *rae miserae*! for the obnoxious words. Was it, as it has been represented by Heyne and Wagner to have been, an ascetic life, apart from all society (“*MORE FERAE*. At quam parvum hoc, ut saltem ferino *MORE* seclusam a iucunda societatis coniunctione, solam et hominum adeoque et virorum commercia fugientem, vivere licuisset! Nihil amplius in sententiam est assumendum quam abhorrens ab humaniore cum aliis consuetudine ac consortio natura,” Heyne. “*MORE FERAE*, solitariam scilicet; non socialem *VITAM* DEGERE,” Wagner (1861)) ? Doubly impossible, so long **as** on the one hand wild animals not merely live generally in flocks and herds, and only exceptionally in solitude, but have, besides, their “*thalami*,” Lucan. 8. 396 (Lentulus to Pompey) :

. “at non Cornelia letum
infando sub rege timet. Non barbara nobis
est ignota Venus, quae ritu caeca *ferarum*
polluit innumeris leges et foedera taelae
coniugibus, *thalamique* patent secreta nefandi,”

and even their “*hymenaei*,” *Georg.* 3. 60 (of the cow) :

“aetas Lucinam iustosque pati *hymenaeos*
desinit ante decem, post quatuor incipit annos,”

and so long **as**, on the other hand, the eminently social habits of Dido occupy so large a portion of her history **from** our first introduction to her—

“talis erat Dido, talem se lacta ferebat
per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris.
tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
septa armis, solioque alte subnixa resedit.
iura dabat legesque viris; operumque laborem
partibus acquabat iustis, aut sorte trahebat—”

up to the day of that fatal hunting.

Of what “*vita ferarum*,” then, if of neither of these, does Dido complain that her sister debarred her? I reply: of the no less innocent and simple than chaste life of the *ferae naturae*, and this the more probably (1) on account of the contrast, with which we have just been presented in this very context, of the sleeplessness of Dido kept awake by her unhappy and criminal pas-

sion, with the placid repose of wild bird and beast, and even of inanimate nature :

NOX ERAT, ET PLACIDUM CARPEBANT FESSA SOPOREM
CORPORA PER TERRAS, SILVAEQUE ET SAEVA QUIERANT
AEQUORA ; CUM MEDIO VOLVUNTUR SIDERA LAPSU,
CUM TACET OMNIS AGER, PECUDES PICTAEQUE VOLUCRES,
QUAEQUE LACUS LATE LIQUIDOS, QUAEQUE ASPERA DUMIS
RURA TENENT, SOMNO POSITAE SUB NOCTE SILENTI,
LENIBANT CURAS, ET CORDA OBLITA LABORUM.
AT NON INFELIX ANIMI PHOENISSA, NEQUE UNQUAM
SOLVITUR IN SOMNOS, OCVLSVE AUT PECTORE NOCTEM
ACCIPIT. INGEMINANT CURAE, RURSUSQUE RESURGENS
SAEVIT AMOR, MAGNOQUE IRARUM FLUCTUAT AESTU.

(2), on account of the constant junction not only by Virgil himself, but by many other authors both ancient and modern, of the notion of simplicity, innocence, and chastity with that of a life in the midst of woods and wilds [compare (a), *Aen. 11. 570* (of Camilla) :

“ hie natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris.
utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto,
spiculaque ex humero parvae suspendit et arcum.
pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae,
tigridis exuviæ per dorsum a vertice pendent.
tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit,
et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena,
Strymoniamque gruem, aut album deiecit olorem.
multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
optavere nurum ; sola contenta Diana
aeternum telorum et virginittis amorem
intemerata colit.”

(b), Ovid, *Met. 1. 474* (of Daphne) :

. . . “ fugit altera nomen amantis,
silvarum latebris captivarumque ferarum
exuviis gaudens, innuptaeque aemula Phoebe.
vitta coercerat positos sine lege capillos.
multi illam petiere ; illa aversata petentes,
impatiens expersque viri, nemorum avia lustrat,
nec quid Hymen, quid Amor, quid sint connubia, curat.

saepe pater dixit : ' generum mihi, filia, debes.'
 saepe pater dixit : ' debes mihi, nata, nepotes.'
 illa, velut crimen, taedas exosa iugales,
 pulchra verecundo suffunditur ora rubore ;
 inque patris blandis haerens cervice lacertis,
 ' da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime,' dixit,
 ' virginitate frui ; dedit hoc pater ante Dianae, ' "

where Ovid's "aversata petentes, impatiens expersque viri," and "taedas exosa iugales" correspond to the THALAMI EXPERTEM of our text ; Ovid's "velut crimen exosa" to the SINE CRIMINE of our text ; Ovid's "silvarum latebris captivarumque ferarum exuviis gaudens, innuptaeque aemula Phoebes" and "nemorum avia lustrat" to MORE FERAÆ of our text (and the "vita ferarum" of Quinctilian) ; and Ovid's "nec quid Hymen, quid Amor, quid sint connubia curat" to the TALES NEC TANGERE CURAS of our text. (e), Theocr. *Idyll. 1. 81* :

. . . ηνθ' ο Πριηπος
 κήφα· Δαφνι τάλαν, τι τυ τακεαι ; α δε τε κωρα
 πασας ανα κρανας, παντ' αλσεα ποσσι φορειται

["venit Priapus dixitque : ' Daphni miser, quid tabescis ? ' " (Daphnis is dying of love of a nymph who flies everywhere through the woods avoiding him)]. (a), Senec. *Hipp. 717* (Hippolytus, when he first becomes aware of the guilty passion of Phaedra) :

" non ipse toto magnus Oceano pater
 tantum expiarit sceleris : o silvae ! o ferae ! "

["O ! wild animals of the forest, to whom wickedness like this is unknown ! "] (e), Id. *Thyest. 411* (Thyestes soliloquizing) :

" occurret Argos, populus occurret frequens ;
 sed nempe et Atreus. repete silvestres fugas,
 saltusque densos, potius, et mixtam feris
 similemque vitam "

["back to the woods ; better to live among wild beasts and as a wild beast, than among these horrors"—exactly the sentiment of Dido : VITAM DEGERE MORE FERAÆ, TALES NEC TANGERE CURAS]. (f), Cic. *Pro Rosc. Amer. 26. 71* : "Inter feras satius est

aetatem degere, quam in hac tanta immanitate versari,” where “*aetatem degere*” is the *VITAM DEGERE* of our text, “*inter feras*” the *MORE FERAÆ* of our text, and “*quam in hac tanta immanitate versari*” the *TALES NEC TANGERE CURAS* of our text, (*g*), Hor. *Od.* 2. 5. 5 :

“ circa virentes est animus tuæ
campos iuvencae, nunc fluviis gravem
solantis aestum, nunc in udo
ludere cum vitulis salieto
prægestientis,”

words which might be substituted for the *FERAÆ* of our text and Dido's meaning remain unaltered, thus: *MORE* “*circa virentes . . . campos iuvencae*,” &c. **1**. (**3**), on account of the express comparison, by Ovid, of the life of the Arcades, so celebrated for their innocence, chastity, and simplicity, to the life of the *ferae naturae*, *Fast.* 2. 289 :

“ ante Iovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades ; et Luna gens prior illa fuit ;
vita *ferae* similis, nullos agitata per usus ;
artis adhuc expers et rude vulgus erant.”

And (**4**), on account of the use of a derivative of *fera* not merely in Latin but even in modern languages to express the notion of coy chastity, as Sen. *Hipp.* 923 :

. . . “ silvarum incola
ille *effratus*, castus, intactus, rudis.”

Della Casa, *Son.* 12 :

“ bella *fera* e gentil mi punse il seno.”

Petr. *Sonn.* part 1, canz. 27 :

“ tempo verrà ancor forse
ch' all' usato soggiorno
torni la *fera* bella, e mansueta.”

The “*vita ferarum*,” then, of which Dido complains that her sister debarred her, is, according to logical fitness and propriety, the innocent, chaste, and simple life of the *ferae naturae*. But, it may be argued, where is such meaning to be found in the

words? SINE CRIMINE is, indeed, *innocent*, but THALAMI EXPERTEM is not *chaste and simple*: THALAMI EXPERTEM is *without wedlock*. No matter how fit and proper a meaning be “the innocent, chaste, and simple life of the *ferae naturae*,” it is not Virgil’s meaning. Virgil distinctly says “the innocent *without wedlock* life of the *ferae*,” and that meaning, that meaning only, no matter how unfit and improper logically, we are bound to take, and reverentially bow to, unless indeed you can show us that your logically fit and proper meaning is also grammatically ascribable to the words—than which, I reply, happily nothing is easier to be shown. We have only to connect THALAMI EXPERTEM with *me* understood, instead of with VITAM, and we have the words at one and the same time expressing a logically fit and proper meaning, and arranged according to a construction **not only** no less legitimate (compare Ovid, *Her.* 20. 75 (Acontius to Cydippe):

“ante tuos *flentem licet* consistere vultus.”

Cic. *de Offic.* 1. 26: “Haec praescripta *servantem licet* magnifice, graviter, animoseque vivere.” Plaut. *Pseud.* 1. 1. 14: “*Licet me* id scire quid sit”? Our author himself, 5. 350:

“*me licet* casus miserari insontis amici”)

than that by which they are made to express a meaning logically unfit and improper, **but** actually pointed out (as far as MS. authority ever points out anything) to be the true construction, by the point placed after THALAMI EXPERTEM in the Medicean.

If again it be objected that Quintilian’s own words are against such a construction inasmuch as they not only inform us that Dido thought a life of celibacy was a life fitting only for *ferae* (“*ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum*”), but themselves afford an example of the junction of “*sine thalamis*” (the exact equivalent of THALAMI EXPERTEM) with “*vita*,” I reply, (*a*), to the first part of the objection, that Quintilian is very explicit that the sentiment “*sine thalamis vitam non hominum [esse] sed ferarum*” is only “*latens*” in

Dido's words, and a mere deducible from them ("eruitur"), and is therefore himself direct authority that Dido does not *express* that sentiment; and (*b*), to the second part, that my thesis is not in the smallest degree shaken by Quintilian's "sine thalamis vitam," inasmuch as my thesis is not that thalami expertem may not on any occasion be joined with vitam (it may be joined with vitam whenever it suits the writer's purpose, and it was as free to Quintilian to say thalami expertem vitam, as "sine thalamis vitam"), but that it has not on the present occasion been so joined by our author.

Well, then, it will be said, there is an ambiguity in the passage which does no credit to Virgil. Certainly; the grammar admits equally of the construction THALAMI EXPERTEM VITAM, and *me* THALAMI EXPERTEM, and it is logical fitness and propriety, not grammar, which determines the construction in the mind of Virgil to have been the latter, not the former. Of how very frequent, how almost perpetual, occurrence such ambiguity is in Virgil's writings, I need hardly inform the reader who has had the patience to accompany me through these remarks, or who, even without having so accompanied me, endeavours to satisfy himself whether it is to *me* EXPERTEM THALAMI or to VITAM we are to refer SINE CRIMINE in this very passage. Both the grammar and logical fitness and propriety permit equally its junction with either. Who shall say which was in the mind of Virgil, whether (*me*) THALAMI EXPERTEM (*me*) SINE CRIMINE, DEGERE VITAM MORE FERRAE, or (*me*) THALAMI EXPERTEM DEGERE MORE FERRAE VITAM SINE CRIMINE? In favour of the former is not only the emphasis produced by the climax (*me*) THALAMI EXPERTEM, (*me*) SINE CRIMINE, *without wedlock, without the crime of wedlock* (compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 483, quoted above :

" illa velut crimen tædæ exosa iugales"),

but the greater suitability to the excited state of Dido's mind, of the three *κωλα κομματικά*, NON LICUIT (*me*) THALAMI EXPERTEM—(*me*) SINE CRIMINE—VITAM DEGERE? than of the one long sentence NON LICUIT (*mihî*) THALAMI EXPERTEM SINE CRIMINE VITAM DEGERE, in which the adjectives are all placed with

rhetorical coolness before the substantive of which they constitute the description. In favour of the latter we have the so frequent junction by other writers of *sine crimine* with *vita* or *vivere*, *ex. gr.*, Maximian, *Eleg.* 4. 51 :

“ et nunc infelix tota est *sine crimine vita* ;”

Venant. Fortun. *Poem.* 3. 8 (ad Felicem, episcopum) :

“ nupsisti ecclesiae, felicia vota iugasti,
hanc qui matronam dote potente reple,
cuius in amplexu ducis *sine crimine vitam*,
altera nec mulier corde recepta fuit ;”

Ovid, *Heroid.* 17. 17 :

“ adhuc *sine crimine vixi*,
et laudem de me nullus adulter habet ;”

and the innocence, so much insisted on by poets, of the life of wild animals in comparison with that of man—see Seneca and Ovid, quoted above. Let the most ardent propugner of the style of Virgil say which construction is the author's.

(*Me*) THALAMI EXPERTEM.—Compare Eurip. *Med.* 670 (Medea to Aegeus) :

δαμαρτος ουσης, η λεχους απειρος ων ;

Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 11 :

“ *nuptiarum expertes*, et adhuc protervo
cruda marito.”

Stat. *Theb.* 10. 61 :

“ Ipsa [Iuno] illic magni thalamo desponsa Tonantis,
expertes connubii, et timide positura sororem,
lumine demisso pueri Iovis oscula libat
simplex, et nondum furtis offensa mariti.”

THALAMI EXPERTEM, *unmarried, never married, single*, i. e., *virgin*, as Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 118 :

“ inde Serena minor, prior hinc Thermantia natu,
expertes thalami, quarum Cythereia necdum
sub iuga cervicos niveas Hymentaeus adegit.”

SINE CRIMINE, i. e., sine adulterio, Dido considering her

marriage with Aeneas little short of adultery, because (as explained verse 552) a breach of her faith to Sichaeus. Compare Ovid, *Heroid.* 9. 53 (Dejanira to Hercules):

“una, recens crimen, praefertur adultera nobis.”

Ibid. 16. 294 (Paris to Helen):

“et tua sim, quaeso, crimina solus ego.”

Ibid. 17. 17:

“et adhuc sine crimine vixi,
et laudem de me nullus adulter habet.”

Ibid. 20. 7:

“conjugium pactamque fidem, non crimina, posco;
debitus ut coniux, non ut adulter, amo.”

Id. *Met.* 1. 765:

“ambiguum Clymene precibus Phaethontis, an ira
mota magis dicti sibi criminis.”

Also Stat. *Theb.* 3. 273 (Venus to Mars):

“criminis haec merces? hoc fama, pudorque relictus?”

Prudent. *Peristeph.* 14. 7 (of St. Agnes):

“duplex corona est praestita martyri:
intactum ab omni crimine virginal,
mortis deinde gloria liberae.”

In the same manner as crimen in all these instances is the crime of incontinence, *par excellence*, *μωρία* and *το μωρον* are with the Greek writers the same crime, as Eurip. *Hipp.* 648 (ed. Musgr.):

... η δ' αμνηχανος γυνη
γνωμη βραχεια μωριαν αφηρεθη.

Ibid. 979:

αλλ' ως το μωρον ανδρασιν μεν ουκ ενι,
γυναιξι δ' εμπεφυκεν.

Exactly similar to this is the use of our own word *folly* in the same sense *par excellence*, as Goldsmith:

“ when lovely woman stoops to *folly*,
 and finds too late that men betray,
 what charm can soothe her melancholy?
 what art can wash her guilt away?”

SINE CRIMINE explains and completes EXPERTEM THALAMI : without marrying after having pledged her faith to another, and without the guilt of so doing ; or, in one sentence, without the guilt of this marriage.

I am sorry to differ thus widely from the accomplished critic from whose “ *vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum* ” we receive the first warning (see above) against Servius’s fable of the lynx, the first inkling that the “ *vita* ” from which Dido complains her sister debarred her was the “ *vita* ” of wild animals generally, not of any one wild animal in particular. I would rather (for, backed by so great authority, I would then no longer have doubted I was in the right), I would rather have discovered in Dido’s words that lurking sentiment which Quintilian informs us is to be discovered in them, viz. : “ *ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum,* ” but I was wholly unable. The only sentiment I was able to discover in them—and that sentiment is one clearly and unmistakably enough expressed—is that the life of the fera is a life of innocence (SINE CRIMINE), and that Dido’s sister in precipitating Dido’s connexion with Aeneas rendered such a life of innocence impossible to her :

NON SERVATA FIDES CINERI PROMISSA SICHÆO.

CURAS.—“ *Dolores animi,* ” Heyne. “ *Voluit, credo, amorem* : ‘ *Debebam post Sychæum omni omnino amore abstinuisse, neque res huiusmodi et ineptias iterum attigisse.* ’ *Res tales, curae tales,* honestum et verecundum ipsius vocabuli amoris silentium,” Peerlkamp. I think Peerlkamp is wrong, and Heyne right. The meaning which Peerlkamp finds in TALES CURAS (viz., “ *amorem* ”) belongs not to those words, but to the previous THALAMI and CRIMINE : Dido says “ I ought not to have loved [viz., Aeneas], and then I would not have known these cares, this trouble ” (Heyne’s “ *dolores animi* ”). TALES CURAS is not an “ *honestum et verecundum ipsius vocabuli amoris*

silentium" (the mouth which has just uttered THALAMI and CRIMINE need hardly boggle at *amor*), but TALES CURAS points to her present trouble, her present affliction unto death, to the DOLOREM, and the MALIS, and the PERDITA of the preceding part of her soliloquy. The identical word "curae" is used not merely in this identical sense, but to express these identical sorrows, this identical trouble, in the very words in which the soliloquy is introduced, verse 531: INGEMINANT CURAE [not *her love is doubled*, but *her cares, her trouble, her sorrow, is doubled; the cares, the trouble, the sorrow produced by her love, are doubled*; for immediately to INGEMINANT CURAE is added the explanation, RURSUSQUE RESURGENS SAEVIT AMOR]. How far the expression TALES CURAS is from being necessarily an equivalent for amor ("verecundum ipsius vocabuli amoris silentium") is abundantly shown by Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 1. 5. 11 :

"non libet in *tales* animum contendere *curas*;
nec venit ad duros Musa vocata Getas,"

where the cares spoken of are the poet's cares, the cares of poetry.

TALES CURAS.—Neither these troubles, nor any troubles of this kind.

CINERI PROMISSA SICHAE0.—*Promised to [the now] dead Sichaeus*, Sichaeus being the person to whom faith was pledged, and CINERI being in apposition to SICHAE0, and descriptive of Sichaeus's present state. Compare Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 6. 42 :

"ianque *cinis*, vivis fratribus, Hector erat."

Seneca, *Octav.* 169 (Octavia speaking) :

"Britannice, heu me ! nunc levis tantum *cinis*,
et tristis umbra (sacra cui lacrymas tulit
etiam noverca, quum rogis artus tuos
dedit cremandos, membraque et vultus deo
similes volanti, flamma fervens abstulit)."

Those who, with the Medicean, read SYCHAEI can hardly extricate themselves from the absurd sense : *faith pledged to the ashes of Sychaeus*.

554-577.

AENEAS—OVANTES

VAR. LECT. (vs. 559).

IUVENTA ■ *Med.* (Fogg.) ■■■ Serv. (ed. Lion); Wakef.

IUVENTAE ■■ Cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Ven. 1470; Aldus (1511);
P. Manut.; Ribb.

I prefer the former, both on account of greater MS. authority and on account of the expression DECORA IUVENTA being more Latin than MEMBRA IUVENTAE. Compare 9. 365; Hor. *Od.* 1. 32. 12.

VAR. LECT. (vs. 577).

ITERUM ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresl.: "ITERUM PAREMUS, quia iam paraverat, praeparatione navigiorum"); P. Manut.

TUO ■■■ Voss.

POTES HOC SUB CASU DUCERE SOMNOS, NEC QUAE TE CIRCUM STENT
DEINDE PERICULA CERNIS? (vv. 560-1).—Compare Aesch. *Eumen.*
94 (the ghost of Clytemnestra to the sleeping furies):

ευδοιτ' αν; ωη, και καθευδουσων τι δει;

Lucan. 10. 353 (Pothinus to Achilles):

. . . " 'tu mollibus,' inquit,
' nunc incumbere toris, et pingues exigue somnos;
invasit Cleopatra domum.' "

Let the curious reader compare the fool's announcement to William the Conqueror, of the conspiracy of his barons, *Roman de Rou*, 8816: "U gies Willame? Por kei dors?" &c.

CERTA MORI (vs. 563) is added, not in order to inform Aeneas of Dido's intended suicide, but to magnify the danger to him from a woman who, being determined to die, would not be prevented by regard for self-preservation from attempting any act no matter how reckless and desperate.

RUMPE MORAS (vs. 569).—Compare Metast. *Issipile*, 2. 13 : “truncate le dimore.”

VARIUM ET MUTABILE SEMPER FEMINA (vs. 569).—The oft repeated calumny. See *Od.* 11. 455 : *ἐπει οὐκ ἐπὶ πιστὰ γυναιξία*. Calpurn. *Ecl.* 3. 10 : “mobilior ventis, o femina !” Festus, fragm. e cod. Farnes. (Mueller's *Fest.* p. 165) : “nec mulieri nec gremio credi oportere.” Racine, *Athalie* :

“elle flotte, elle hésite, en un mot elle est femme.”

Quatrain attributed to Francis I., king of France :

“souvent femme varie ;
bien fol est qui s'y fie.”

Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, act 2 :

. . . “even to vice
they are not constant, but are changing still
one vice, but of a minute old, for one
not half so old as that.”

Women, as compared with men, are not variable and mutable, but the very contrary ; and Dido in particular was unchangeably and devotedly attached to Aeneas, whom, if she did not pursue with fire and sword, it was not that *his* inconstancy did not so deserve, but that *her* magnanimity disdained, and *her* still-subsisting passion forbade.

FEMINA (vs. 570).—Used not in the definite sense *a woman*, but in the indefinite general sense *whatever is female, of the female sex*. Compare Val. Flacc. 5. 671, where “femina” is applied to Pallas in this general manner, *the female*. The word seems to be more properly used in this sense by the god, especially by a married god, to whom his own wife gave so much trouble. The word, besides, from its position—first word in the line, and last word of the speech—has an extraordinary emphasis. See Rem. on 2. 247.

TUM VERO (vs. 571).—After the first appearance of Mercury to him (vs. 265), Aeneas is desirous to go, and makes preparations :

“ardet abire fuga, dulcesque relinquere terras,”

but still hesitates :

“heu, quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem
audeat affatu?” &c.

Thoroughly frightened by the second vision, TUM VERO, he actually goes, cannot be off fast enough :

CORRIPIT E SOMNO CORPUS, SOCIOSQUE FATIGAT :
PRAECIPITES VIGILATE, VIRI, ET CONSIDITE TRANSTRIS;
SOLVITE VELA CITI
VAGINAQUE ERIPIT ENSEM
FULMINEUM, STRICTOQUE FERIT RETINACULA FERRO.
LITTORA DESERUERE; LATET SUB CLASSIBUS AEQUOR;
ANNIXI TORQUENT SPUMAS, ET CAERULA VERRUNT.

See Remm. on 2. 105, 228; 3. 47; 4. 396, 449; 5. 659.

SUBITIS EXTERRITUS UMBRIS (vs. 571).—UMBRIS, the vision which Aeneas has just seen; for we are warned, first, by all just poetical sentiment, and secondly, by the exactly parallel expression of Virgil's faithful imitator, “Saguntinis somnos exterritus *umbris*” (Sil. 2. 704), not to fall (with Heyne, whom, in this as well as numerous other instances, the other commentators, *ex. gr.*, Thiel and Forbiger, have but too trustingly followed) into the gross error of referring UMBRIS to the natural (and therefore not terrifying) darkness which ensued on the disappearance of the vision. Compare Petronius (p. 368), translating from Epicurus :

“somnia, quae mentes ludunt volitantibus *umbris*”

[*not* with darkness, *but* with flitting shades, visions]. See also *Aen.* 6. 894; and Justin. 1. 9: “quo somnio exterritus;” and Val. Flacc. 1. 778: “visaque exterritus *umbra*” [terrified by the apparition which he had just seen].

FATIGAT (vs. 572).—Query, with the foot, as Nestor, Diodorus, *Il.* 10. 157 :

τον παρστας ανεγειρε Γερηνιος ιπποτα Νεστωρ,
λαξ ποδι κινησας.

and Telemachus, Pisistratus, *Odys.* 15. 44 :

αυταρ ο Νεστοριδην εξ ηδεος υπνου εγειρεν,
λαξ ποδι κινησας, και μιν πρὸς μυθον εειπεν,

and Mago, his comrades, Sil. 7. 303 :

. . . “sociosque in cespito fusos
incussa revocat castrorum ad munera *planta*.”

Wagner (*Praest.*) renders FATIGAT by “urget.” It is very much more: *worries them, gives them no peace.* See Rem. on l. 284.

SEQUIMUR TE, SANCTE DEORUM (vs. 576).—*I. e.*, sanctissime deus. Compare Enn. (Hesseli, p. 65):

“respondit Iuno Saturnia, *sancta dearum*,”

where the commentator: “pro *sanctissima*, ut ait Aelius.” Hom. *Il. G. 305*: *δια θεων*. Enn.: “*dea dearum*.” Eurip. *Alcest. 460*:

συ γαρ, ω μονα, ω φιλα γυναικων.

Id. *Here. 568*: *ω ταλαινα παρθενων*, where Wakefield (*Silv. Critic.*): “*i. e.*, ut ipse interpretatur, v. 571 :

. . . *τλημονεστατην δε σε
πασων γυναικων ειδον οφθαλμοις εγω.*”

584-587.

ET IAM PRIMA NOVO SPARGEBAT LUMINE TERRAS
TITHONI CROCEUM LINQUENS AURORA CUBILE
REGINA E SPECULIS UT PRIMUM ALBESCERE LUCEM
VIDIT ET AEQUATIS CLASSEM PROCEDERE VELIS

VAR. LECT. (vs. 587).

AEQUATIS ■ *Pul., Med.* ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.: “AEQUATIS VELIS, feliciter plenis, sine motu aliquo”); Venice, 1470; Aldus (1514); P. Mantt.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., ed. 1861); Haupt.

ARQUATIS ■■■ Hermann (*Rhein. Mus.*, vol. 5, p. 621), *ex conj.*; Ladewig.

O *Rom.*

ET IAM, &c., . . . CUBILE.—“Si haec sunt Virgilii, sequentia ut PRIMUM ALBESCERE LUCEM VIDIT manere non possunt,” Peerlkamp. On the contrary, it is precisely Virgil’s habit thus to repeat his thought, *ex. gr.*, 2. 447 :

. . . “his se, quando *ultima cernunt*,
extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis,”

where there is the same relation between “*ultima cernunt*” and “*extrema in morte*” as there is in the passage before us between PRIMA AURORA NOVO SPARGEBAT LUMINE and UT PRIMUM ALBESCERE LUCEM VIDIT. The repetition in both instances is for the purpose of keeping an agreeable picture a moment longer before the mind. In reading, and still more in hearing, a poem, the mind must not be hurried through a multitude of thoughts in the manner in which it is hurried from cypher to cypher in totting up a column of arithmetical figures ; it must have time allowed it to dwell where dwelling is agreeable ; the emotion this moment excited is not to be cut short instantly and abruptly to make way for another, and that again for a third, but time must be allowed not merely for a full and complete view but for the enjoyment of that full and complete view. This is so much the case that the thought is not only repeated by the poet, with variety of expression, once, twice, and even thrice (see Rem. on 1. 550), but occasionally, where the object is very simple, and would pass away almost unobserved if expressed only once, is repeated without change of expression, *ex. gr.*, 9. 427 :

“*me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*,”

a case in which the word is repeated twice, unvaried, within the limits of a single line. On the principle of Peerlkamp, viz., that there is to be no manner of repetition of a thought, this line should be cut down to “*adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*,” or, inasmuch as “*adsum*” is implied in “*me*,” perhaps to “*in me qui feci convertite ferrum*.” On the same principle I should never have written “no, no,” in the course of these comments, but always simple “no,” one *no* negating a proposition as much as a hundred ; and every clergyman who pub-

lishes the banns of marriage more than a single time is guilty of work of supererogation. The two lines which Peerlkamp would eject because a similar—observe it is far from the same—view of the same object is presented in the next line are two of the sweetest lines in the poem. Eject them, and you have indeed the dawn, but you have neither the saffron couch of Tithonus, nor Aurora leaving it, nor Aurora sprinkling the earth with light. Was there ever in the world a man, except Peerlkamp himself, who would eject these lines on account of *PRIMUM ALBESCERE LUCEM* in the next verse, even if *PRIMUM ALBESCERE LUCEM* were, as we have hitherto regarded it, no more than a different view of the same object? But it is not; it is something more. The two lines describe the morning which succeeded the night on which Aeneas had the vision ordering him to leave Carthage. They are the beginning of a new day, and usher in that day with all a poet's pomp. The morning thus placed all bright and glowing before you, you are told that the queen, not then or when Aurora was sprinkling the world with new light, but even before that time, as soon as ever the first dawn, the first grey day, was visible from her look-out; in other words, as soon as ever Aurora *began* to do what in the previous lines she is described as doing, the queen, &c. It is as if Virgil had said: "the next morning came, and the queen as soon as it was light," &c., or "as soon as it was light *next morning*," or, shorter still, "next morning at dawn," expressions which, short as they are, are, on the principle of Peerlkamp, tautologous, and should be reduced to the still shorter, "as soon as it was light," or "at dawn."

SPECULIS (vs. 586).—"Quas utique in sua regia habuit," Servius, Heyne, Wagner (*Praest.*), and myself ("Twelve Years' Voyage," and "Advers. Virgil.")—all as I now think incorrectly; for first, I find the *arx* of Troy expressly denominated *σκοπια* by Euripides (*Hecuba*, 918):

. . . παιδες Ελλανων, ποτε δη, ποτε των
Ιλιαδα σκοπιαν
περσαντες, ηξετ' οικους;

and secondly, we have Dido taking this same view, under simi-

lar circumstances and with similar groans and similar emotions
 “arce ex summa,” verse 409, above :

“ quosve dabas gemitus, cum littora fervere lato
 prospiceres *arce ex summa*, totumque videres
 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus æquor?”

I do not therefore at all doubt but that Dido is represented in our text as taking the view not specially from an elevated part of her palace (the roof, or a tower on the roof), but generally from the *arx*. And so Ovid, *Remed. Amor.* 57 :

“ nec moriens Dido *summa* vidisset ab *arce*
 Dardanidas vento vela dedisse rates.”

See Rem. on 11. 877.

REGINA E SPECULIS UT PRIMUM, &c.—Compare Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (Gulliver drawing the fleet of the Lilliputians of Blefuscu after him by so many strings) : “ but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of despair as it is almost impossible to describe or conceive.”

REGINA E SPECULIS UT PRIMUM ALBESCERE LUCEM VIDIT.—Compare Apollon. Rhod. 3. 827 (of Medea) :

ἡ δ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ πρῶτα φαινομένην ἰδὲν ἦν
 παρθενική.

ÆQUATIS CLASSEM PROCEDERE VELIS.—Æquatium velum, a squared sail, a sail set at right angles to the keel; obliquum velum, a sloped sail, a sail set so as to form with the keel, in one direction an acute, and in the other direction an obtuse angle. I know indeed of no example of the precise term obliquum velum; but the expression obliquare sinus (5.16), meaning to slant or slope the sail, leaves no doubt that either this precise term or some equivalent term existed. ÆQUATIS PROCEDERE VELIS, therefore, is to sail with squared sails or right before the wind; Fr. *arriver, aller, ou naviguer, vent arrière*. In the *Pitture d’ Ercolano*, vol. 2, tab. 15, the ship of Theseus is represented sailing away right before the wind from Ariadne. The antenna is squared on the mast, and from each of its

brachia descends a triangular sail, which, growing narrower and narrower as it descends (in nautical language, a leg-of-mutton sail), ends in a long tail, the extremity of which is attached to the side of the vessel. Both sails are strongly bellied out in the direction of the bow. This ship of Theseus, sailing away from Ariadne, “*aequatis procedit velis*,” *arrive vent arrière, ou vergues carrément brassées*, exactly as the fleet of Aeneas sailing away from Dido. Compare Cic. *ad Att.* 16. 5: “*duo sinus fuerunt, quos tramitti oporteret, Praestanus et Vibonensis; utrumque pedibus aquis transmisimus*,” where “*pedibus aquis transmittere*” answers as nearly as possible to our author’s VELIS AEQUATIS PROCEDERE, both presenting the same picture of sailing right before the wind, transmittere in Cicero’s case being used because it was only across a sinus Cicero was sailing, and PROCEDERE in Aeneas’s case, because Aeneas was out on the open sea. If this explanation be correct, the “*aequatium velum*” of Virgil is precisely the “*rectum velum*” of Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 6. 2. 9:

“*cum poteram recto transire Ceraunia velo.*”

Wagner, having in his *Virg. Br. En.* rightly interpreted this passage, as above, has been so unfortunate as to reject in his edition of 1861 his own right interpretation to make room for the, as I now think, erroneous one of my “*Adversaria Virgiliana* :” “*omnes naves utebantur pari velificatione, quo apparebat communiter eas abire eodemque omnes ferri.*”

Aliter (1). AEQUATIS CLASSEM PROCEDERE VELIS.—“*Non obliquis, sed secundo vento tumentibus*,” Wagner, *Virg. Br. En.* “*Aequaliter plenis, secundo vento tumentibus*,” Forbiger. No; that were “*rectis procedere velis*,” Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 6. 2. 93, quoted above; but “*VELIS omnium navium similiter ordinatis, intentis* ;” *made to match, set alike; all the vessels having the same sails out, and therefore all the vessels moving together, going in one direction*. If the vessels had had their sails differently adjusted, *i.e.*, one vessel after one manner and another vessel after another manner, Dido would have concluded that they were not all bent on one object, but were cruising or sailing about for amusement;

but seeing all the vessels sailing with their sails all adjusted alike, she knew that they were all bent on one object, and that object could only be their departure or setting sail from her dominions. Compare 5. 419: "*aequemus pugnās*," quoted by Fronto (*Exempl. Locut.*) as proof that *aequare aliquid* is equivalent to *paria facere*; and 7. 698:

"*ibant aequati numero, regemque cecabant,*"

all equalled by the measure or time, i. e., keeping time to the tune, marching in step; therefore, in our text, *the ships all going in the same manner*. See also Cic. *De Republ.* 1. 32: "*si enim pecunias aequari non placet; si ingenia omnium paria esse non possunt; iura certe paria debent esse.*" [Query, however, what is the meaning of "*aequatae spirant auras*," 5. 844? is it "blow in one direction," as explained in my "*Advers. Virgil.*"?].

Aliter (2). AEQUATIS VELIS.—*With all the sails levelled, i. e., with all the ships in one line abreast, a meaning which seems to be confirmed by PROCEDERE, i. e. proceed or advance formally and in order.* Compare Dares Phrygius, 19: "*Signo dato naves solvunt, tota classis in latitudine accedit ad Troiam.*" Exactly corresponding to AEQUATIS VELIS, *sails levelled or even with each other* (and therefore *ships abreast, alongside of each other*), we have, 5. 232, "*aequatis rostris*," *rostra levelled or even with each other, and therefore ships abreast, alongside, in line, "in latitudine."* So also Sil. 16. 355:

"*tertius aequata currebat fronte Peloro
Caucasus*"

[the two horses Pelorus and Caucasus ran, as we say, abreast, or side by side, literally *with their foreheads on one level*]. Id. 16. 378:

"*at postremus Atlas; sed non et segnior ibat
postremo Durio; pacis de more putares
aequata fronte, et concordi currere freno*"

[parallel to each other, side by side]. Id. 16. 425:

. . . "*aequare videtur,
aut etiam aequavit iuga praecedentia dexter.*"

Aliter (3). AEQUATIS CLASSEM PROCEDERE VELIS.—**Neither** “non obliquis sed secundo vento tumentibus” (Wagn. *Virg. Br. Eu.*), “aequaliter plenis, secundo vento tumentibus” (Forbiger), for that were “*rectis procedere velis*” of Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 6. 2. 9, before quoted, **nor**, as explained by myself in my “*Adversaria Virgiliana*,” “VELIS omnium navium similiter ordinatis, similiter intentis,” *made to match, set alike*, for then the addition to CLASSEM of omnem or totam would have been necessary, **but** simply *settled, arranged, disposed in due position*, or, as English sailors say, *set*. Dido saw the fleet proceeding with set sails, and knew of course that it was departing from her shore. She does not examine, or inquire, or care whether the sails are squared, or whether the sails are all set alike; she sees that the fleet is in motion, with its sails all set or spread to the wind, and that is enough for her; they are plainly leaving her shores. Compare 5. 844: “aequatae spirant aerae” [the wind blows equalled, *i. e.*, set or settled].

590-608.

ABSCISSA—IUNO

VAR. LECT. (vs. 593).

DERIPIENT ■■■ N. Heins. (note in Burm.); Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ed. 1861).

DERIPIENT ■ *Pal.*, *Med.* ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe; Lad.; Ribbeck.

ABSCISSA (vs. 590).—Fea (ad *Georg.* 2. 25) observes (and truly, I think) with respect to *abscindo* as distinguished from *abscido*: “*Abscido significa separare, dividere un corpo col taglio; da abs e caedo: abscindo, da abs e scindo, strap-*

parlo, squarciarlo, dividerlo con tutt' altra forza," i.e., *tear off*. So *Æn.* 5. 685: "*humeris abscondere vestem.*"

ADVENA (vs. 591).—Properly *newcomer*, but here, by implication, *interloper*, *intruder*. Compare Justin, 2. 5: "*Quippe coniuges eorum longa expectatione virorum fessae, nec iam teneri bello, sed deletos ratae, servis ad custodiam pecorum relictis nubunt; qui reversos cum victoria dominos, velut advenas, armati finibus prohibent;*" and Id. 2. 6: "*Soli enim [sciz. Athenienses] praeterquam incremento, etiam origine gloriantur; quippe non advenae, neque passim collecta populi colluvies originem urbi dedit; sed eodem innati solo, quod incolunt, et quae illis sedes, eadem origo est.*" No more contumelious term could have been applied to Aeneas: *this homeless adventurer, who goes about thrusting himself into other people's territories in search of a place to settle in*. Compare the similar contemptuous application of the same term to Aeneas by Tolumnius, *Æn.* 12. 261; and by Pentheus, Ovid, *Met.* 3. 561, to Bacchus:

"Pentheia terrebit cum totis *advena* Thebis;"

and by Pallas to Dis when he is carrying off Proserpine, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 202: "*nostrum quid proteris advena mundum*" [*"what baseness have you to come here an interloper, to,"* &c.]

QUID LOQUOR? AUT UBI SUM? QUAE MENTEM INSANIA MUTAT? (vs. 595).—Compare Eurip. *Hipp.* 241 (Phaedra speaking):

δυστανος εγω, τι ποτ' εirγασαμην;
ποι παρεπλαγχθην γνωμας αγαθας;
εμανην . . .

INFELIX DIDO! NUNC TE FACTA IMPIA TANGUNT TUM DECUIT CUM SCEPTRA DABAS (vv. 596-7).—Aeneas's sole act of impietas (see Rem. on 1. 14) being his present desertion of Dido, by which it was impossible she could have been affected at the time she admitted him to a share in her sceptre (TUM DECUIT [sciz. *factis impiis tangi*] CUM SCEPTRA DABAS), it follows that FACTA IMPIA means, **not**, as seems to have been taken for granted by the commentators, the impietas of Aeneas ("*perfidia Aeneae,*" Wunderlich, Peerlkamp, Voss, Forbiger, Thiel, Wagner, *Virg. Br. Æn.*) or the impietas of the Trojans ("*Perfidia, qua scilicet*

omne genus Troianum infame fuit," Wagner, *Praest.*), **but** that of Dido herself, seiz. in the violation of her vow to Sichaeus: see vv. 24, *et seqq.*; also vv. 322, 547, 552. The NUNC is emphatic, and the meaning of the whole passage as follows: "Art thou sensible of the impietas of thy conduct only now at last when suffering from its consequences? It had better become thee to have been so when thou wert taking the fatal step." In other words: "Thou shouldst have felt at the very time of sharing with Aeneas thy sceptre and (by implication) thy bed, how very improper it was in thee so to share them;" this sharing of the sceptre, and (by implication) of the bed, being the very impietas of which now at long and last she had become sensible. Dido's words are, *mutatis mutandis*, the very words of her prototype Medea, Eurip. *Med.* 796:

ημαρτανον τοθ', ηνικ' εξελιμπανον
δομους πατρωους, ανδρος Ελληνος λογοις
πεισθειω',

and the FACTA IMPIA with which she reproaches herself, precisely the *κακας μενοινας* with which Medea reproaches herself; the only difference being that the FACTA IMPIA of Dido were towards her deceased husband, the *κακαι μενοιναι* of Medea towards her father (Apollon. Rhod. 4. 412):

..... επει το πρωτον αασθην
αμπλακιη, θεουθεν δε κακας ηνυσσα μενοινας.

Compare Cornelia's self-accusation, and application to herself of the selfsame term "impia," when she first meets Pompey after his unfortunate battle at Pharsalia, Lucan. 8. 95:

"o thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habebat
in tantum fortuna caput! cur *impia* nupsi,
si miserum factura fui;"

and Theseus' reproach of Hippolytus, Eurip. *Hipp.* (ed. Musgr.) 1085:

τοτε στεναζειν και προγιγνωσκειν εχρην,
οτ' εις πατρωαν αλοχον υβριζειν ετλης.

Also Ovid, *Heroid.* 9. 146, 152, 158, 164:

"*impia* quid dubitas Deianira mori?"

TUM DECUIT CUM SCEPTRA DABAS.—Compare 10. 94: “tum decuit metuisse tuis.” Metastasio, *Temist.* 3. 7:

“quando ordisti il reo disegno
era tempo di tremar.”

Also, as precisely as possible expressing the sentiment of Dido, the same author's *Clemenza di Tito*, 2. 6 (Vitellia speaking):

“come potesti, o Dio!
perfido traditor . . .
ah che la rea son io!
sento gelarmi il cor,
mancar mi sento.
pria di tradir la fè,
perchè, crudel, perchè . . .
ah, che del fallo mio
tardi mi pento!”

where there is the same rapid transition as in Dido's soliloquy, from invective to self-accusation, and from self-accusation to invective.

TANGUNT (vs. 596).—Compare 1. 466, and Ovid, *Heroid.* 8. 15: “cura mei si te pia tangit, Oreste.” A similar use of the verb *to touch* is familiar in English. The Greeks used *θιγγανω* in the same sense, as Eurip. *Hipp.* 310: *θιγγανει σεθεν τοδε*.

QUEM SECUM PATRIOS AIUNT PORTASSE PENATES! QUEM SUB-
IISSE HUMERIS CONFECTUM AETATE PARENTEM! (vv. 598-9).—The latter—for we can hardly suppose our author to have been guilty of an anticlimax—the more meritorious act of the two. Compare Pausan. *Phoc.* ch. 28: *περι πλειστου γαρ δη εποιουντο οι παλαι γονεας. Ωσπερ εστιν αλλοις τε τεκμηρασθαι και εν Κατανη τοις καλουμενοις Ευσεβεισιν. οις ηνικα επερρει τη Κατανη πυρ το εκ της Αιτνης, χρυσον μεν και αργυρον εν ουδενος μεριδι εποιησαντο, οι δε εφευγον, ο μεν αραμενος την μητερα· ο δε αυ τον πατερα. Evang. Matth.* 5. 23, 24: “Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.”

NON POTUI ABREPTUM DIVELLERE CORPUS (vs. 600).—Compare *Othello*, act 3, sc. 3: “I'll tear her all to pieces.”

TUQUE HARUM INTERPRES CURARUM ET CONSCIA IUNO (vs. 608).—"INTERPRES, . . . *media et conciliatrix*. . . . Alii, *testis, iudex, arbitra*," Servius. Not only Servius's own examples ("Quae tibi conditio nova et luculenta fertur per me *interpretem*," Plaut. *Miles*, 4. 1. 5. "Quod te praesente istic egi, teque *interprete*," Id. *Curcul.* 3. 64) but still more Ammian's derivative, "*interpretium*" (28. 1: "Verum quoniam denis modis singulis solidis indigentibus venumdatis, emerat ipse tricenos, *interpretii** *compendium* ad principis aerarium misit") shows the former of these meanings as the true one, and that *interpres* not only here, but at 4. 356; 3. 359, and generally elsewhere, is used, not in the restricted sense of its English derivative, *interpreter*, but in the much wider sense of the English *agent*, and French *commissaire, commissionnaire*.

610-614.

ET DIRAE ULTRICES ET DI MORIENTIS ELISAE
ACCIPITE HAEC MERITUMQUE MALIS ADVERTITE NUMEN
ET NOSTRAS AUDITE PRECES SI TANGERE PORTUS
INFANDUM CAPUT AC TERRIS ADNARE NECESSE EST
ET SIC FATA IOVIS POSCUNT HIC TERMINUS HAERET

DIRAE, imprecationes. Compare Ammian. 28. 1: "*ultima dirae caesorum*." Id. 28. 6: "Hoc memorando fine externis domesticisque cladibus vexata conticuit Tripolis non indefensa: quia vigilavit Iustitiae oculus sempiternus, ultimaque legatorum et praesidis [sciz. necatorum] *dirae*." Flor. 2. 6: "Quasi has inferias sibi Saguntinorum ultima *dirae* in illo publico paricidio incendioque mandassent."

ACCIPITE HAEC, &c., . . . PRECES.—"ACCIPITE animis (εἰσθεμεῖσθε) HAEC mala, et vim vestram (NUMEN) meritam, i. e., tan-

* (An oversight of the learned Doctor. *Interpres* and *interpretium* have nothing in common except the *inter*.—J. F. D.).

quam debitam mihi iniusta patienti, vertite, ad ea ulciscenda scilicet," Wagner (1861). Wrong in every respect. First, HAEC is not "HAEC mala" but HAEC verba, exactly as 5. 304 :

"accipite haec animis, laetasque advertite mentes,"

where there are no mala at all, and where the sense can by no possibility be other than "accipite haec verba." Secondly, NUMEN is not "vim vestram," but *your will, your free, self-originating, independent will and pleasure*, and being used a part for the whole expresses the whole mind, and corresponds exactly to "animis" and "mentes," in the parallel cited above. See Rem. on "numine laeso," 1. 12, and on "numen Iunonis," 1. 52. Thirdly, ADVERTITE is not "vertite ad ea ulciscenda," but is simply *turn towards, advert*, and in conjunction with NUMEN, *turn your self-originating will, mind, and attention towards what I say*; exactly as in the parallel cited above "advertite" is not "vertite ad ea ulciscenda," there being no harm done, nothing to be avenged, but simply *vertite, turn towards*, and in conjunction with "mentes," *turn your minds towards*. In the words of our text Dido goes no farther than the mere imploring of the attention of the gods, *hear me, and attend to what I say*, and the assigning of the claim she has to their attention, viz., that so much misfortune (MALIS) deserved it (MERITUM). Only after such preface does she proceed to say what she expects the gods will do for her when they have let into their minds and turned their attention to her deplorable case, viz., that they will visit with such punishment as is at their command the INFANDUM CAPUT which is the cause of all her misery : SI TANGERE PORTUS INFANDUM CAPUT, &c. The sole difference between Dido's preface and the above-cited preface of Aeneas is, that the circumstances to which Dido calls attention not being joyful circumstances, but the very opposite, there is no "laetas," but the very opposite of "laetas," MERITUM MALIS; and that the persons whom she addresses not being, like the persons addressed by Aeneas, men, but divinities, she asks for the attention not of ordinary mind ("mentes"), but of self-originating will and pleasure (NUMEN), the highest quality of mind, mind *par excellence*, that attribute which furnishes the highest, most flattering,

most complimentary appellation and title, not for man only, but for the gods themselves.

ACCIPITE HAEC may be regarded as the theme of which MERITUMQUE MALIS ADVERTITE NUMEN and NOSTRAS AUDITE PRECES are the two variations. ACCIPITE HAEC is repeated with variety (in a varied form) in MERITUMQUE MALIS ADVERTITE NUMEN as well as in NOSTRAS AUDITE PRECES, the variety introduced in the former being MERITUM MALIS NUMEN, and that introduced into the latter being PRECES. The theme with the two variations, all taken together, convey the meaning expressed in the single sentence, "ACCIPITE (or AUDITE), O numina, has PRECES merentis propter mala." I need hardly say how much better adapted for the purposes of versification is the theme with its two variations. In the very next passage there is a similar theme, NECESSE EST, with its two similar variations, ET SIC FATA IOVIS POSCUNT and HIC TERMINUS HAERET, each variation being, as in the preceding case, an amplified, ornamented repetition of the theme. See Remm. on 1. 550; 6. 795; 7. 73.

MERITUM MALIS.—"Quod mali merentur," Servius, Heyne, Voss, Peerlkamp. No; Wagner is right: "MALIS *meis*." For the expression MERITUM MALIS compare 2. 690: "pietate meremur."

MALIS, *misfortunes*, as *Ecl.* 10. 61 :

"aut deus ille *malis* hominum mitescere discat."

Aen. 6. 365: "Eripe me his, invicte, *malis*." 11. 480: "causa *malis* tantis." Ovid, *Met.* 6. 303 (of Niobe): "diriguitque *malis*."

TANGERE PORTUS, theme; TERRIS ADNARE, variation.

SI . . . NECESSE EST ET SIC FATA IOVIS POSCUNT, HIC TERMINUS HAERET.—Not improbably a periphrasis for the *τεθειμενον* of Themis, Ammian. 21. 1: ". . . Themidis; quam ex eo quod fixa fatali lege decreta praescire facit in posterum, quae *τεθειμενα* sermo Graecus appellat, ita cognominatam, in cubili solioque Iovis, vigoris vivifici, theologi veteres collocarunt."

HIC TERMINUS HAERET.—So Lucret. 5. 91: "alte terminus haerens."

628-641.

LITTORA LITTORIBUS CONTRARIA FLUCTIBUS UNDAE
 IMPRECOR ARMA ARMIS PUGNENT IPSIQUE NEPOTESQUE
 HAEC AIT ET PARTES ANIMUM VERSABAT IN OMNES
 INVISAM QUAERENS QUAM PRIMUM ABRUMPERE LUCEM
 TUM BREVITER BARCEN NUTRICEM AFFATA SICHAEI
 NAMQUE SUAM PATRIA ANTIQUA CINIS ATER HABEBAT
 ANNAM CARA MIHI NUTRIX HUC SISTE SOLOREM
 DIC CORPUS PROPERET FLUVIALI SPARGERE LYMPHA
 ET PECUDES SECUM ET MONSTRATA PIACULA DUCAT
 SIC VENIAT TUQUE IPSA PIA TEGE TEMPORA VITTA
 SACRA IOVI STYGIO QUAE RITE INCEPTA PARAVI
 PERFICERE EST ANIMUS FINEMQUE IMPONERE CURIS
 DARDANIQUE ROGUM CAPITIS PERMITTERE FLAMMAE
 SIC AIT ILLA GRADUM STUDIO Celerabat ANILEM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 641).

ANILI ■ *Med.* ■■ $\frac{27}{35}$; cod. Canon. (Butler). ■■■ Serv. (cod. Dresd.); Donat. (ad Ter. *Eun.* 5. 3); princ.; Ven. 1470, 1471, 1472, 1475; Mod.; Mil. 1475, 1492; Bresc.; Turneb.; R. Steph.; P. Manut.; H. Steph.; Paris, 1600; La Cerda; D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1671, 1676, 1704); Phil.; Heyne; Brunck; Wakef.; Jahn; Dorph.; Lad.; Ribb.

ANILEM ■ *Pal.* (INILEM, with the EM crossed out). ■■ $\frac{38}{38}$. ■■■ N. Heins. (ap. Burm.); Burm.; Pott.; Wagn. (ed. Heyn., *Lect. Virg.*, ant ed. 1861); Peerlk.; Forb.; Haupt.

LITTORA LITTORIBUS CONTRARIA, FLUCTIBUS UNDAE.—Compare Manil. 4. 81k (Wernsdorf):

“sic terrae terris respondent, urbibus urbes,
 littora littoribus, regnis contraria regna.”

INVISAM QUAERENS QUAM PRIMUM ABRUMPERE LUCEM.—
 Compare Eurip. *Hipp.* 355: *εχθρον ημαρ, εχθρον εισορω φαιος*.
 St. August. *Confess.* 4. 12: “Horrebant omnia, et ipsa lux.”

NAMQUE SUAM PATRIA ANTIQUA CINIS ATER HABEBAT.—
What is the figure here, or what the picture presented to us? We have no difficulty where Palinurus informs Aeneas that the waves *have* him now, and the winds toss him about the shore (6. 362 :

“nunc me fluctus habet, versantque in littore venti”),

the picture being plainly that of the dead body rolled about on the shore by winds and waves, of the dead body in the possession of the winds and waves to do what they like with; at the mercy, as we say, of winds and waves. But the case of Dido's nurse is different. It is the CINIS ATER which we are informed *has* her. Now this CINIS ATER must be either the CINIS ATER into which the nurse has been reduced by burning on the funeral pyre, or the CINIS ATER of the funeral pyre itself. But the former could not well be said to *have* her, is not sufficiently distinct from her to be conceived as *having* her: therefore the CINIS ATER which is said to have Dido's nurse is the CINIS ATER of her funeral pyre, that CINIS ATER which, thrown over the partially consumed bones, formed the nucleus of the tumulus. Compare *Anthol. Lat.* (ed. Meyer), 1388 :

“hoc Epios tumulo Cinyra est cum fratre sepultus,
ante suos annos quos tegit *atra cinis*.”

Stat. Silr. 5. 5. 18 :

“quisquis adhuc tenerae signatum flore iuventae
immersit *cineri* iuvenem, primaque iacentis
serpere crudeles vidit lanugine flammæ,
adsit, et alterno mecum clamore fatiscat.”

Lucan. 9. 1 (of the shade of Pompey) :

‘at non in Pharia manes iacere favilla,
nec *cinis* exiguus tantam compescunt umbram :
prosiluit busto, semiustaque membra relinquens
degeneremque rogum, sequitur convexa Tonantis.”

Catull. 68. 91 :

‘Troia (nefas !) commune sepulchrum Asiae, Europaeque
Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba *cinis*.”

CINIS HABEBAT, *the pyre ashes had*, as Propert. 2. 28. 55 :

“ et quaecumque erat in numero Romana puella,
occidit: has omnes ignis avarus habet ”

[the greedy fire (*i.e.*, pyre-fire) has]. Hom. *Il.* 2. 699 : *τοτε δ' ηδη εχεν κατα γαια μελαινα* [the black earth held *or* had]. *Ibid.* 16. 629 : *παρος τινα γαια καθεξει* [sooner the earth will hold (have) some one]. *Ibid.* 3. 243 (of Castor and Pollux) :

. . . *τους δ' ηδη κατεχεν φυσιζοος αια*
εν Λακεδαιμονι αυθι, φιλη ενι πατριδι γαιη

[“alma tellus held *or* had (alive, see *Od.* 11. 300, of the same: *ζωους κατεχει*) in the dear paternal land ;” exactly as in our text: “dark pyre-ashes had (dead) in the dear old country”]. *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 398 (epigr. Antipatri) :

αγροθε γαρ κατιοντα Πολυξενον εκ ποτε δαιτος
τυμβος εχει γλισχρων εξεριποντα λοφων

[the tomb has]. *Ibid.* 7. 4 (epigr. Pauli Silentiarrii) :

ενθαδε Πιεριδων το σοφον στομα, θειον Ομηρον,
κλεινος επ' αγχιαλω τυμβος εχει σκοπελω

[a famous tomb has]. *Anthol. Graec.* (a Brunck, ed. Jacobs, Lips. 1794, vol. 4, p. 271) : *λαϊνεος στηλη με περιξ εχει* [the monument (grave-stone) has me round about]. *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 21 (epigr. Simmiae, epitaph of Sophocles) :

τον σε χοροισ μελψαντα Σοφοκλεα, παιδα Σοφιλλου,
τον τραγικης Μουσης αστερα Κεκροπιον,
τυμβος εχει και γης ολιγον μερος

[the tomb and a little earth have]. *Ibid.* 7. 199 (epigr. Tymnae) :

ορνεον ω Χαρισιν μεμελημενον, ω παρομοιον
αλκυοσιν τον σον φθογγον ισωσαμενον,
ηρπασθης, φιλ' ελαιε· σα δ' ηθεα και το σον ηδω
πνευμα σιωπηραι νυκτος εχουσιν οδοι

[the silent ways of night have]. *Ibid.* 5. 271 (epigr. Macedonii Consularis) :

την ποτε βακχευουσαν εν ειδει θηλυτερων,
την χρυσοκροταλω σειομενην σπαταλη,
γηρας εχει και νουσος αμειλιχος

[old age and inexorable disease have]. *Aen.* 10. 706: "Laurens habet ora Mimanta" [the Laurentian shore has]. *Ibid.* 1. 560:

. . . "et te, pater optime Teucrûm,
pontus habet Libyae"

[the Libyan sea has].

Exactly corresponding to this double use of *cinis* to signify, according to the context, **either** the ashes of the defunct [as Ovid, *ex Ponto*, 3. 2. 28:

"cuni *cinis* absumpto corpore factus ero"

[when I shall have become ashes]. *Id. Amor.* 2. 6. 42:

"iamque *cinis*, vivis fratribus, Hector erat."

Pers. 5. 152: "*cinis* et manes et fabula fies" [you shall become ashes]. *Stat. Theb.* 8. 110 (Amphiaraus to Pluto):

"hei mihi! nil ex me sociis patriaeque relictum
vol captum Thebis. Non iam Lernaea videbo
tectâ, nec attonito saltem *cinis* ibo parenti.
non tumulo, non igne miser, lacrymisque meorum
productus, toto pariter tibi funere veni"

["I shall not go, even in the state of ashes, to my parent;" *i. e.*, the parent shall not even have the consolation of receiving the ashes of the child, the child having been swallowed up in the earth alive, having left no corpse behind, the ashes of which, after it had been burnt might be brought home to the parent]] **or** (as in the examples with which I commenced this Remark) the ashes of the pyre, is (**α**) the double use of *pulvis* sometimes to signify the dust of the defunct, as *Hor. Od.* 4. 7:

"nos ubi decidimus
quo pius Acneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,
pulvis et umbra sumus,"

sometimes the dust of the tumulus, consisting *below* of pyre-

ashes, *above* of superadded dust or earth, as *Ibid.* 1. 28. 1 :

“ te maris et terrae, numeroque carentis arenae
 mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
 & pulveris exigui prope littus parva Matinum
 munera,”

and *ibid.* verse 35 :

“ quanquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit,
 iniecto ter pulvere, curtas,”

and (b), the use of *κονις* by the Greeks in the same two very distinct significations, that **of** the dust of the defunct, as *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 728 (epigr. Callimachi, epitaph on an aged priestess) :
 η γρηϋς γενομην, η νυν κονις. *Ibid.* 7. 738 (epigr. Theodoridae) :

κληιδες Κυπρου σε και εσχαται Σαλαμιнос,
 Τιμαρχ', υβριστης τ' ωλεσε Λιψ ανεμος,
 νηϊ τε συν φηρτω τε' κονιν δε σου αμφιμελαιναν
 δεξαντ' οιζυροι, σχετλια, κηδεμονες,

and that **of** the dust of the tumulus, as *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 329
 (εις Μυρταδα την μεθυσον εν πιθω ταφεισαν) :

ου κευθει φθιμενην βαιη κονις· αλλα πιθος μοι,
 συμβολον ευφροσυνης, τερπνος επεστι ταφος.

Pind. Ol. 8. 79 (ed. Dissen) :

κατακρυπτει δ' ου κονις
 συγγονων κεδναν χαριν.

Anthol. Pal. 7. 32 (epigr. Juliani, epitaph of Anacreon) :

πολλακι μεν τοδ' αεισα, και εκ τυμβου δε βοησω·
 ‘ πινετε, πριν ταυτην αμφιβαλησθε κονιν.’

Ibid. 7. 34 (epigr. Antipatri Sidonii, epitaph of Pindar) :

Πιερικαν σαλπιγγα, τον ευαγεων βαρυν υμνων
 χαλκευταν, κατεχει Πινδαρον αδε κονις.

Ibid. 8. 120 (epitaph. Gregorii Theol. in Liviam) : αιαι ! και
 Λιβιαν κατεχει κονις. *Anthol. Gr.* (ed. Jacobs), 7. 185 :

Αυσονιη με Λιβυσσαν εχει κονις, αγχι δε Ρωμης
 κειμαι παρθενικη τηδε παρα ψαμαθω,

in the first two of which examples *κονις*, the dust of the tumulus, hides; in the third of which *κονις*, the dust of the tumulus, is wrapped round; and in the last three of which *κονις*, the dust of the tumulus, has or holds the defunct, exactly as in our text *CINIS*, the pyre-ashes, have or hold Dido's nurse.

ANNAM, CARA MIHI NUTRIX, &c.—With this whole scene of Dido's suicide compare Xenophon's account of the suicide of Panthea, wife of Abradates, king of Susa, *Cyrop.* 7: *ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνουχοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποσθῆναι* ('*εὼς ἀν,*' *εῖπεν, 'τοὺνδε ἐγὼ ὀδυρῶμαι ὡς βουλομαι*'), *τῇ δὲ τροφῷ εἶπε παραμενεῖν, καὶ ἐπεταξεν αὐτῇ ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλῦσαι αὐτὴν τε καὶ ἀνδρὰ ἐν ἐνι ἱματίῳ.* *Ἡ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἱκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦνυε, καὶ χαλεπαινοῦσαν ἑώρα, ἐκαθῆτο κλαίουσα.* *Ἡ δὲ ἀκίνακῃ παλαὶ παρεσκευασμένη σφάττει ἑαυτὴν, καὶ ἐπιθείσα ἐπὶ τὰ στερνὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς κεφαλὴν ἀπέθνησκεν.* *Ἡ δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατο τε καὶ περιεκαλύπτεν ἀμφῷ, ὥσπερ ἡ Πανθεῖα ἐπεστέλλεν.*

ANNAM, CARA MIHI NUTRIX, HUC SISTE SOLOREM.—Great division among the commentators whether the structure be *CARA MIHI* or *SISTE MIHI*; Heyne, Jahn, Forbiger, Süpfle, being of the former opinion; Wakefield, Wagner, and Conington, of the latter. I, for my part, see no reason, not even the shadow of a reason, for separating the pronoun from the words between which it is placed, and to which at the first blush it is of necessity referred by every reader, in order to attach it to a remote word which stands in no need of it. On the contrary, understood to belong to the words in connexion with which the poet has placed it, it serves the double purpose which the same pronoun serves when placed in a similar connexion elsewhere, viz., first to add emphasis to the adjective, and secondly to determine and place beyond doubt the object on which the adjective acts. Compare 11. 586:

"*cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una meorum.*"

11. 535:

. . . "*graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla,
o virgo, et nostris nequicquam cingitur armis.
cara mihi ante alias.*"

5. 724 :

"nate, *mihi* vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
care magis."

Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 4. 1 : "O *mihi* *care* quidem semper." Id. *Fast.* 6. 51 : "nec gens *mihi* *carior* ulla est." Id. *Trist.* 5. 14. 2 : "O *mihi* me *coniux* *carior*."

DIC CORPUS PROPERET FLUVIALI SPARGERE LYMPHA.—"The necessity of cleansing before approaching the gods is well known," Conington. To be sure. Have we not living witness thereof in baptism, and the lustral font at the church door?

SIC VENIAT.—"SIC is emphatic: *thus and only thus—when she has done this, and not till then*, Dido's object of course being to gain time," Conington, following Servius, who, on TUQUE IPSA PIA TEGE TEMPORA VITTA, says "corona, ut et ipsa tardaret." I think, however, that sic is no more than the usual *sic*, referring to previous description or preparations (compare 1. 229 : "*sic* vertice caeli;" and 7. 668 : "*sic* regia tecta subibat," where see Rem.; also 4. 660 : "*sic, sic* iuvat ire sub umbras," where see Rem.), and that Dido gives these directions not as a means of obtaining time, or delaying her sister, who on the contrary is so far from coming too soon that she requires to be sent for (HUC SISTE SOROREM), but as necessary to keep up and complete the show of the religious ceremony she was ostensibly about to perform :

SACRA IOVI STYGIO, QUAE RITE INCEPTA PARAVI,
PERFICERE EST ANIMUS.

The rite hitherto only INCEPTA was now to be perfected (PERFICERE); and the lustration, the victims, and the "vitta" were an essential part of it; were not a pretext to keep her sister away, but a part of the blind she had set before the eyes of her sister. If the performance of these particulars kept her sister away, that was an accidental advantage, not the reason why the performance of them was required.

ANILEM not ANILI (vs. 641), first, as affording the more dignified, and therefore the more agreeable, sense; and secondly, because it is "senilem" in the precisely corresponding passage of St. Ambrose *de Abrahamo*, 1 : "Quamvis *senilem* studio celeraret

gradum," as well as in the not very dissimilar passage of Seneca, *Hipp.* 431 (Hippolytus to the nurse) :

"quid huc *seniles* fessa moliris gradus,
o fida nutrix, turbidam frontem gerens,
et maesta vultus?"

CELERABAT, not celebrabat, because it is "celeraret," not celebraret, in the corresponding passage of St. Ambrose, *de Abrahamo*, 1 : "Quamvis senilem studio *celeraret* gradum."

644-655.

PALLIDA—VIDI

PALLIDA MORTE FUTURA (vs. 644).—Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, 10. 1008 :

. . . "so much of death her thoughts
had entertained, as dyed her cheeks with pale."

ENSEMQUE RECLUDIT DARDANIUM (vv. 646-7).—Dido kills herself with the sword with which she had been presented by Aeneas, her greatest enemy, and on the bed which had been a fatal bed to her ("quo perii"), exactly as Ajax throws himself on the sword which Hector, his greatest enemy, had presented to him, and which he fixes upright in the hostile soil of Troy, *Soph. Ajax*, 817 (Ajax speaking) :

δωρον μὲν ἄνδρος Ἑκτορος, ξένων ἐμοὶ
μαλιστα μισηθέντος, ἐχθιστοῦ θ' ὄραν.
πέπηγε δ' ἐν γῇ πόλεμια τῇ Τρωαδί.

NON HOS QUÆSITUM MUNUS IN USUS (vs. 647).—Compare *Manil.* 5. 548 (of Andromeda) :

"induiturque sinus non haec ad vota paratos."

PAULUM LACRYMIS ET MENTE MORATA (vs. 649).—Compare Trissino, *La Sofonisba* :

“poi con la tazza in man, sospesa alquanto
si stette, e disse.”

Soph. *Phil.* 359 (ed. Brunck) :

. . . εγω δ' ο δυσμορος,
επει δακρυσα κεινον ου μακρον χρονω.

DUM FATA DEUSQUE SINEBANT (vs. 651).—Wagner, not content with ejecting from the Heynian text SINEBANT (the reading not of Heyne only but of the Modena ed. of 1475, Bersmann, the two Stephenses, the Paris ed. of 1600, the two Heinsii, La Gerda, and Burmann), and substituting for it SINEBAT, takes credit to himself for the substitution as for a restoration of the text to its original purity (“repositi SINEBAT”). I not only consider the MS. authority for SINEBANT to be, even on Wagner's own showing, at least equal to that for SINEBAT (the Vatican Fragment and the Palatine being for the former reading, the Medicean for the latter), but prefer SINEBANT to SINEBAT, first, as affording the simpler and more natural structure; secondly, as fully supported and justified against Wagner's criticism (*Quaest. Virgil.* 8. 3. a) by the almost exact parallel, *Aen.* 6. 511 :

“sed me *fata* mea et scelus exitiale *Lacænae*
his mersere malis;”

and thirdly, as the reading acknowledged by Donatus.

VIXI, ET QUEM DEDERAT CURSUM FORTUNA PEREGI (vs. 653).—Not *I have lived and I have finished*, but *my life is over, and I have finished*. Compare 2. 325 :

. . . “*fuimus* Troes, *fuit* Ilium et ingens
gloria Teucrorum,”

where see Rem. Byron, *Letters* : “I will work the mine of my youth to the last veins of the ore, and then—good night! *I have lived, and am content*,” where there seems to be an imitation, if not of our text, at least of the Latin use of the perfect. Compare also 10. 861 :

“Rhoebe, *diu* (res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est)
vicinus”

[“our life has been long together: to-day it ends”]. Tacit. *Ann.* 11. 37: “suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur [Messalina]; *transisse vitam*, neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum,” where “*transisse vitam*” is, so to speak, exactly equivalent to *vixisse*.

QUEM DEDERAT CURSUM FORTUNA.—So Cic. *pro Milon.* 95: “*vestras vero et vestrorum ordinum occursationes, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum esse dicit.*” Pind. *Nem.* 4. 41 (ed. Boeckh):

. . . εμοι δ' οποιαν αρεταν
εδωκε ποτμος αναξ,
ευ οιδ' οτι χρονος ερπων πεπρωμεναν τελεσει

ET NUNC MAGNA MEI SUB TERRAS IBIT IMAGO (vs. 654).—She consoles herself with the last never-failing consolation of the unhappy, the prospect of futurity. Hope expires only with the last breath, and no one, not even the suicide, is ever so tired of this world as not to be ready to begin another. Compare Sil. 15. 370 (of Marcellus):

. . . “circumdata postquam
nil restare videt virtus, quod debeat ultra
iam superis, *magnum secum portare sub umbras
nomen mortis avert,*”

with the exception of the one word “*mortis*,” the sentiment of Dido and of universal humanity. Dido’s ghost will enter Hades *MAGNA* because Dido in her life has been *magna*, has revenged the murder of her betrothed and founded a great city; but Dido’s ghost will not, like Marcellus’s, bring with it to Hades “*magnum nomen mortis*,” because Dido has not died fighting for her country, but ingloriously, in despair, by her own hand. The sentiment of Dido is no less natural than common to all that was eminent, all that was great and good in antiquity. Ancient heroes and heroines, far from discovering at the approach of death the vanity of everything earthly, how like fools or silly children they had lived up to the last moment, and as long as it was possible; far

from giving the lie with their last breath to themselves and their whole past lives, were anxious, vainly indeed, but at least honestly and consistently, that the honours, dignities, and triumphs they had earned so hardly here should accompany them into their imagined existence beyond the grave. There was not one of them who was not solicitous with Dido that his umbra should be magna, not one of them who would have thought of casting away crown and sceptre in order to enter Hades a tonsured monk, with genuflexions and streaming tears and clasped hands pitifully upraised for mercy, only too happy if he should be allowed to take his place beside and enjoy for ever the company of his barber, or his tailor, or the slave who had daily scoured his *garderobe*. Accordingly we find, *Aen.* 12. 646, the reflections of Turnus just before his death cast in the same mould as Dido's :

. . . “ vos o mihi manes
este boni ; quoniam superis aversa voluntas.
sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpæ
descendam, magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum ; ”

and Polyxena, Eurip. *Hec.* 548, about to be sacrificed to the manes of Achilles, refuses to have her hands bound, in order that she may not, by dying like a slave, forfeit the respect due to her royal blood in Hades :

ελευθεραν δε μ', ως ελευθερα θανω,
προς θεων, μεθεντες, κτεινατ'· εν νεκροισι γαρ
δουλη κεκλησθαι, βασιλις ουσ', αισχυνομαι.

A curious example of the transition from the heathen to the Christian sentiment is afforded by Constantine the Great, in his dying moments sufficiently Christian to bid eternal adieu to the purple, and sufficiently heathen to await death in splendid and even royal vesture, Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 4. 62, 63 : ως δ' επληρουτο τα δειοντα, λαμπροις και βασιλικοις αμφιεσμασι, φωτος εκλαμπουσαι τροπον, περιβαλλετο, επι λευκοτατη τε στρωμνη διανεπαυετο· ουκ εθ' αλουργιδος επιψασαι θελησας. Καπειτα την φωνην ανυψωσας, ευχαριστηριον ανεπεμπε τω θεω προσευχην· μεθ' ην επηγε λεγων· νυν αληθει λογω μακαριον οιδ' εμαυτον· νυν της αθανατου ζωης πεφανθαι αξιον· νυν του θειου μετειληφεναι φωτος πεπιστευκα,

with the omission of MAGNA the very words of Dido, if I may so say, Christianised.

URBEM PRAECLARAM STATUI; MEA MOENIA VIDI (vs. 655).—"Possibly there may be an implied taunt against her wandering lover, whose city is still to build," Conington. I think not; Dido and Aeneas were not rivals, and Dido was too dignified for so narrow-minded a taunt at so solemn a moment. If she was not, it is a fault in Virgil not to have made her so.

659-660.

DIXIT ET OS IMPRESSA TORO MORIEMUR INULTAE
SED MORIAMUR AIT SIC SIC IU VAT IRE SUB UMBRAS

OS IMPRESSA TORO.—Not merely *kissing the bed*, but *kissing it so as to bury her face on it, pressing her face down upon the bed*. Compare *Anthol. Pal.* 5. 14 (epigr. Rufini):

ψαυει δ' ουκ ακροισ τοις χειλεσιν, αλλ' ερισασα
το στομα την ψυχην εξ ονυχων αναγει.

Aristaen. 1. 16: *πεφιληκεν ουτω προσφυσα μανικως*. Petron. 18: "Secundum hanc deprecationem lacrymas rursus effudit, gemitibusque largis concussa, *tota facie ac pectore torum meum pressit*." Apul. *Met.* 8. 9: "At illa [Charite] ut primum maesta quieverat, *toro faciem impressa* etiam nunc dormiens, lacrimis emanantibus decoras genas cohumidat." Stat. *Theb.* 5. 252 (of the Lemnian massacre):

"hic *impressa toris ora*, extantesque reclusis
pectoribus capulos, magnarum et fragmina trunca
hastarum, et ferro laceras per corpora vestes,
crateras pronos, epulasque in caede natantes
cernere erat"

(where "*impressa toris ora*" are the faces of the corpses lying on the beds face downward). Apul. *Florid.* 3. 16 (of the state

in which Philemon's corpse was found) : "Iacebatque incumbens toro similis cogitanti, adhuc manus volumini implexa, adhuc os recto libro impressus, sed enim iam animae vacuus, libri oblitus et auditorii securus" (where "os recto libro impressus" is lying with his face on the open book or writing). Val. Flacc. 2. 168 :

"oscula iamque toris, iamque oscula postibus ipsis
ingeminant, lacrimisque iterum visuque morantur."

Id. 8. 7 :

"quosque fugit complexa toros

atque haec impresso gemit miseranda cubili."

Ovid, *Met.* 10. 410 (of Myrrha, hiding her face on her bed for shame) :

. . . . "exsiluit gremio furibunda, torumque
ore premens : 'Discede, precor, miseroque pudori
parce,' ait."

Senec. *Herc. Oct.* 342 (Dejanira speaking) :

. . . "Alcidae toros
moritura certe corpore amplectar meo."

Medea's leave-taking of her bed, as described by Apollon. Rhod. 4. 26, is less impassioned than Dido's, there being nothing to correspond with IMPRESSA :

κυσσε δ' εον τε λεχος και δικλιδας αμφοτερωθεν
σταθμους, και τοιχων επαφησατο· χερσι τε μακρον
ρηξαμενη πλοκαμον, θαλαμω μνημηϊς μητρι
καλλιπε παρθενης· αδινη δ' ολοφυρατο φωνη.

SIC, SIC, IU VAT IRE SUB UMBRAS.—The commentators are divided in opinion whether the words SIC SIC belong to IU VAT or to IRE, Wagner (1861) joining them to the former ("adeo seu tantum IU VAT"†); La Cerda, to the latter ("Alii placidius mitiusque morientur, mihi SIC IRE convenit, truculenter et dire"). That La Cerda is right, and that they belong not to IU VAT but to IRE, appears, if from nothing else, at least from the "sic me vivere, sic iuvat perire" of Martial (12. 18). Servius was of opinion that the first SIC asks a question which is answered by

the second: "Quasi interrogatio et responsio (sic? sic); et placet sic inultam perire, et hoc eam se loco intelligimus percussisse. Unde alii dicunt verba esse se ferientis." I think the generally received opinion is the correct one, viz., that the second sic is a mere repetition of the first for the sake of emphasis, just as 2. 644:

"sic, () sic positum affati discedite corpus"

(where the words have precisely the same reference as in our text, viz., to the mode of a near and imminent death); and just as Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* 2. 10:

"curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum,
responsantibus alleluia ripis,
ad Christum levat amnicum celestis.
sic, sic psallite, nauta, vel viator;"

and Sil. 9. 25:

"'siccine, sic,' inquit, 'grates pretiumque rependis,
Paulle, tui capitis?'"

Peerlkamp, quoting Senec. *Here. Oct.* 845 (Dejanira speaking):

"eat per artus ensis exactus meos.
sic, sic agendum est,"

observes that these words of Seneca confirm the opinion mentioned by Servius, that Dido stabs herself as she utters the words sic sic. In my opinion they prove the very contrary, inasmuch as Dejanira does not kill herself while uttering her "sic sic," but only approves of, or, if I may so say, flats her previous resolution to that effect, and does not execute the resolution until long after. In like manner Dido does not stab herself simultaneously with the words sic sic, but in those words approves of her previous determination to die in that particular manner, expresses the pleasure she has in dying in that manner. There is not, indeed, as in Dejanira's case, a long delay between the words and the deed, but there is still a space sufficient effectually to separate the former from the latter. Sic sic accompanying, and at the same time pointing to, the actual wound, had been too parallel to the "take that, take that," which accompanies the blow in a quarrel between two schoolboys.

SIC SIC IU VAT IRE SUB UMBRAS.—*This, this precisely is the way I like to die; in this manner, in this very manner, it is my pleasure to die*—meaning by her own hand, with that very sword; on that very bed, and on that pyre. How entirely the words *sic sic* indicate the manner of the death, not the death itself, is shown no less by the above-quoted passage of Sidonius than by the following of Silius (4. 507), where “*sic sic*” can be nothing but the manner of life, or of living :

“at tu, donata tela inter Martia luce,
infelix animae, *sic sic* vivasque, tuoque
des iterum hanc laudem nato ; nec fine sub aevi
oppetere in bello detur, cum fata vocabunt.
pugnantem cecidisse meum est.”

Compare Flor. 4. 18 (of the death of Cleopatra) : “Ibi maximos, ut solebat, induta cultus, in differto odoribus solio, iuxta suum se collocavit Antonium, admotisque ad venas serpentibus, *sic* morte, quasi somno, soluta est” [in this manner (viz., splendidly dressed, on an elevated sofa, near M. Antonius, and with aspics applied to her veins) she died as placidly as if she was falling asleep], also Senec. *Thyest.* 96 (umbra Tantalii to Megaera) :

“quid ora terres verbere, et tortos ferox
minaris angues ? quid famem infixam intimis
agitas medullis ? flagrat incensum siti
cor, et perustis flamma visceribus micat.
sequor.

Meg. hunc, O, furorem divide in totam domum.
sic, sic ferantur, et suum infensi invicem
sitiant cruorem. sensit introitus tuos
domus, et nefando tota contactu horruit.”

Id. *Herc. Fur.* 1210 (Hercules recovering temporarily from his madness, and meditating suicide) :

. . . “illa, quae Pontum Scythen
Symplegas arctat, hinc et hinc vinetas manus
distendat alto : cumque revocata vice
in se coibunt saxa, quae in caelum exprimunt
actis utrimque rupibus medium mare,
ego inquieta montium iaceam mora.
quin structum acervans nemore congesto aggerem,
cruore corpus impio sparsum cremo ?
sic, sic agendum est. inferis reddam Herculem.”

IUVAT IRE SUB UMBRAS, *it is a pleasure to die*, as *Georg.* 3. 292,
 “iuvat ire iugis,” *it is a pleasure to rove over the hills.* *Aen.* 2. 27:

. . . “iuvat ire, et Dorica castra
 desertaque videre locos littusque relictum,”

it is a pleasure to visit the Doric camp. The words, so emphatic owing to the repetition of the *sic*, and to the phrase used—not *mori*, but *IRE SUB UMBRAS*, as if she was not dying, but setting out on a journey—seem to be something more than a mere approval of her previous determination, seem to be a shout of triumph, of final victory, over her seducer:

HAURIAT HUNC OCULIS IGNEM CRUEDELIS AB ALTO
 DARDANUS, ET NOSTRAE SECUM PERAT OMINA MORITIS.

It is difficult for anyone not a Roman, or living in those times of prodigies, omens, and direct visitations from heaven, to estimate the full force in Roman ears of these last words of Dido.

With Dido's *SIC SIC IUVAT IRE SUB UMBRAS* compare the dying words of Constantine the Great as recorded by Eusebius (see above, in *Rem.* on verse 650): *νυν αληθει λογω μακαριον οιδ' εμαυτον.* Compare also 3. 606: “*hominum manibus periisse iuvabit.*”

663-665.

DIXERAT ATQUE ILLAM MEDIA INTER TALIA FERRO
 COLLAPSAM ASPICIUNT COMITES ENSEMQUE CRUORE
 SPUMANTEM SPARSASQUE MANUS

The actual infliction of the wound is omitted, and left to be inferred, exactly as Amata's actual putting of the rope about her neck and hanging herself, 12. 603:

“*et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta.*
quam cladem miseræ postquam accepere Latinae;”

Eurydice's actual treading on the snake, being bitten by it, and dying in consequence, *Georg.* 4. 458 :

“immanem ante pedes *hydram* moritura puella
servantem ripas alta *non vidit* in herba.
at chorus aequalis *Dryadum clamore* supremo
implerunt montes,” &c. ;

the actual discharge of the arrow by Opis, 11. 860 :

“dixit, et aurata voluerem Threïssa sagittam
deprompsit pharetra, cornuque infensa tetendit,
et durit longe, donec curvata coirent
inter se capita, et manibus iam tangeret aquis,
laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam.
extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantes
auduit una Aruns, haesitque in corpore ferrum ;”

and the actual interrogation of Sinon by the Trojans after their curiosity had been inflamed to the highest, 2. 105 :

“tum vero *ardemus scitari et quaerere causas*,
ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
prosequitur paritans, et ficto pectore fatur.”

Compare *Little Red Riding Hood* : “The poor old woman, who was still confined to her bed, called out : ‘Pull down the bobbin and the door will open.’ What, then, was the poor old woman’s fright, instead of beholding a tender and beautiful grandchild, to find it was a ravenous wolf, who, not having tasted food for several days, directly sprang upon her and ate her up ?” where the pulling of the bobbin, the opening of the door, and the entrance of Little Red Riding Hood, are omitted as minutiae sufficiently implied, and to detail which would only delay the narrative.

SPARSAS.—“*Conspersas* ; vide supra vers. 21,” Forbiger. I feel convinced that this interpretation although sufficiently grammatical, CRUORE being supplied to SPARSAS from the preceding line, is yet entirely incorrect ; first, because the circumstance that Dido’s hands were sprinkled (as no doubt they were) with blood was too minute to be observed by her attendants, the pyre being very lofty (vv. 505, 645), and none of the attendants being upon it (vs. 685). Secondly, the minute circumstance that

the hands were sprinkled would be more properly mentioned in case of a subsequent inquiry as to the particular mode of her death, and whether or not she had been her own executioner, than on the very first instant of alarm. Thirdly, it is not likely that a poet of Virgil's good taste would have here, in the very midst of his great catastrophe, requested his reader's attention to two different kinds and degrees of bloodiness, indicated, according to this interpretation, by the words SPUMANTEM and SPARSAS, still less that he would have so strongly contrasted these two different kinds of bloodiness by the immediate juxtaposition of the two terms. I therefore understand SPARSAS to be here applied to MANUS as so often elsewhere to capilli (*ex gr.* "sparsis Medea capillis," Ovid, *Met.* 7. 257), and to mean hands thrown wide from each other; lying powerless like those of a dead person, one here and another there; and so Stanyhurst (Lond. 1533) :

. . . "thee sword al bluddie begoared,
and hands outspreading they beheld."

This was a sign of what had happened much more likely to attract the attention of distant spectators than any sprinkling of the hands with blood. They saw first that she had fallen collapsed; secondly, they saw the sword spuming with blood; thirdly, they saw her hands (arms) thrown out; lying without any harmony between them, and like those of a dead, not a living, person. I think it is this meaning which is contained in the latter part of Servius's gloss, "aut perfusas sanguine, aut morte resolutas," and in the first part of Pomponius Sabinus's: "solutas morte vel cruentatas;" also in Lemaire's "iactatas," and in Turgot's "tombantes;" and especially in the "extensas" which I find interlined above SPARSAS in the Gudian No. 70. Compare Statius, *Achill.* 2. 440 :

"nam procul Oebalios in nubila condere discos,
et liquidam nudare palen, et spargere caestus
ludus erat requiesque mihi."

Sidon. *Apoll. Carm.* 5. 175 (ed. Sirmondi) :

"donec ad anfractum metæ iam iamque relictus
concita ter sparsa fregit vestigia poma."

And, more parallel still, Mart. 3. 82 :

“percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix,
manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.”

Quint. Decl. 8. 22 : “Non quidem licuit mihi in illud cubiculum, conditorium tuæ mortis, irrumpere, nec super carissima membra prostratæ meis vulnera tua tegere visceribus : quod solum tamen potui, corpus, quod medicus, quod reliquerat pater, hoc sinu misera collegi, ac vacuum pectus frigidis abiectisque visceribus rursus implevi, *sparsos artus* amplexibus iunxi, membra diducta composui, et de tristi terribilique facie tandem aegri cadaver imitata sum.” Val. Flacc. 1. 420 :

“taurea vulnifico portat caelataque plumbo
terga Lacon, saltem in vacuos ut *brachia* ventos
spargat ; et Oebalium Pagaseia pappis alumnum
spectet, securo celebrantem littora ludo.”

Senec. Herc. Oct. 206 :

“vidi, vidi
miseranda mei fata parentis,
cum letifero stipite pulsus,
tota iacuit *sparsus* in aula.”

Lucan. 3. 98 :

“namque ignibus atris
creditur, ut captae, rapturus moenia Romae,
sparsurusque deos”

(where “*sparsurus*” is interpreted by Peerlkamp (ad *Aen.* 4. 21), not *sprinkle* (with blood) but *scatter, disperse*). Eurip. *Alcest.* 403 (ed. Musgr.) (the son of Alcestis over his dead mother) :

πολιπουσα δ' αμον βιον,
ωρφανισε τλαμων.
ιδε γαρ, ιδε βλεφαρον, και
παταγονους χερυς

[“*resolutas manus*” in the translation, but *παταεινω* is *pro-tendo, porrigo*]. Also, exactly parallel, Alcim. Avitus, *Poem.* 1. 90 (of the creation of man) :

“exin succiduum porrecto in corpore pectus
spargit ramosas post brachia fortia *palmas*”

[*scatters, spreads out, viz., like boughs*]. The Italians have preserved the word in the identical sense, as Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 2. 49 :

“cominciò a poco a poco indi a levarse,
come suol far la peregrina grue,
che corre prima, e poi veggiamo alzarle,
a la terra vicina un braccio o due,
e quando tutte sono a l' aria sparse
velocissime mostra l' ali sue.”

FERRO COLLAPSAM.—Not *collapsed on the sword*, in which case the expression would have been *in ferrum COLLAPSAM*, but *collapsed with the sword, in consequence of the sword wound*, exactly as *Georg.* 3. 485 :

“ossa minutatim morbo collapsa trahebant”

[*collapsed, not on the disease, but in consequence of the disease*]; and *Aen.* 4. 679 :

“idem ambas ferro dolor, atque eadem hora tulisset”

[*not on the sword, but with the sword*]. The attention of Dido's attendants is first drawn by the sudden collapse or sinking down of Dido : COLLAPSAM ASPICIUNT (as 8. 584 : “*collapsum ferebant*,” 4. 391 : “*collapsa membra referunt*,” 9. 708 : “*collapsa ruunt membra*”), FERRO being added, not as having been seen by the attendants, but in order to explain to the reader the cause of the collapse ; the attendants then, in the second place, observe the sword frothing with gore, ENSEM CRUORE SPUMANTEM ; and lastly (sure sign that the wound has been fatal, and that their mistress is in a dying state), the hands thrown out apart from each other, one in this direction, and one in that, and no longer the agents of a will. Thus with the most consummate art all the particulars of the stabbing, and even the stabbing itself, are omitted, and left to be concluded by the reader from the consequences of the act, which alone are described. •

665-675.

IT CLAMOR—PETEBAS

IT CLAMOR, &c., . . . DEORUM (vv. 665-671).—Compare 11. 36 (of the death-wail for Pallas renewed when Æneas enters the apartment) :

“ ut vero Æneas foribus sese intulit altis,
ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt
pectoribus, maestoque immugit regia luctu.”

Erod. 12. 30 : “ And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians ; and there was a great cry in Egypt ; for there was not a house where there was not one dead ”—no exaggerated or merely poetical, but, if we are to judge from Eusebius’s account of the lamentations of the *δορυφοροι* at the death of Constantine the Great, a plain, truthful, matter-of-fact picture of the lamentations which used to take place at the death of a beloved sovereign, *Eccles. Hist. 4. 65* :
Δορυφοροι μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν σωματοφυλακῶν γένος, ἐσθίπας περιρρηξαμένοι, σφας τε αὐτοὺς ριψάντες ἐπ’ ἐδάφους, τὰς κεφαλὰς ἤρασσον· κωκυτοὺς, φῶνας, οἰμωγαὶς θ’ ἀμα καὶ βροαῖς ἀφιέντες· τὸν δεσποτὴν, τὸν κυρίον, τὸν βασιλεῖα, οὐχ οἷα δεσποτὴν, πατέρα δ’ ὥσπερ, γυναικῶν παῖδων δίκην, ἀνακαλουμένοι . . . ἐκαστοῦ τε πένθους ἰδίου ποιουμένου, αὐτὸν τε κοπτοντος, ὥσπερ τοῦ κοινου ἀπαντῶν ἀγαθὸν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀφρημένου ζωῆς.

So natural to the human mind is a burst of despairing sorrow at the moment a beloved friend or relative expires, at the first sight of the lifeless remains, even on the first news of the death, that it has been and still is thought necessary in many countries to simulate such sorrow where it is not, nay, even where it cannot and ought not to be felt. If the simulated hired sorrow is impressive—and who that has ever heard the Irish keenagh borne on the wind along a mountain’s side in Connemara or Donegal will say that it is not?—how impressive must not the

real death-wail be, the genuine burst of sorrow, when at midnight it strikes for the first time from the very chamber of death, and from beside the yet warm corpse, on the ear of the traveller in Egypt or the still farther east? See Whately's *Ragged Life in Egypt*, p. 199: "It happened, on the first night of our settling in Bab-el-Bahar, that 'about midnight' there was a 'great cry,' for in a neighbouring house one was just dead. No one who heard that sudden cry breaking the deep stillness of night can ever forget its thrilling effect. Then came the piteous wailing that seemed to speak of sorrow without hope: the mother of the family was taken, and the children's shrieks and sobs mingled with the plaintive cry of 'Oh, Aneesch! Aneesch!' from the sisters or friends, who vainly called on her who could no longer answer them—who had no longer a name on earth!" The testimony is unexceptionable, inasmuch as it is the testimony not of a friend, but of an enemy, of a religionist whose religion has achieved so complete a victory over human feeling as not only to offer "hearty thanks" to Almighty God for every brother or sister's death, but to pray at the same time that the survivors may follow with as little delay as convenient. See Church of England office for the burial of the dead: "We give Thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching Thee that it may please Thee of Thy gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of Thine elect and to hasten Thy kingdom," &c.

FOEDANS (vs. 673).—*Spoiling, making ugly, deformans*. See Rom. on 3. 241.

FRAUDE PETERAS (vs. 675) = FRAUDE *aggreddiebaris*; *attack-edst with a cheat*, i. e., *cheatedst*, exactly as 12. 359, "*bello petisti*," *attackedst with war*, i. e., *madest war against*. The use of *petere* in the sense of *attack* is common, as 11. 9:

. . . "bis sex thoraca *petitum*
perfossumque locis."

6. 395: "in vincla *petivit*" [attacked in order to make prisoner, made prisoner]. Cic. in *Catil.* 1. 5: "Nunc iam aperte rempub-

licam universam *petis* : templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam [denique] totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas." *Ibid.* 1. 6 : "Quot ego tuas *petitiones* ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi!" in the last of which passages, "*petitiones*" is as nearly as possible the *passes*, *thrusts* of our modern "art of defence."

679-685.

IDEM AMBAS FERRO DOLOR ATQUE EADEM HORA TULISSET
HIS ETIAM STRUXI MANIBUS PATRIOSQUE VOCAVI
VOCE DEOS SIC TE UT POSITA CRUDELIS ABESSEM
EXTINXTI ME TEQUE SOROR POPULUMQUE PATRESQUE
SIDONIOS URBEMQUE TUAM DATE VULNERA LYMPHIS
ABLUAM ET EXTREMUS SI QUIS SUPER HALITUS ERRAT
ORE LEGAM

VAR. LECT. (vs. 682).

EXTINXI ■ "In veteribus fere omnibus exemplaribus EXTINXI prima persona legitur," Picrius. ■■■ La Cerda (text); D. Heins.; N. Heins. (1670); Philippe.

EXTINXTI OR EXTINXTI ■ *Vat., Pal.* ■■■ Serv. (Daniel, Lion); P. Manut.; La Cerda (comm.); Heyne (EXTINXSTI); Wagn. (ed. Heyn., and ed. 1861); Haupt; Ribb.

C

The Medicean has EXTINXITI, with the XI and the final I crossed out with red ink.

VAR. LECT. [*punct.*] (vv. 683-4).

DATE VULNERA LYMPHIS, ABL. ■■■ Conington.

DATE, VULNERA LYMPHIS ABL. ■■■ P. Manut.; D. Heins.; Haupt; Wagn. (*Praest.*); Ribb.

DATE VULNERA LYMPHIS ABL. ■ *Vat., * Pal., Med.* ■■■ N. Heins. (1670).

* Bottari's statement, that in the Vatican Fragment there is a point after DATE, is incorrect.

IDEM AMBAS FERRO DOLOR ATQUE EADEM HORA TULISSET.—Compare Heliodor. *Aethiop.* 8 (ed. Bipont., p. 254) (Theagenes to Chariclea): εἴθε γε αἶμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ θάνατον ἐνα καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ μίᾳ καταδικασεῖεν, ὥς οὐδὲ τελευτῇν αὐ τοῦτο ἐθέμην, ἀλλὰ [καὶ] πάντων κακῶν ἀναπαύλαν.

HIS ETIAM, &c., . . . ABESSEM.—So Argia, over the dead body of Polynices, Stat. *Theb.* 12. 336 :

. . . . "ipsa dedi bellum, maestumque rogavi
ipsa patrem, ut talem nunc te complexa tenerem."

CRUDELIS.—I have no doubt that Wagner (ed. Heyn.) errs in referring CRUDELIS to Dido ; (1), because by its very position, immediately before ABESSEM, CRUDELIS is *prima facie* pointed out as the nominative to that verb, from which it cannot be separated without placing both before and after it a pause that in no small degree impairs the harmony of the versification. (2), because CRUDELIS being referred to Dido, Anna's lamentation consists of an uninterrupted series of accusations of her sister, not broken even by so much as one single expression of that self-reproach which is so natural to tender grief. (3), because the change in the structure from questions and wishes addressed to her sister (HOC ILLUD, GERMANA, FUIT . . . PARABANT ? . . . SPREVISTI ? . . . VOCASSES ; . . . TULISSET) to questions addressed to herself (STRUXI ? . . . VOCAVI ?) shows that there is at the latter words a complete transition of thought, and that Anna here passes from the reproach of her sister to the reproach of herself : HIS ETIAM STRUXI MANIBUS (sc., *ego*), &c. To have counteracted and made of no effect this natural and exquisitely pathetic self-reproach by mixing up with it a reproachful apostrophe to Dido would have been unworthy of Virgil's art, and the more unworthy because unnecessary, Dido having been sufficiently reproached already. And (4), because CRUDELIS (which, as an invocation of Dido, would have been better placed somewhere near the beginning of the sentence, at a distance sciz. from SIC TE UT POSITA ABESSEM, see (3) above) is placed exactly in the position in which it should be placed if referred by Anna to herself, viz., so as not only to bring the verb and its nomina-

tive, the reproach and its cause, as close as possible together, but (see Rem. on 2. 552) so as to afford this beautiful and I believe not hitherto observed implication: "I might have built the pile for thee; I might have invoked the gods for thee; I might have aided thee to die; but not to share thy death with thee, that indeed was cruelty." For all these reasons I take part with Donatus, Voss, and Heyne, and without hesitation refer CRUELIS to Anna, against Wagner, who himself suggests a sufficient justification of her self-reproach: "ut Anna more graviter dolentium culpam fortunæ [I would rather have said 'culpam fraudis Didus,' see verse 675] in se transferat, ac si ipsa in culpa esset." Compare Silius, 8. 65:

. . . - "divis inimica sibi que
quod se non dederat comitem in suprema sorori"

(where "sibi" is applied like Virgil's CRUELIS). Id. 13. 655:

. . . "nam cur
ulla fuero adeo quibus a te saevus abessem,
momenta?"

Also the application to herself of the epithet dura by Turnus's sister, *Aen.* 12. 873. Macduff's (*Macbeth*, act 4, sc. 3), "and I must be from thence!" Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 3. 420:

. . . "ego te, fateor, crudelis, ademi,
quae te deserui, solamque instantibus ultro
hostibus exponi."

SIC TE UT POSITA.—"Exanimata," Servius, Forbiger; while Wagner refers to 2. 644, where his comment is: "'Sic positus' (ut 2. 681) quemadmodum mortui solent, *rectus extentusque*; Eurip. *Hipp.* 797:

ορθωσατ' εκτεινοντες αθλιον νεκυν."

But Dido was not dead, still less was she stretched and laid out; she was only dying. POSITA, therefore, has not here this, if I may so say, its technical meaning, but only its general ordinary meaning, of *placed* or *laid*; SIC POSITA, *so placed, so laid, in this situation, exactly as Ecl.* 2. 54:

"et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te, proxima myrte:
sic positae quoniam suaves miscetis odores,"

“*sic positæ*,” so placed, viz., as you are in this nosegay; *SIC POSITA*, so placed, viz., as you are here on this couch in your blood; and 2. 644: “*sic o! sic positum*,” so, o! so placed, viz., here where I am laid, here where I lie awaiting death. See Rem. on 2. 644.

EXTINXTI TE MEQUE, SOROR, POPULUMQUE PATRESQUE SIDONIOS URBEMQUE TUAM.—Compare *Epitom. Iliados*, 1055 (of the fire of Hector’s funeral pyre):

“*tollitur et iuvenum magno cum murmure clamor
flebilis, ardebat flamma namque Ilion illa*,”

one of the fine thoughts so abundant in the *Epitome Iliados*, a work nevertheless little known or esteemed; nay worse, cried down even by its own editors, whether because it contains none of those forced, highly artificial forms of expression, those “*exquisite dicta*,” as they are called by Heyne, which it is the fashion to admire in Virgil, or because few poems of equal length in any language, ancient or modern, contain so many easy-flowing, smooth, unconstrained, unostentatious verses, it is not easy to say, nor is it much matter. The poem, universally read and admired in the so-called dark ages, is either unknown or by those few by whom it is known despised in these *soi-disant* bright, these ages which so lose themselves in admiration of the fantastic, tortured and torturing phraseology of *Hiawatha* and the *Idylls of the King*, and which crown Longfellow and Tennyson with laurel.

That the true reading is not *EXTINXI*, but *EXTINXTI* or *EXTINXSTI*, is shown by the numerous parallels, as Eurip. *Orest.* 195 (Electra speaking):

εθανες, εθανες, ω
τεκομενα με ματερ, απο δ' ωλεσας
πατερα τεκνα τε ταδε σεθεν αφ' αιματος
ολομεθ' ισονεκυες, ολομεθα.

Soph. *Antig.* 472:

ηδ' ουν θανειται, και θανουσ' ολει τινα.

Ibid. 844:

ιω δυσποτμων
κασιγνητε γαμων κυρησας,
θανων ετ' ουσαν κατηναρες με.

Id. *Ajax*, 900 (chorus of *socii* from Salamis apostrophizing *Ajax*, who has just killed himself) :

οἱ μὲν ἑμῶν νοστῶν
 ὦμοι, κατεπεφνες, ἀναξ,
 τανδε συνναυταν, ὦ ταλας.

Id. *Electr.* 808 :

Ορεστα φιλταθ', ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας θανων.

Epigram cited by La Cerda : *εκτανες ὡς εθανες*.

DATE VULNERA LYMPHIS ABLUAM.—“Pro vulgari oratione *date lymphas, quibus vulnera abluam*,” Wagner (*Praest.*) This is neither the structure nor the meaning. Anna does not ask for water, but leave to wash : DATE *ut* ABLUAM, *allow me to wash* ; DATE [*allow me*] *ut* ABLUAM, ET *ut* LEGAM. Compare Prudent. *Contra Symm.* 2. 731 :

. . . “*date vincula demam
 captivis gregibus.*”

Id. *Peristeph.* 4. 193 :

“*nos pio fletu date perluamus
 marmorum sulcos, quibus est operta
 spes, ut absolvam retinaculorum
 vincula meorum.*”

And so Servius, in the second of his two explanations : “DATE : aut *aquam*, aut DATE, id est *permittite*” (cod. Dresd.).

EXTREMUS SI QUIS SUPER HALITUS ERRAT ORE LEGAM.—“Non est huc trahendus mos ille, quo os admovebant carissimi morientibus, ut extremum eorum spiritum excipere viderentur,” Gossrau. “Gossrau rightly remarks that Anna’s wish to preserve the last spark of life in her sister is not to be confounded, as it has been by the commentators from Servius downwards, with the custom of receiving in one’s mouth the last breath of a dying person,” Conington. Both commentators have entirely mistaken our author’s meaning. Anna’s EXTREMUS SI QUIS, SUPER HALITUS ERRAT, ORE LEGAM indicates no attempt on the part of Anna “to preserve the last spark of life in her sister.” How could it ? how could Anna’s collecting in her mouth the

last breath of her sister tend to prolong her sister's life, benefit her sister in any way? On the contrary, Anna has no doubt her sister is dying, sees plainly that she is dying, and—to apply to Anna, *mutatis mutandis*, the words of Cicero (*in Verrem*, 5 (ed. Lamb., p. 207): “*Matres miserae . . . quae nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum extremum spiritum sibi ore excipere liceret*”)—“*soror misera nihil aliud orabat nisi ut sororis extremum spiritum sibi ore excipere liceret.*” Neither is there in the case of Hylonome and Cyllarus, Ovid, *Met.* 12. 424 :

“*impositaque manu vulnus fovet ; oraquo ad ora
admovet ; atque animae fugienti obsistere tentat,*”

the case referred to by Gossrau and Conington, any evidence that Anna's “*extremum halitum ore legere*” was an attempt to preserve the last spark of life in her sister, any attempt of the kind. Hylonome applies her mouth to the mouth of Cyllarus (“*ora ad ora admovet*”) who she sees is dying (“*morientes excipit artus*”), not with the view of prolonging or saving his life, but with the view of receiving into and preserving in herself (in her own body) his last breath. In this sense, and in this sense only, Hylonome “*animae fugienti obsistere tentat,*” opposes herself to the “*fugienti animae*” of Cyllarus, and *tries* to receive it into and preserve it in herself, *tries* (“*obsistere tentat,*” not *obsistit*), because the actual receiving into and retaining in the body another person's expiring breath is impossible, can only be attempted, cannot be effected, as correctly observed by Donatus, anticipating Servius in the only true interpretation of our text : “‘*observare [lege servare] enim volo exeuntem spiritum ;*’ ideo hoc dixit, quia hunc carissimi colligere se posse arbitrantur, licet teneri non possit.” Nor in like manner, in the case of St. Ambrose and his dying brother Satyrus was there any attempt on the part of the saint to “preserve the last spark of life” in his brother. If he blew into his dying brother's mouth, and received his dying brother's breath into his own, it was not that he expected to give or receive physical corporeal benefit : it was for the sake of closer spiritual union ; it was in order to be spiritually united with his brother in his death, as

he had been spiritually united with him in his life, to identify himself spiritually with his brother, to be one with his brother at the moment of his brother's death, as he had been spiritually identified with his brother, one with his brother so long as his brother lived. More he knew was impossible, "et extremum spiritum ore relegebat, ut consortium mortis hauriret." That very act which, according to Gossrau and Conington, Anna performed towards her sister, with the view of preserving in her the last spark of life, S. Ambrose performed towards his dying brother with the view of having a spiritual fellowship with him in death ("ut consortium mortis hauriret"). The whole passage is so touching, so redolent of the tenderness with which the dying was, sometimes at least, regarded by the surviving relative in times which so many coeval with, and all but assistants at, the late Franco-Gallic horrors are pleased to call uncivilized, that I feel I only do justice to those times and that great man St. Ambrose, when I transcribe it at full length, S. Ambros. *de excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I, § 6 (ed. Monach. Benedict. 1686): "in isto enim corpore, quod nunc exanimum iacet, praestantior vitae meae functio; quia in hoc quoque quod gero corpore uberius tui portio. Atque utinam ut memoriae, ut gratiae, ita etiam vitae tuae hoc quidquid est, quod spiramus, spirare possemus, dimidiumque meorum decideret temporum, quod ad tuorum proficeret usum! Par enim erat, ut quibus indivisum semper fuit patrimonium facultatum, non esset vitae tempus divisum: vel certe qui indistincta semper habuimus vivendi consortia, non haberemus distincta moriendi." *Ibid.* 19: "nihil mihi profuit ultimos hausisse anhelitus, nihil flatu in os inspirasse morienti; putabam enim quod aut tuam mortem ipse susciperem, aut meam vitam in te ipse transfunderem. O infelicia illa, sed tamen dulcia suprema osculorum pignora! O amplexus miseri, inter quos exanimum corpus obrigit, halitus supremus evanuit! Stringebam quidem brachia, sed iam perdidderam quem tenebam; et extremum spiritum ore relegebam ut consortium mortis haurirem. Sed nescio quomodo vitalis ille mihi halitus factus est, et maiorem gratiam in ipsa morte redolebat. Atque utinam si tuam nequivi meo spiritu vitam produ-

cere, vel ultimi anhelitus tui vigor transfundi potuisset in meam mentem, et illam tui animi puritatem atque innocentiam noster spirasset affectus! Hanc mihi hereditatem, frater carissime, reliquisses, quae non lacrymabili dolore percuteret affectum, sed memorabili gratia commendaret heredem.”

691-703.

TER REVOLUTA TORO EST OCVLSQVE ERRANTIBVS ALTO
 QVAESIVIT CAELO LUCEM INGEMUITQVE REPERTA
 TUM IUNO OMNIPOTENS LONGVM MISERATA DOLOREM
 DIFFICILESQVE OBITVS IRIM DEMISIT OLYMPO
 QVAE LUCTANTEM ANIMAM NEXOSQVE RESOLVERET ARTVS
 NAM QVIA NEC FATO MERITA NEC MORTE PERIBAT
 SED MISERA ANTE DIEM SUBITOQVE ACCENSA FVRORE
 NONDVM ILLI FLAVVM PROSERPINA VERTICE CRINEM
 ABSTULERAT STYGIOQVE CAPVT DAMNAVERAT ORCO
 ERGO IRIS CROCEIS PER CAELVM ROSCIDA PENNIS
 MILLE TRAHENS VARIOS ADVERSO SOLE COLORES
 DEVOLAT ET SVpra CAPVT ASTITIT HUNC EGO DITI
 SACRVM IVSSA FERO TEQVE ISTO CORPORE SOLVO

ALTO QVAESIVIT CAELO LUCEM.—*Looked up to the sky, to have a last view of the light she was leaving for ever. Compare Stat. Theb. 8. 650:*

. . . “illam unam, neglecto lumine caeli,
 aspicit, et vultu non exsatiatur amato;”

and *Silv. 5. 1. 173:*

. . . “illam aegris circumdat fortiter ulnis
 immotas obversa genas; nec sole supremo
 lumina, sed dulci mavult satiare marito.”

Sil. 6. 10 :

“ . . . nec cernere deerat
frustra seminecium quaerentia lumina caelum.”

Ovid, *Trist.* 4. 3. 43 (to his wife) :

“supremoque die notum spectantia caelum
texissent digiti lumina nostra tui.”

Ammian. 16. 19 : “Alii semineces, labente iam spiritu, *lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant.*” Ugo Foscolo (*Dei Sepolchri*) :

“gli occhi del uom cercan morendo
il sole, e tutti l'ultimo sospiro
mandano i petti alla fuggente luce.”

(Gray, *Elegy in a country churchyard* :

“for who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
this pleasing, anxious being e'er resigned,
left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
nor cast *one longing, lingering look* behind?”

INGEMUITQUE REPERTA.—*Groaned deeply*, the sight of the light bringing back vividly to her mind the troubles she had had in it. So rapidly does our author pass from point to point (“*summa fastigia sequitur*”) that the reader is left to make out for himself the delicate connexions. Tired and disgusted with the world as Dido is, she cannot die without taking a last view of that light in which she had once been so happy. The sight of the light, however, serves only to bring back with increased distinctness the recollection of her misfortunes; and with a deep groan she closes her eyes again and dies. It is the dying human being who, *OCULIS ERRANTIBUS QUAESIVIT ALTO CAELO LUCEM*; it is individual Dido who *INGEMUIT*. There is no so touching word in the whole *Aeneid* as this *INGEMUIT*, placing as it does before the mind capable of such sympathies the whole heart-rending history in a single retrospective glance. Show me anything at all like it in the *Iliad*.

But, I am asked, if this is so judicious in the poet, if to groan on the last view of the light and die without saying a word is so touching in Dido, how does it happen that Mezentius, after a

similar last view of the light, makes a pretty long speech? The death of Mezentius is scarcely less touching than that of Dido—in some persons' minds very much more touching—yet in this important respect the conduct of the poet has been totally different. I reply: the essential difference of conduct is owing to the essential difference of circumstances. Dido has come to the last; has said, done, and undergone all that was needful to be said, done, or undergone. She is expiring; her enemy, her seducer, is absent, has left the country. To have uttered one word of reproach would on the one hand have been useless, on the other inconsistent with the affection she still had for him. She had nothing to do, when her eye caught once again the retreating light, but groan at the recollections it brought back, and die. Mezentius, on the contrary, has only been stunned by his fall. When he recovers his recollection, and beholds once again the light of heaven, his fierce and victorious enemy is standing over him with the sword at his throat. He knows there is no mercy for him, nor does he wish for any from the slayer of his son. It is not only consistent with his dignity, but adds to his dignity, to tell his enemy so; and he tells him so in words equally calm, manly, and reproachful: *

“hostis amare, quid increpitas, mortemque minaris?
nullum in caede nefas; nec sic ad praelia veni.”

He has only one poor favour to ask, and that is to be buried in the same grave with his son.

IN-GEMUIT denotes that she groaned *on the occasion* of finding the light again, as Stat. *Theb.* 12. 712:

“dirisque vaporibus aegrum
aera pulverea penitus sub casside ducens
ingemit, et iustas belli flammatur in iras”

[groans *on the occasion* of smelling the air tainted with the dead bodies of his friends].

QUAE LUCTANTEM ANIMAM NEXOSQUE RESOLVERET ARTUS.—

Some commentators have understood the soul to be here represented as struggling to keep possession of its place in the body, as wrestling with a force which tends to expel it; and so La

Cerda: "LUCTANTEM ANIMAM, NEXOS ARTUS. Dueta tralatio a palaestra, inest enim lucta quaedam inter aegritudinem et animam: volente hac retineri conservarique in corpore tanquam in veteri et familiari domicilio; contra illa extrudente, et impellente per vim exire." Others, on the contrary, and as I think more correctly, have understood the soul's "lucta" to be against the force put on it by the body, to remain in its connexion with the body, as Heyne: "Corpus quasi implicat et circumstringit animam ne elabi illa possit." Against this constricting, detaining force, the soul, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the death of the body, luctatur, *struggles*, impatient of its long confinement, and ardently desirous to get free. In those cases in which the death of the body is short and speedy, there is of course no struggle; the body dying at once, the soul is released at once. But in those cases in which, as in the case before us, the death of the body is slow and tedious (LONGUM DOLOREM, DIFFICILESQUE OBITUS) the soul becomes impatient, and struggles to get out (elabi, deserere corpus); and this being impossible so long as the body retains any vitality, a struggle or "lucta" arises between the soul impatient to escape and the slowly dying body which detains it. To put an end to this struggle, and set the LUCTANTEM ANIMAM free, our author, with, as it seems to an impartial observer, more regard for the royal dignity of Dido than for the royal dignity of the queen of heaven, and more solicitous for the delectation of his readers than for the observance of the Horatian maxim, employs no less than two divinities. In defence of which poetical *faux pas*, if I, as Virgil's friend and admirer, be expected to break a lance here, I am ready to maintain against all comers that my client stands perfectly justified not merely by the general consent of mankind to honour kings and queens little less, sometimes even much more, than gods, but by the belief, prevalent at all times and in all countries among the best-informed and most religious of men, that the gods, having notoriously a great deal of time on their hands, and very little business wherewith to occupy it, are never so happy as when an opportunity comes in their way to be of service to suffering humanity; and that if their readiness to fly on

all occasions to the rescue, especially when it happens that it is noble blood or the female sex which is in peril, has not yet won for them a renown quite equal to that of Orlando or Don Quixote, it can only be for one or other of these two reasons—either because it is impossible there should be any knight-errantry deserving the name among those who on the one hand run no personal risk, and on the other hand are in all cases perfectly sure of success, or because there is a wide-spread suspicion that they, being the supreme directors and arbiters of human affairs, are themselves the real ultimate causes of the very evils which so often and so loudly call for their special intervention.

But **while** I agree with Heyne that *LUCTANTEM* expresses the struggling of the soul to get away (“elabi”) from the body [compare *Aen.* 11. 829 (of the dying Camilla) :

. . . “tum frigida toto
paullatim exsolvit se corpore.”

Sil. 10. 577 (of the soul of Paullus) :

. . . “repens crepitantibus undique flammis
aethereas anima exsultans evasit in auras.”

Ovid, Met. 12. 423 :

“protinus Hylonomē morientes excipit artus,
impositaque manu vulnus fovet; oraquo ad ora
admovet, atque *animae fugienti* obsistere tentat.”

And—almost the very counterpart of our text—*ibid.* 11. 787 (of Aesacus) :

“indignatur amans invitum vivere cogi,
obstarique *animae* misera de sede *volenti*
exire”],

yet I am far from agreeing with him that *NEXOS ARTUS* expresses the connexion of the soul with the body, or that the sentence is to be understood as if it were : *RESOLVERET ANIMAM LUCTANTEM et nexam artubus*. On the contrary, I think that all mention of the soul is confined to the words *LUCTANTEM ANIMAM*, that the connexion spoken of in the word *NEXOS* is the connexion not of the soul with the body, but of the parts of the body with each other, the compages of the body, and that the structure

is: LUCTANTEM ANIMAM *dimitteret*, viz., *resolvendo* NEXOS ARTUS, i. e., ARTUS NEXOS *inter se*, *compagem corporis*. NEXOS ARTUS is thus, precisely, the *συνδεσμα μελεων*, and RESOLVERET precisely the *λελυμαι* of Eurip. *Hipp.* 200 (ed. Musgr.):

λελυμαι μελεων συνδεσμα, φιλαι,

with which compare vv. 791-2 of the same play:

... ουκ οισει τις αμφιδεξιον
σιδηρον, ω τοδ' αμμα λυσομεν δερης;

where we have in *λυσομεν* the same RESOLVERET, and in *αμμα* the same NEXOS, without any reference whatever to the soul, and with reference exclusively to the compages of the body. See also Claud. in *Rufin.* 2. 412:

"amputat ille pedes; humerum quatit ille *solutis*
nexibus."

Of course the "nexi artus" being resolved, the compagination of the body dissolved, the soul is set free, this compagination of the body being the hindrance which the soul has to overcome, the hindrance against which the soul luctatur.

LUCTANTEM.—In this notion of the "luctans anima" there is a confusion which has never been perfectly cleared up. Is the body regarded as a prison out of which the soul endeavours to force its way, or as a jailer resisting its passage and binding it with fetters, or is the body both prison and jailer? There is no good poetry without precise notions, and in this instance I fear the notion is far from precise. That the body is regarded as a prison seems to be shown by Prudentius's manifestly imitated account of the death of the martyr Cassianus, *Peristeph.* 9. 87:

"tandem luctantis miseratus ab aethere Christus
iubet *resolvi* pectoris *ligamina*.
difficilesque *moras animae ac retinacula vitae*
relaxat, artas et latebras expedit,"

where "artas latebras" can be nothing else than a variety of expression for prison. In conformity with this view of our author's picture, viz., that it is that of the soul struggling vio-

lently to get out of prison, we find the body expressly figured as the prison of the soul **not only** by Prudentius and the Platonic school generally [*ex. gr.* Seneca, *Quaest. Nat.* 5. 13: “*spiritus inclusi, et in exitum nitentis luctatio.*” Cic. *Somm. Scip.*: “‘Immo vero,’” inquit, “‘*ii vivunt qui ex corporum vinculis, tanquam e carcere evolaverunt; vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est.*’” *Ibid.*: “‘Non est ita,’ inquit ille; ‘nisi Deus is, cuius hoc templum est omne quod conspicias, istis te *corporis custodiis* liberaverit huc tibi aditus patere non potest.’” Ovid, *Met.* 11. 787:

“indignatur amans, invitum vivere cogi,
obstarique animae misera de sede volenti
exire”]

but by Virgil himself in particular, 6. 733:

. “neque auras
dispiciunt, clausae tenebris et *carcere* caeco;”

and we further find the identical term *luctari* applied to the struggles of the winds to get out of their prison, 1. 56:

. “hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit ac *vinclis* et *carcere* frenat.”

On the other hand, Ammian, in his fine Miltonic account of the death of Valentinian, compares the expiring convulsions of that emperor to the sparring of a pugilist, 30. 6: “*dicereque conatus aliqua vel mandare, ut singultus ilia crebrius pulsans, stridorque dentium et brachiorum motus velut caestibus dimicantium* indicabat, iam superatus liventibusque maculis interfusus, animam diu *colluctatam* efflavit,” where “*brachiorum motus velut caestibus dimicantium*,” and “*superatus*” unmistakably indicate the struggle of two contending persons; and where, curiously enough, the body, necessarily the conquered person (“*superatus*”)—for it is the body which is always conquered in the struggle of death, and the soul which conquers—is identified with the man Valentinian, as if no teaching, no doctrine, could stifle the human sentiment, that it is to the flesh the individuality belongs, that it is the flesh which is the man, the individual. Compare also the same author, 21. 15: “*Deinde anhelitu*

iam pulsatus [Constantius] letali conticuit; diuque cum anima colluctatus iam discessura, abiit e vita," where we have the man, the individual, contending with his own soul; in other words, where we have the flesh constituting the man, and the soul represented (according to the usual custom by persons much better than Ammian) as something extraneous lodging in the man. See also Sil. 6. 124 (ed. Rup.) :

. . . "tuus ille parens decora alta paravit
restando adversis, nec virtutem exiit ullam
ante *reluctantes liquit quam spiritus artus.*"

The spasms, or irregular involuntary motions of the limbs of the dying person, very naturally suggested to the ancients, uninstructed as they were in physiology, and still suggest to similarly uninstructed persons at the present day, the notion of a struggle; and, according to the information and state of feeling of the observer, this struggle was simply regarded as the struggle of something alive inside, which was striving to get out, just as the ebullition of water suggested to the South Sea islanders, on Captain Cook's first visit, the notion of something alive and stirring under the water; or it was regarded as the struggle of two principles with each other, these antagonist principles being sometimes body and soul, as Sil. 6. 124, just quoted; sometimes life and death, as Goethe, *Goetz von Berlichingen*, act 5: "Ich sterbe, sterbe, und kann nicht ersterben; und in dem fürchterlichen *streit des lebens und todes* sind die qualen der hölle;" sometimes of Nature and Death, as Shirley, *Edward the Black Prince*, act 5, sc. 3:

"death I have caught: his shaft is in my heart;
" *it tugs with nature.* When shall I get free?"

The contest of life with death, whether regarded as a struggle to get out of prison, or out of the clutches of an adversary who holds it fast, always, at least in the view of the pagan, resulted, as we have seen, in the victory of life. Life got out of prison, out of the hands which confined it, and went elsewhere, as Sil. 10. 577:

"*aethereas anima exultans evasit in auras.*"

Not so, however, in the view of the Christian. The Christian

saw indeed in the death of the individual the same struggle between the same two principles, ending in the same separation; but he did not, when he was consistent with himself, and not led away like Prudentius and some others by the inveterate pagan habit, regard this separation in the light of a victory of the life or spirit; on the contrary, it was with him the victory of the flesh, of death, of the grave, over the discomfited and defeated spirit. This victory, however, was not to be final. There was to be another contest between the same two principles, in which the victory was to be on the side of the spirit. This contest was the resurrection. See *Heures de Nantes*, "prose qu'on chante à la messe avant l'évangile pour la semaine de Pâques:" "Mors et vita duello confluxere mirando, dux vitæ mortuus regnat vivus." D. Ambros. *Hymn. Pasch. ad Mat.* (Grimm, *Hymn. Vet. Eccles.*):

"ille qui clausus lapide
custoditur sub milite
triumphans pompa nobili
victor surgit de funere."

d. *Hymn. 20*, in die sancto Paschæ canendus (Grimm, *ubi supra*):

"hamum sibi mors devoret,
suisque se nodis liget,
moriatur vita omnium,
resurgat vita omnium.

cum mors per omnes transeat
omnes resurgant mortui,
consumpta mors ictu suo
perisse se solam gemat."

The two contests are referred to by St. Paul, *1 Ep. ad Corinth.* 5. 54: Κατεποθη ο θανατος εις νικος. Που σου, θανατε, το κενρον; που σου, αδη, το νικος; Both contests seem to have been equally unknown to Homer, whose soul perishing from the body, *Od. 16. 368*

. . . Δι δ' ανχεται

θυμον απο μελων φθισθαι,

no more than an equivalent for body losing its vitality, i. e. *being dead*.

NEC FATO MERITA NEC MORTE.—*Neither by a natural death* i.e., death in the natural course of events (compare Plin. *Epist.* 1. 12: "Decessit Corellius Rufus; et quidem sponte, quod dolorem meum exulcerat: est enim luctuosissimum genus mortis, quae non *ex natura* nec *fatalis* videtur." Justin. 9. 8: "Habuit et alios multos ex variis matrimoniis regio more susceptos, qui partim *fato*, partim ferro periere." Id. 2. 2: "Neque plus hominum ferrum et arma quam *naturalis fatorum conditio* raperet." Tacit. *Ann.* 2. 71 (words of the dying Germanicus): "Si *fato* concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus, liberis, patriae, intra iuventam praemature exitu raperent. Nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo." *Ibid.* 1. 3: "L. Caesarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus, Caium remeantem Armenia, et vulnere invalidum, mors *fato* propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit." *Ibid.* 11. 2: "Ipsa [Messalina] ad perniciem Poppaeae festinat, subditis qui terrore carceris ad voluntariam mortem propellerent; adeo ignaro Caesare ut paucos post dies epulantem apud se maritum eius Scipionem percunctaretur, cur sine uxore discubisset, atque ille, functam *fato*, responderet." *Ibid.* 2. 42: "Fessus senio [Archelaus] et quia regibus aequa, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitae, sponte an *fato*, implevit." Lactantius' "Rosa" (*Sympos.* 45):

"O felix, longo si possem vivere *fato*"),

nor by a merited or earned death, i. e. death brought upon her by some act of her own, either in mere consequence or as a

him, *Ann.* 11. 446.

que tunc, *Ann.* 11. 446.

Epist. 2.

quoniam

quoniam

quoniam

quoniam

centemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse *merito perire*.”
Aen. 2. 433 :

. . . “et si fata fuissent
 ut caderem, *meruisse manu*”).

See Rem. on 2. 738.

FATO, as above remarked, not *by fate* (death by violence being equally fated), but *by nature*, the natural life of a man being called by the Romans his *fatum* or *fata*. So, in addition to the examples before quoted, 12. 395 : “ut depositi proferret *fata* parentis” [to lengthen the life of his despaired-of parent]. 11. 160 : “vivendo vici mea *fata*” [passed the limits of my natural life]. Tacit. *Ann.* 14. 62 : “Tum in Sardiniam pellitur, ubi non inops exsilium toleravit, et *fato obiit*” [died a natural death]. Ovid, *Heroid.* 1. 1. 101 :

“di precor hoc inbeant, ut euntibus ordine *fatis*,
 ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos.”

Anything which breaks this *fatum* or natural course and order of things, this *μορσιμον* (Eurip. *Alcest.* 960, Admetus speaking :

εγω δ', ον ου χρη ζην, παρεις το μορσιμον,
 λυπρον διαζω βιοτον, αρτι μανθανων),

was said by the Greeks to be *υπερ μορον*, as Hom. *Od.* 1. 38 :

σφησιν ατασθαλισιν υπερ μορον αλγε' εχουσιν.
 ως και νυν Αιγισθος υπερ μορον, Ατρεΐδαο
 γημ' αλοχον μνηστην, τον δ' εκτανε νοστησαντα,
 ειδως αιπυν ολεθρον· επει προ οι ειπομεν ημεις,

than which lines there can be no better commentary on the *NEC FATO* (*υπερ μορον*) of our text. It may possibly be supererogation to remind the reader of the first transgression, the first great *υερ μορον* (*NEC FATO*) of the Jewish and Christian world, and how well the sad words of Jupiter,

σφησιν ατασθαλισιν υπερ μορον αλγε' εχουσιν,

might serve as a text for a sermon on the fall of man, no small item in the induction that there never was but one religion in the world, that all creeds, however diverse in name and form, are at bottom and substantially the same.

Fatum is used for death generally, *i. e.*, as a mere equivalent for *mors*, by Lucan, 7. 129 :

. . . "multorum pallor in ore
mortis venturae, faciesque simillima fato."

MISERA ANTE DIEM answers to *NEC FATO*, *not by a natural death, but before her time*; *SUBITO ACCENSA FURORE*, answers to *MERITA NEC MORTE*, *not by the hand of another and in consequence of her previous conduct, but voluntarily and by her own hand, in a fit of fury.*

NONDUM ILLI FLAVUM . . . DEXTRA CRINEM SECAT.—Compare Eurip. *Alcest.* 76 (*Thanatos* speaking) :

ιερος γαρ ουτος των κατα χθονος θεων,
σου τοδ' εγχος κρατος αγνισει τριχα.

Verses quoted by Meursius, tom. 5, col. 987 :

. . . "cheu! invidet omnibus
mors atra, nec scit parcere cuiquam.
non nemini, ut sualet libido,
crine caput spoliatus decorum."

Stat. Silv. 2. 1. 146 :

. . . "iam frigentia lumina torpent,
iam complexa manu crinem tenet infera Iuno."

Etymol. Magn. in voc. *απεσκολυμμενος* : *Κολλυς γαρ η θριξ η επι του ακρου ην εφυλαττον ακουρευτον, θεοις ανατιθεντες.* Also Himerius's beautiful allusion to this precious lock of hair, and its fatal shearing (on the death of his son, *Orat.* 23. 7. *Τις απε-*

εστις του χρυσου βραχ . . . where
Similarly loquitur Demades. *Uster*, p.
Θαβαν and add other
expression. It is this which
the Boetian . . .
[Dis]
place
berbe
dant
ourir

au monde il fallait qu'elle passât à travers le tombeau. Ma soeur se couche sur le marbre; on étend sur elle un drap mortuaire; quatre flambeaux en marquent les quatre coins. Le prêtre, l'étole au cou, le livre à la main, commence l'office des morts; de jeunes vierges le continuent," &c.

STYGIOQUE CAPUT DAMNAVERAT ORCO.—No doubt referring to the right of Orcus to every living thing. Compare Macrob. *Saturn.* 1. 7 (quoting the oracle given to the Pelasgi at Dodona):

. . . δεκατην εκπεμψατε Φοιβω,
και κεφαλᾶς Αδης, και τω πατρι πεμπετε φωτα.

It is curious to observe how very frequently this term (*caput*) occurs in close juxtaposition with death. See 11. 830: "*captum leto posuit caput.*" 9. 495:

. . . "tuoque
invisum hoc detrude *caput* sub *Tartara* telo."

5. 815: "*unum pro multis dabitur caput.*" 4. 640:

"Dardaniique *rogum capitis* permittere flammae."

Lucret. 3. 1052:

"denique Democritum postquam matura vetustas
admonuit memores motus languescere mentis,
sponte sua *leto caput* obvius obtulit ipse."

IRIS CROCEIS, &c., . . . COLORES (vv. 700, 701).—The physical characteristics of the rainbow, dewiness and a thousand various hues, are transferred to the person of the goddess of the rainbow, and especially to her wings, in the same way as the physical characteristics of the river Tiber, age and reeds, are transferred to the person of the god Tiberinus, 8. 32-34. From vv. 700-1, Schiller (see the magnificent conclusion of his play of *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*) perhaps drew the idea of the appearance of a rainbow in the sky at the moment of Joan d'Arc's death.

MILLE TRAHENS VARIOS ADVERSO SOLE COLORES.—Iris is represented by Statius, *Theb.* 10. 80, as taking her bow with her:

. . . "suamque
orbibus accingi solitis iubet Irin, et omne
mandat opus;"

painter's pencil and the sculptor's chisel; thine heart and understanding against the rushing numbers of the poet, the persuasion of the orator, the irresistible reason of the philosopher; but first hear that same St. Augustine, him who calls himself criminal because he had read and studied and wept over these heathen loves of Dido and Aeneas; learn from his own lips what it was that rescued him out of the "Tartarus libidinis et concupiscentiae;" what it was that first turned the great luminary of the early Christian Church from heathenism to Christianity, from the power of Satan to the one living and only true God. What was it? The narration of an evangelist? the discourse, or the letter, or the visit, of a Christian teacher, or missionary, or apostle? the testimony of a miracle or a martyrdom? No such thing; but the philosophical tract of the prose Virgil of Rome, the pagan Cicero's pagan *Hortensius*: "Usitato iam discendi ordine [in the usual course of classical studies] perveneram in librum quendam cuiusdam Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita. Sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem, continet ad philosophiam, et vocatur *Hortensius*. Ille vero liber mutavit affectum meum et ad teipsum, Domine, mutavit preces meas, et vota ac desideria mea fecit alia. Viluit mihi repente omnis vana spes, et immortalitatem sapientiae concupiscobam aestu cordis incredibili, et surgere coeperam ut ad te redirem . . . modo ardebam, Deus meus, quomodo ardebam revolare a te; et nesciebam quid ageres mecum," &c. (St. Augustine *Confess.* 3. 1-7). Go now, reader, and with a rich and noble still, (rich and noble still, for riches and nobility are not to be thrown away) throw away utilitarianism and puritanism and throw the classical library into the lake. See Rem. on "nec erat," 3. 173.



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